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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles includes the following: "Second Language Acquisition Research and Applied Linguistics" (Teresa Pica); "'Communicative Lingerings': An Exploratory Study of the Experience of 'Foreign' Communicative Features in the Interactions of American Expatriates after Reentry" (Laura Sicola); "Acquiring Business English in a Quasi-Natural Business Environment: A Method of Teaching Business English to Students of Business and Economics" (Oleg Tarnopolsky and Svitlana Kozhushko); "Closing the Advising Session" (Mihyon Jeon); and "Languages in Education Dissertations." (SM)

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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CONTENTS

Editors' Note

We are pleased to bring you Volume 18 Number 2 of the *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*. This issue would not be possible without the help and support of numerous individuals. First, we would like to thank our advisors, Dr. Nancy H. Hornberger and Dr. Anne Pomerantz, for their guidance and encouragement. We are also grateful to Penny Creedon, Lorraine Hightower, Suzanne Oh, and Mary Schlesinger of the Language in Education Division at Penn GSE who give generously of their time and always with warm smiles. Finally, we would like to express our appreciation for the dedication and tireless efforts of the *WPEL* editorial panel. This issue is hoisted high on their shoulders.

In this Issue

Twenty-five years after the publication of Spolsky's (1978) seminal monograph defining educational linguistics, the nature of the field remains opaque. Spolsky's vision of educational linguistics was that it would be a field of (applied) linguistics, much like educational psychology or educational sociology are fields of their disciplines proper, that "start[s] with a specific problem and then looks to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to its solution" (1978: 2). Educational linguistic inquiry, then, takes place across disciplines much like applied linguistics (Markee 1990). Educational linguistics is, in this sense, similar to applied linguistics in its transdisciplinary nature. Describing applied linguistics, Halliday writes:

> I say 'transdisciplinary' rather than 'inter-' or 'multidisciplinary' because the latter terms seem to me to imply that one still retains the disciplines as the locus of intellectual activity, while building bridges between them, or assembling them into a collection; whereas the real alternative is to supercede them, creating new forms of activity which are thematic rather than disciplinary in their orientation (2001: 176).

What, then, separates educational linguistics from applied linguistics? The fundamental distinction, it seems, lies in the scope of educational linguistics, which Spolsky elaborates as "the intersection of linguistics and related language sciences with formal and informal *education*" (1978: 2, emphasis added). It is here where Hornberger (2001) suggests that educational linguistics has developed a niche in relation to applied linguistics. She explains that:

> The core differences between applied linguistics and educational linguistics, and they are not negligible ones, are the focus and starting points for the discipline. In educational linguistics, the starting point is always the practice of education and the focus is squarely on (the role of) language (in) learning and teaching. It is on those important differences that the argument for educational linguistics as a separate field rests, and it is in addressing those important challenges that the field of educational linguistics has its work cut out for many years to come (Hornberger 2001: 19).

Since its inception, *WPEL* has been a forum for addressing and communicating the unique challenges of educational linguistics. The contributions to this issue continue the tradition of transdisciplinary exploration into language-related themes in or around[1] the practice of formal and informal education.

A pioneer in the field of educational linguistics, **Teresa Pica** has made and continues to make significant contributions to the field. Here, she reviews both theoretical and applied contributions to SLA research, illustrating that while many important insights into language learning and teaching have been gained, there is still much work to do.

Laura Sicola investigates previously unexplored language behavior which she calls "communicative lingerings." She argues that the adjustment difficulties adult expatriates experience upon re-entry into their home country are linguistic as well as cultural. Her findings challenge common ideas about the role and stability of a person's "dominant" or "primary" language in communicative behavior.

In the spirit of educational linguistics being a problem-oriented discipline, **Oleg Tarnopolsky and Svitlana Kozhushko** begin with a pressing problem for learners of Business English (BE) in the Ukraine – developing the communication skills uniquely necessary for interacting in Business English. They proffer a method and coursebook and present data comparing theirs with other books, indicating that theirs will be a valuable addition to BE course materials.

Closing a conversation appropriately can be a formidable challenge for language learners. **Mihyon Jeon** investigates conversational closing patterns in English Language Program advising sessions. Not only do the sociolinguistic rules for these speech acts lack saliency but it is an open question whether they can be taught. **Jeon's** research illuminates the types of closings that English language learners rely upon and her findings suggest that the patterns of this speech situation are learnable.

[1]The phraseology here is borrowed from Hornberger's (1990) definition of biliteracy.

We hope you find this collection of papers as engaging as we have. We believe the authors' research helps to illuminate the transdisciplinary nature of educational linguistics while engendering challenging questions for future research.

David Cassels Johnson
Francis M. Hult

15 May 2003
Philadelphia

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Second Language Acquisition Research and Applied Linguistics

Teresa Pica

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The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of second language acquisition (SLA) research over the past several decades, and to highlight the ways in which it has retained its original applied and linguistic interests, and enhanced them by addressing questions about acquisition processes. As the paper will illustrate, SLA research has become increasingly bi-directional and multi-faceted in its applications. These many applications to and from the study of SLA reflect the robustness and vitality of the field.

Introduction

Research on second language acquisition (SLA) has expanded enormously since its inception. Studies of SLA have increased in quantity as researchers have addressed a wider range of topics, asked new questions and worked within multiple methodologies. At the same time, the field has become increasingly bi-directional and multi-faceted in its applications. As new theories and research have emerged on language, and even more so, on learning, their application to the study of SLA has been fruitful. It has led to long needed explanations about developmental regularities and persistent difficulties, and has opened up new lines of research on the processes and sequences of second language (L2) development.

The application of newer findings from the study of SLA to educational concerns has both informed and sustained long standing debates about the role of the learner's consciousness in the SLA process and about the nature of the learner's input needs and requirements. A modest but increasing number of SLA research findings have had direct application to instructional decisions. Most other findings have served as a resource to inform teaching practice. The many applications to and from the study of SLA are therefore the focus of this paper.

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Disciplinary Contexts

SLA Research and Applied Linguistics

The study of SLA is a rich and varied enterprise, carried out by researchers, whose interests and training often lie in broader disciplines of linguistics, psychology, sociology, and education. Yet the field is most commonly associated with the domain of applied linguistics, reflecting a time when this latter field focused on practical problems and concerns in language teaching and attempted to resolve them through the application of linguistic theories. Both fields have expanded over the years. Their internal growth has enriched and elaborated their relationship.

Defining and describing research on SLA within the field of applied linguistics was once a straightforward task. Questions focused on practical concerns in language teaching and were addressed through linguistic principles and psychological theories of learning. At the time of its inception, the field of applied linguistics was guided by theories from linguistic structuralism and behaviorist psychology. Language was characterized as a system that could be classified into sounds and structures. Language acquisition was seen as habit formation, best served as students imitated and practiced these sounds and structures and were given positive reinforcement or corrective feedback as needed.

Very much an applied enterprise, this research followed an approach that came to be called "contrastive analysis" (Lado 1957). Typically, a comparison would be made between the L2 to be learned and the L1 of the learner. Drill, practice, and correction would focus on those areas of the L2 that differed from those of the L1 so that L1 "interference" could be avoided, and L2 habits could be formed. Unfortunately, this approach seldom worked, as learners did not appear to be developmentally ready to imitate many L2 structures they were given, and as linguists found it impossible to perform contrastive analyses on a feature by feature basis. Even after many years of practice, learners would wind up with little understanding of the L2 and limited ability to use it as a means of communication.

Both fields have broadened considerably over the years, as new views of language, the learner, and the learning process have inspired further research. Many of the issues that arose regarding L1 interference, drill, practice, and correction can now be viewed in light of later work in the field. Recent research findings have pointed to L1 contributions as downplayed L1 interference. They have redefined practice as learner-centered, knowledge-based activity, and revitalized the role of corrective feedback, by identifying contexts in which it can be effective, possibly even vital, to success. (See respectively, research by Eckman 1977; studies by DeKeyser 1997; deGraff 1997; and theoretical articles by Doughty 2002; Long 1996; Schmidt 1995 and later parts of this paper). This work has enriched the field of applied linguistics and shed further light on the process of SLA.

SLA Research and Language Acquisition Studies

SLA research can also be placed within the domain of language acquisition studies, together with studies on bilingualism, as it relates to the acquisition of two languages within the course of primary language development. Also found in this domain is work on foreign language acquisition. Often referred to as foreign language learning, it is distinguished by a lack of access to the L2 outside the classroom and by factors surrounding an individual learner's motivation and goals.

The largest body of work in the domain of language acquisition studies focuses on child L1 acquisition (FLA) and developmental psycholinguistics. The studies on FLA which have had a major impact on SLA research are those which were carried out as views advanced by Chomsky (1965) on language, the learner, and the learning process supplanted those framed by theories of structuralism and behaviorism. Their application to the study of SLA influenced its initial research questions and provided it with data collection instruments and analytical categories. This work focused on the extent to which SLA was like FLA in its processes and developmental sequences. A great deal of descriptive data was thereby made available to the field. These data provide basic details on the systematicity, sequences, and processes of SLA, which have inspired future research and informed teaching practice.

The study of SLA is believed to provide a particularly fruitful area for insight into the process of language learning compared to the study of children acquiring their L1. This is because the cognitive, conceptual, and affective processes that characterize L1 development are not required of their older, L2 learning counterparts (see Gass & Ard 1984). On the other hand, the L2 learner's cultural background, personality and identity are unique resources that make the process of SLA an ever-present challenge to researchers.

Fortunately, each of the fields has found a niche in the research endeavor, so there is little concern about whether the study of SLA or FLA is more central to questions on language acquisition. In the United States, this friendly co-existence seems especially confirmed by academic placement: Much of the academic study and research on FLA takes place in departments of psychology, whereas the study of SLA finds its place in departments of linguistics, applied linguistics, English as a Second Language, and education.

Traditions, Trends, Concerns and Controversies

Introduction

Studies of SLA have existed for as long as parents have been keeping diaries of their children's language development (see Leopold 1939-1959, as an example, and Hatch 1978 for an overview). However, many SLA researchers would argue that the formal study of SLA was launched in 1967, with Corder's publication, "The significance of learners' errors" (Corder 1967). Its construct of "transitional competence," together with research on "interlanguage" (Selinker 1972) and data description through "error analysis" (Richards 1974), laid the groundwork for most of the early studies in the field, and has had an impact which is felt to date.

Since that time, moreover, the field of SLA has grown at a remarkable pace, so much so that in the course of a single paper, it is difficult to cover the enormous number of topics addressed, findings revealed, and factors considered in SLA research. Fortunately, many of these concerns and contributions are detailed in a wide range of textbooks (see, for example, R. Ellis 1994; Gass & Selinker 1994; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991; Lightbown & Spada 1999). Therefore, in the interest of observing a bidirectional perspective on the applications to and from SLA research and other fields, the paper will focus on those areas in which such a perspective is clearly apparent: The "linguistic" and the "learning" dimensions of SLA. The paper begins with a review of research on the linguistic sequences of interlanguage development.

Research on Interlanguage Development

Much of SLA research has focused on describing the learner's interlanguage and identifying sequences and patterns of development. The focus has been primarily on grammatical development. Since interlanguages are systematic, they follow rules and patterns that change over the course of L2 development but do so in patterned ways.

When describing interlanguage development, researchers often cluster its patterns into interim grammars, which they refer to as developmental sequences or stages. Thus, learners are likely to omit grammatical morpheme endings in the early stages of learning but overuse them at a later stage. For example, *We play baseball yesterday. We win* might develop into *We played baseball yesterday. We winned* before past regular and irregular forms are sorted out. Learners are likely to utter *I don't understand* and *she don't understand* before they work through a negation system that includes *don't*, *doesn't*, and *didn't*. Although initial descriptions of interlanguage suggested that these errors were primarily, if not totally, developmental, there is now a great deal of support for the role of L1 transfer in error formation, as well as for the contributions made by universal strategies of communication and learning. Among the sentences above, for example, the learner's use of *play* in a context for *played* is suggestive of processes of reduction or simplification, often used to manage emergent grammar or to communicate message content in the absence of morphosyntactic resources. *Played* and *winned* might reflect the learner's regularization of an emergent grammar, again for the purpose of its management or for communicating message meaning.

A great deal of the research on interlanguage development has focused on the learning of English, but there are also large bodies of work on French and German. Most interlanguage patterns are not language specific. Often they are referred to as 'errors,' but they are not isolated mistakes. Many reflect the learner's attempts at communication and learning or at managing and processing L2 input. Others reflect grammatical complexities or input frequencies that transcend individual L2's.

The most widely studied and reported developmental sequences are the accuracy orders identified in English grammatical morphology, the developmental sequences of English verb and phrase negation, and the formation of questions and relative clauses. Much of this work has been carried out through methods and perspectives of FLA research. In addition, there is a large data base on developmental sequences for German L2. Its focus on the invariant sequence that German L2 learners follow in managing sentence constituent movement has lent considerable insight into the cognitive operations that underlie much of SLA. The sequences of L2 development, which will be described briefly in this section, provide a useful resource for teachers to apply to their attempts to understand their students' struggles, successes, and progress with respect to SLA (see discussions by Lightbown 1985, 2000; and Pica 1994a). Attempts to explain the sequences from the perspectives of linguistic and cognitive theories will follow in a later section.

Morpheme Accuracy Order. Drawing on the work of Brown on morpheme orders in children learning English as their first language, Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) asked to what extent L2 children reflected this sequence. Children from different L1 backgrounds, who were learning English in a variety of classrooms, were asked to describe pictures that provided contexts for their suppliance of grammatical morphemes such as plural -*s* endings and verb functors. As learners described their pictures they revealed an 'accuracy order,' characterized by percentage of morpheme suppliance. In follow-up studies, this order, which came to be known as an 'average' or 'natural' order (Krashen 1977), held across spoken and written samples of children, adolescents, and adults, regardless of L1, whether or not formal instruction had been part of the learning experience. The 'average' order was thus a grouping of progressive -ing, noun plural -s and copula, followed by a second grouping of article and progressive auxiliary, then past irregular, past regular, 3rd person singular and noun possessive -s.

The grouping of morphemes reflects the variability within the order. For example, accuracy for progressive -*ing* was found to be somewhat higher than that for noun plural -*s* for some learners, whereas other learners were more accurate in their suppliance of copula compared to plural -*s*. Still, on average, all three morphemes were supplied more accurately than article or progressive auxiliary.

The consistency of the morpheme accuracy order led to the view that

SLA was a matter of 'creative construction,' and therefore much like FLA. SLA was seen as an implicit learning experience, based not on rule knowledge, but rather, on an innate capacity for L2 learning. Controversies ensued over whether such consistency in the order was a function of the statistics used to correlate the data. Explanations were advanced for the kinds of errors revealed in the morpheme data. For many learners, omission of L2 copula could be attributed to the absence of this morpheme in their L1 or its lack of salience and semantic transparency in the L2. As later research would reveal, the errors could be attributed to each of these factors, and for many learners, focused input and intervention were required for their correction. This work has helped to offset the view that SLA is exclusively a creative, implicit process.

Verb and Phrasal Negatives. Widely studied across many languages, negative structures appear to follow a similar sequence of development, which involves negative particle placement as well as verb tense and number marking. Initially, a negative particle, usually *no* or *not*, is placed next to the item it negates, as in *no like* or *I no like*. This juxtaposition reflects universal strategies of communication and grammar management. Thus all learners exhibit this stage. Those whose L1 negation is consistent with the stage, for example, L1 Spanish or Italian learners, usually remain there longer than those whose L1 does not encode negation in this way (see Zobl 1980, 1982). The next stage entails the use of an all purpose, more target like negator. In the case of English, this is usually *don't*. Later, the learner restructures *don't* for tense and number, so that *didn't* and *doesn't* appear.

Question Formation. Learning to form questions involves multiple stages as well. As described in early case studies of children by Huang and Hatch (1978) and Ravem (1968), and in more recent work of Pienemann, Johnston and Brindley (1988), the stages involve the acquisition of yes/no and *wh* question types as well as inversion and fronting formation movements. Stage 1 is characterized by the use of single words and formulaic expressions, such as *a store? what's that?* Many of these seem perfectly well formed, but they actually reflect learners attempts to communicate or to manage their still developing grammar. In stage 2, the learner uses declarative word order. In Stage 3, fronting of *wh-* words and *do* begin to appear, resulting in expressions such *who you are?, do she like the movie?*. By Stage 4, inversion of *wh* in copular questions appears questions such as *who are you?*. Inversion of copula and auxiliary is seen also in yes/no questions as learners produce *are you a student?* and *was she driving the car?*. Stage 5 is characterized by the appearance of inversion in questions that require do-support to lexical verbs. Examples include *do you like movies?* and *who is driving the car?*. Stage 6 is characterized by the appearance of complex or less frequently used question forms. Among the complex forms that emerge are question tags, as in *she's French, isn't she?*, and negative and embedded questions such as *didn't you like the* *movie?*, and *do you know what the answer is?* respectively.

Relativization. The acquisition of relative clause structures relates to both the different sentence positions in which relativization can occur as well as the way in which it is encoded through the use of relative pronouns such as *who, which,* and *that* in substitution for their referent pronouns. These operations are seen as clauses such as *the woman helps me with my English* and *the woman is my neighbor* relativize into *the woman who helps me with my English is my neighbor*. Developmental sequences for relative clause formation follow a hierarchical order in which learners show greater accuracy for subject relativization. This was shown in the sentence just above. Next in the order is direct object relativization, represented in constructions such as *the car that the man bought has a sunroof,* composed from *the man bought a new car* and *the car has a sunroof*. This is followed by indirect object and object of preposition relativization, evidence of which is seen respectively in *the woman to whom I gave the money was grateful* and *the man from whom I borrowed the book has moved away*. This sequence has been shown to reflect language typology and instructional sensitivity. Both topics will be discussed shortly.

Word Order. Finally, one of the most detailed and insightful studies of developmental sequences has been carried out on constituent movement and word order in German. Meisel, Clahsen, and Pienemann (1981) studied the untutored, non-instructed acquisition of German L2 by *Gasterbeiter* or guest workers, who had migrated to Germany from Eastern and Central Europe for short term employment. They were native speakers predominantly of Romance languages and Turkish. Drawing from both longitudinal case studies and cross-sectional group data, Meisel et al. identified 5 stages: Initially, the learners used individual words, phrases, unanalyzed formulas and chunks. In Stage 2, they moved on to simple sentence strings of sentence elements, usually subject-verb-object structures. In stage 3, they began to manipulate sentence constituents, seen mainly in adverbial movement from sentence final to sentence initial position. Thus *she could read the book yesterday* became *yesterday she could read the book.*

Next the learners separated sentence elements. In keeping with standard German word order, they moved non-finite lexical verbs from sentence internal to sentence final position. In this way, *yesterday she could read the book* could become *yesterday she could the book read*. The next stage was characterized by inversion, a more complex internal movement. Learners transformed structures such as *yesterday she could the book read* into *yesterday could she the book read*? This operation complied with German rules for verb initial placement in questions and adverbial phrases. In their final stage, the focus was on subordinate clauses, for which learners moved the finite verb to final position. Thus *yesterday she could the book read* would become *although yesterday she the book could read.* Notably absent from the sequences are grammatical morphemes, as these appeared to vary according to a learner's age, contact with native speakers of the L2, and opportunities for L2 use. This invariant sequence of stages, together with the variability of accuracy and appearance of other features, has been referred to as the Multidimensional Model.

R. Ellis (1989) studied instructed learners of German L2, and found the same sequence of development. Pienemann and Johnston (1986) applied the sequence to English, and cited the following stages. In stage 1, learners use single words and formulas. In stage 2, they use canonical word order. Stage 3 is characterized by fronting of 'do' for questions and appearance of negative particles in verb constructions. In stage 4, inversion appears in yes/no questions. In stage 5, 3rd person singular and do-support appear, motivated by the need for noun-verb agreement. Pienemann and Johnston have claimed that this is a sentence internal movement as it reflects the learner's management of both subject and verb structures. Complex structures such as question tags are seen in stage 6.

The Multidimensional Model has also been the focus of Pienemann's Teachability Hypothesis (Pienemann 1989). He was able to show that learners could accelerate their rate of L2 learning if presented with rules for constituent movement that corresponded with their next stage of development. If taught the rules of stages beyond their current level, the learners would not be able to internalize what they were taught. This finding has tremendous implications and applications to teaching decisions. Yet, as Cook (2001) has noted, even the most widely used, up to date textbooks fail to follow the sequences that Pienemann has identified.

In more recent research, the Multidimensional Model has come to be known as the Processibility Model. This model is so named because it provides an explanation for stage progression and teachability predictions based on cognitive processing constraints. These are related to the complexity of production required for each movement across the stages. In developing the Processibility Model, Pienemann has drawn from Slobin's work on "operating principles" (Slobin 1973, 1985), and from research on child FLA and bilingualism by Clahsen (1984). Recently, Pienemann has linked these processing strategies with lexical-functional grammar in a study of Swedish L2 developmental sequences (Pienmenann & Haakenson 1999). Pienemann's newer perspective on SLA is much more cognitive in its undergirding than his Multidimensional Model. Other cognitively oriented research on SLA will be addressed later in this paper.

Research on Second Language Acquisition Processes

This introductory section will review current theories in linguistics and psychology that have been applied to questions on the SLA process. Later sections will highlight their application to data on the sequences of interlanguage development, discuss some of the new questions and studies that the theories have motivated, and attempt to sort out the controversies that have been created by their presence in the field.

As an applied enterprise, SLA research has looked to linguistics and psychology to guide its questions, shape its hypotheses, and explain its findings. As often noted and lamented, SLA has not been grounded in its own comprehensive theory that can account for its sequences and processes, predict its outcomes, or single out its most influential factors (see Long 1990 for a compelling discussion of this issue). As was discussed in the introduction to this paper, early research on SLA was guided by theories from structural linguistics and behaviorist psychology. As generative theories of language and psycholinguistic theories of learning came to the forefront of linguistics and psychology, their research methods made it possible for SLA researchers to collect a great deal of the interlanguage data described in the previous section.

More recently, newer theoretical perspectives on language and learning have been applied to the study of SLA. From linguistics, theories on universal properties and principles of language have shed light on the regularities and constraints that characterize interlanguage grammars and have led to more principled research on the role of the L1 in the learning process. The nativist perspective on language acquisition that undergirds much of this research has served to invigorate the long-standing debate in the field as to the role of explicit rule learning in the SLA process and the need for explicit rule teaching in the classroom.

From psychology, cognitive theories have had a highly productive impact on SLA research and its applications. Cognitively-informed studies have revealed the ways in which learners process L2 input and use it to build and restructure their interlanguage grammar. New findings on cognitive processes of attention, awareness and practice have been used to explain the results of older studies. In addition, the interactions shown to promote these processes have revealed connections and applications to classroom practice.

Language Universals. The notion of a "universal" is not new to the field of linguistics, but has provided both explanations of SLA sequences and predictions of SLA outcomes. Language universals reflect consistencies in the typological or surface features of a broad range of world languages. These universal properties vary according to features such as their frequency and level of simplicity. Together, these comprise what linguists refer to as "markedness." For example voiceless alveolar stops such as /t/ are considered "unmarked" as they are found among most languages. Language universals also enter into implicational relationships. Thus, the presence of voiced alveolar stops such as /d/ in a language implies the presence of voiceless alveolar stops, e.g. /t/. The voicing on /d/ makes it more complex and marked than /t/. Since more languages have unmarked than marked features, the presence of a marked feature implies the presence of its unmarked counterpart.

The typological universal which has had the strongest role in explaining SLA sequences of development is the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH), in which relative clause formation follows an order that is consistent with principles of markedness. Thus, across languages of the world, subject noun phrases are more accessible to relativization than are direct object noun phrases, which are more accessible than indirect object, object of preposition, and comparative noun phrases. These are implicationally ordered, so that if a language allows relativization of indirect objects, it also allows relativization of direct objects.

English allows relativization of all noun phrases on the NPAH. Other languages, such as Chinese, allow relativization of fewer phrases but still observe the ordering implications. This relationship across languages of the world also holds within interlanguages of learners and can account for the order of acquisition of relative clause formation described in the previous section. As was shown, English L2 learners acquire the ability to form subject relatives before direct and indirect object relatives.

In addition to the explanatory role that the study of language universals has played in SLA research, it also has revealed predictive power. Several studies have shown that targeted instruction in relative clause formation at lower levels on the hierarchy, such as object of preposition, can generalize to acquisition at higher levels such as direct object (See Doughty 1991; Eckman, Bell, & Nelson 1988; Gass 1982) This finding has not found its way into language curricula, despite its clear application to teaching practice.

The impact of the study of language universals on SLA research has also been seen in work on question formation. Research by Eckman, Moravcsik, and Wirth (1989), for example, revealed an implicational relationship between question type and question process that was consistent both typologically and developmentally. Across languages, therefore, the presence of yes/no inversion implied the process of *wh* inversion, and this latter implied *wh*-fronting. Accordingly, this relationship could be seen developmentally as inverted yes/no questions, such as *are you a teacher?*, would emerge after inverted *wh* questions, as in *who are you?*, themselves preceded as fronting was applied to questions such as *who you are?* In this way the implicational order revealed in typological studies was reflected in the developmental data on question formation, at stages 3, 4 and 5.

The explanations and predictions offered through the perspective of language universals and the notion of markedness have given SLA researchers a fresh look at the role of transfer in SLA. As Eckman (1977) and Hyltenstam (1984) have shown, an L2 feature will be difficult if it is more marked linguistically in an absolute sense and even more so if it is more marked than its L1 counterpart. Thus, indirect object relativization or voiced stops would be more difficult to learn than subject relatives or voiceless stops, but would be even more difficult for those learners whose L1 was more limited in its scope of relativization or had only voiceless consonants. On the other hand, if the L2 feature were marked in the learner's L1, or even absent from it, its acquisition would not pose as much of a problem as long as the feature were unmarked in the L2. Thus, English learners of Chinese are able to suppress their L1 relative clause formation for objects of prepositions. English learners of German are able to suppress L1 voicing of final consonants in favor of unmarked, voiceless ones in German L2.

Principles of the construct of markedness, applied to interlanguage data development, can also explain why certain linguistic features are more difficult to notice than others, are less available in conversational input, and might qualify for focused instruction. These possibilities will be further explored in the discussion of cognitive processes.

Linguistic Universals. Linguistic Universals reflect constraints on the form of human languages. The linguistic universals that have had the most impact on SLA research are the innate principles of Universal Grammar (UG) that are viewed as a genetic endowment or property of the mind, and a binary system of options, known as parameters, each with marked and unmarked settings that configure into a "core" grammar. The construct of markedness, which was central to work on universals of language typology, also plays a role in the study of linguistic universals.

Everyone who has fully acquired an L1, has constructed a core grammar, and has set the parameters of the core grammar in accordance with the L1. For example, individuals whose L1 is a "pro-drop" language must set this parameter into its simpler, unmarked setting. Thus, they might say *I have three cats...are nice* because they have set the pro-drop parameter so that pronoun referents are not needed in subject position. Those individuals whose L1 is a non-pro-drop language need to set their parameter in a marked setting, so that a subject pronoun is always needed, as in *I have three cats...they are nice*. The marked parameter setting might be observed even in sentences where the subject pronoun held no meaning, as in *it is snowing* or *there are 24 hours in a day*. It is claimed that children begin learning their L1 as though the pro-drop and other parameters were in unmarked settings. Once confronted with marked input, they switch the parameters to marked settings.

There are three theoretical views on linguistic universals that have been addressed in studies of SLA. Many of these studies have focused on the principle of "subjacency," which has to do with *wh-* movement within sentences. Some languages allow more movement than others, and some do not observe the principle at all. Thus, studies of L2 learners whose L1 follows subjacency rules that are different from the L2 provide a good basis for determining the role of UG in SLA. The strongest view is that SLA is like FLA, and learners have access to the principles and unmarked parameters of UG in much the same way that they did during FLA. They therefore begin interlanguage development through unmarked parameter settings, not through their parameterized core grammar. There is evidence in support of this view in research by Bley-Vroman, Felix, and Ioup (1988), who found that Korean L1 learners of English were able to recognize English sentences which followed the principle of subjacency for *wh* movement, even though this principle is not observed in Korean. This finding illustrated that L2 learners are sensitive to universal principles, even when those principles have not been realized in their L1.

Another view is that L2 learners fall back on the parameterized core grammar of their L1, but are able to reset it for the L2, even when confronted with marked data that conflicts with their L1. Support for this position comes from White (1985). She found that Spanish L1 learners of English L2 relied initially on their L1 setting for pro-drop when making grammaticality judgments of English sentences, whereas French L1 learners of English did not appear to do so. In Spanish, the pro-drop parameter has an unmarked setting, but in English and French, the setting is marked. Over time, however, the Spanish learners' grammaticality judgments were as accurate as those of the French learners. This result suggested that they were able to reset their L1 parameter for the marked English L2 setting.

Yet another view is that L2 learners are not able to draw on UG principles to reset the parameters of their core grammar, but instead rely on cognitive principles of learning and apply them to their L2 development. SLA is thus experienced as a conscious, problem solving activity. Such a view accounts for the errors produced by L2 learners as they attempt to manage and control interlanguage grammar.

One of the most compelling reasons for application of linguistic universals to questions about SLA is that the principles and parameters represent constituents and operations that transcend individual languages. This offers excellent opportunities to further explore the role of transfer in L2 learning, to see how it affects aspects of grammar that are considered to be outside the UG core. Findings from such research can shed further light on current assumptions as to which principles and parameters are actually universal and which are subject to L1 constraints. Even more important is the fact that perspectives on linguistic universals provide SLA with both a theory of language and a theory of language learning.

However compelling they appear, however, theoretical views on linguistic universals pose several difficulties with respect to their application to SLA research. One difficulty is methodological. Most of the research involved with linguistic universals has asked learners to judge the grammaticality of sentences that reflect the linguistic principle or parameter under study. Usually they are asked to read or listen to sentences and give a *yes* or *no* judgment. Such an approach is in keeping with assumptions used throughout theoretical linguistics on the validity of native speaker intuition as a reflection of language competence. However, results of studies which use grammaticality judgment data are difficult to compare with those based on descriptive, interlanguage samples.

A second difficulty with linguistic universals lies in their perceived relevance to the study of SLA. Most consumers of SLA research are used to discussing it with reference to transcribed samples of interlanguage speech or frequency tables of interlanguage features. When they read about research findings on interlanguage, they expect reference to functional and inflectional features such as articles or tense markers. Yet, these are the very features considered peripheral to the core grammar. Further, when core grammar parameters are addressed, this is done through terms such as "subjacency" rather than through familiar terminology on *wh*-questions. This further limits comparison with data from other research.

A further difficulty with the application of perspectives on linguistic universals to SLA research relates to explanation of findings. Learner forms attributed to unmarked parameter settings can often be explained with reference to universal processes of simplification that have long held a place in interlanguage analysis. Thus, the question remains as to whether the learners who say *is raining* are doing so because they are observing the unmarked setting of the pro-drop parameter, have chosen to omit the semantically empty it as an agent in their message, or have not yet perceived it in the L2 input around them.

Many questions remain regarding linguistic universals as a driving force behind SLA questions, and as an explanation of SLA data. Some of these pertain to competing findings within this perspective on SLA; others are related to terminological inconsistencies with studies across the field. Over time, and with persistence, these matters can open up opportunities for further study and new lines of research, which will lead to greater understanding of the SLA process.

Cognitive Theories. Cognitive theories are concerned with mental processes used for skill building and skill learning. Thus, when SLA research is carried out within a cognitive perspective, the L2 is viewed as a skill, and its acquisition as a linguistic system is assumed to be built up gradually through processes of attention, conscious awareness and practice.

To some researchers, a view of SLA that includes cognitive processes such as attention, awareness and practice is inconsistent with theoretical assumptions of interlanguage research and with universal perspectives on language acquisition. This is because most researchers have viewed SLA as an implicit experience, guided by the learner's interaction with L2 input. To them, the cognitive process of attention is important, but mainly because it promotes understanding of meaning not because it facilitates skill learning. They associate cognitive constructs such as conscious awareness and practice with behaviorist theories of learning, dismissed from the field several decades ago.

Yet most SLA researchers who apply cognitive theories to inform their questions and methods, do so under the assumption that SLA is indeed a largely implicit process. For them, cognitive theories are not alternate views on SLA. Instead, they are applied to research in order to better understand, and to possibly explain, why it is that, for many learners, an implicit experience of transacting L2 message meaning is not sufficient for achieving L2 grammatical competence.

Many L2 learners, for example, struggle with linguistic features that are difficult to notice in the messages they hear. These are often outside the scope of UG principles and parameters, and therefore can be affected by any number of internal and external factors, or never acquired at all. Other learners report that they can understand the meaning of a message without the need to focus on the many forms that encode it. Even young learners have been shown to have strong L2 comprehension, but lack grammatical proficiency. Some learners have internalized versions of the L2 that are functionally adequate for communicative purposes, but developmentally incomplete in form and structure. The consequences of this are non-standard, stable, immutable, "fossilized" interlanguage varieties. These varieties were introduced to the field by Selinker in 1972 and have continued to challenge researchers, teachers, and of course, fossilized L2 learners, to date.

Many of these concerns about SLA have been expressed as research questions about the quality and accessibility of L2 input that can best serve learners as data for their learning. Therefore the remaining discussion of cognitive processes will focus primarily on research about their role in assisting learners to notice L2 input and apply it to their learning.

Cognitive Processes, Input and Interaction. That samples of L2 are needed by learners as a source of input for their learning has long been a basic assumption of SLA research. Corder (1967) distinguished between the input that is available to L2 learners and that which individual learners can actually use as intake for building interlanguage grammar, given their stage of development. Decades ago, Krashen argued that 'comprehensible input' was necessary and sufficient for successful SLA (see, for example, Krashen 1977). He described such input as understandable in its meaning, but slightly beyond the learner's current level of development with respect to its linguistic form. Both "intake" and "comprehensible input" were conceptually intriguing, but they did not lend themselves to testable hypotheses about SLA processes.

Long (1981, 1985) also argued that comprehensible input was crucial to SLA, but his research revealed that it was the learners' interaction with interlocutors that mattered as much as the input directed to them. Thus, when input was no longer comprehensible during interaction between L2 learners and interlocutors, they would modify the flow of the interaction and repeat, rephrase, or request help with the input until comprehension was achieved. It was claimed that the modified input directed toward the learners could assist their comprehension as well as their L2 learning.

Follow-up studies of such interaction, which Long referred to as the "negotiation of meaning," were carried out by Long and others (for example, Gass & Varonis 1994; Mackey 1999; Pica, Holliday, Lewis & Morgenthaler 1989; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci & Newman 1991). Their analyses revealed that, as learners and interlocutors attempted to achieve comprehensibility, they repeated and rephrased initial messages and extracted and highlighted words and phrases in patterned ways that often had developmental consequences. Pica et al. (1989, 1991) showed that the extent to which learners worked at these manipulations was directly related to the open endedness of the questions they were asked. Gass and Varonis (1994) showed that interlanguage items negotiated in an initial conversation would be accurately encoded in the learner's later production. Mackey (1999) revealed that learners' active participation in negotiation was closely connected to their development of L2 English question forms.

An analysis by Pica (1994b) showed that these extractions often revealed L2 grammatical relationships as they encoded message meaning. For example, in response to the learner's initial utterance which encoded a noun phrase in subject position, a listener might extract the noun phrase, topicalize and repeat it in object position. Thus, the listener might ask about the initial utterance, *the students watch the movie*, by recoding it as *the students? what did you say about the students?* Such modifications appeared to give learners repeated access to L2 form as it encoded message meaning. This was the very kind of L2 input that could be used as intake for grammar building, restructuring, and internalization.

Since SLA was considered to be a subconscious, implicit process in terms of the learner's mental involvement, there did not seem to be a push to explore the cognitive side of the input-intake-internalization progression. SLA models based on information processing theory and cognitive processes (see, for example, McLaughlin 1978) were rejected by Krashen for their emphasis on the role of consciousness, which Krashen considered unnecessary for SLA and possibly detrimental to the learner's progress.

Cognitive Processes and Evidence. Increasingly, researchers have come to observe that L2 learning is a much more conscious experience than was heretofore believed. Drawing on his own experience as a Portuguese L2 learner in and out of classrooms in Brazil, Schmidt and Frota (1986) found that cognitive processes such as attention and noticing were crucial to his L2 learning. The frequency with which he heard complex features of Portuguese, and the salience of their form or position in input were two factors that helped Schmidt to notice them. Schmidt also found that in order to incorporate many features of Portuguese into his developing L2 grammar, he needed to "notice the gap" between such features as they were used by other speakers, and his own interlanguage encodings. Here, too, his noticing was aided by the frequency and saliency of a feature, the communicative and cognitive demands of the situation in which he found himself, and his readiness to "notice the gap."

Schmidt's observations, along with findings on communicative, content-based classroom contexts, considered rich in L2 input (Pica 2002; Swain 1985), have revealed that comprehensible input, however modified, might not be efficient, or even sufficient, for SLA. Thus, new questions have emerged about the kinds of input learners need to achieve a successful L2 outcome. Long addressed these questions in several publications, including Long (1996) and Long, Inagaki, and Ortega (1998). Drawing from not only Schmidt's arguments and findings, but also from FLA theory and research, and from studies of L2 form-focused instruction (such as those of Spada & Lightbown 1993; White 1991; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1991) and experimental intervention (Oliver 1995), Long distinguished between input that provides positive evidence of relationships of L2 form, function and meaning, and input that supplies negative evidence on forms and structures that are used by learners, but are not consistent with the L2 they are learning.

According to Long, sources of positive evidence include spoken and written texts that are in their authentic state, as well as those that have been modified for comprehensibility in ways described above. Learners can access negative evidence through explicit corrective feedback, or implicit feedback. Included among this latter are requests such as *could you say that again?* and expressions such as *huh?* which ask learners to clarify or repeat utterances that can't be understood. Also included are "recasts," which essentially repeat what a learner has just said in a more accurate way. For example *I need pencil* might be recoded as *you need a pencil*. The most effective recasts appear to be those which focus on only one grammatical feature over the course of a conversation or lesson (Doughty & Varela 1998). When teachers recast of a range of student misproductions, the students fail to distinguish them from other follow up moves that teachers use to conduct their lessons (Lyster 1998).

Among the cognitively-oriented interventions that appear to heighten the learner's access to L2 input for both positive and negative evidence are instruction on how best to process input for form and meaning (Van Patten & Oikkenon 1996; Van Patten & Sanz 1995), the learner's interaction with meaningful materials, enhanced both graphically and linguistically to highlight form and meaning relationships (Doughty 1991), problem solving, information exchange and other goal oriented, task based activities (Pica, Billmyer, Julian, Blake-Ward, Buccheit, Nicolary, & Sullivan 2001; Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun 1993), and activities that foster learners' communication about grammar. (Fotos 1994; Fotos & Ellis 1991;

Loschsky & Bley-Vroman 1993; Pica, Billmyer, Julian, Blake-Ward, Buccheit, Nicolary, & Sullivan 2001).

In addition to the positive and negative evidence that comes from modified input, feedback, and formal instruction, Swain has argued that learners' own production can provide a basis for learning L2 relationships of form and meaning (Swain 1985, 1995, 1998). Based on extensive observational data of learner exchanges, she has identified several ways in which this can occur. First, she found that when asked to modify their message production toward greater comprehensibility or precision, learners moved from their rudimentary interlanguage grammar, in which relationships among sentence elements were often characterized by simple juxtaposition of relevant words, to more advanced, syntactic processing and message organization. Thus learners might modify *Philadelphia live* to *I live in Philadelphia*, when asked to clarify their message meaning.

In addition, learners' conversations would often engage them in discussion of the linguistic dimensions of their interaction, a process Swain refers to as "metatalk." Finally, Swain claims that learners' production can also help them to "notice the gap" between their output and input. Swain has placed her work within a collaborative, sociocultural perspective, while other output-focused researchers have found results consistent with hers, and have been able to explain them in terms of cognitive processes (see, for example, deBot 1996). Thus there is strong support for the role of production in SLA, across social and cognitive perspectives.

Cognitive Perspectives on L2 Knowledge. Theoretical claims that L2 learning is a much more conscious process than was heretofore believed, and an experience that can benefit from both input and feedback, have reactivated the long standing debate in the field regarding L2 learning and its relation to L2 knowledge. This debate, once known almost exclusively, as Krashen's "acquisition" vs. "learning" distinction (see again, Krashen 1977, 1981 as well as Krashen's recent writings, for example, Krashen 1994), centers on three positions regarding the interface of implicit and explicit L2 learning and resultant L2 knowledge.

The first position is a non-interface position, that is, that SLA is an altogether implicit activity. While explicit L2 learning and explicit L2 knowledge are possible, they remain separate from the L2 competence that learners come to acquire. This position is consistent with nativist perspectives drawn from theories on linguistic universals (for example Schwartz 1986) and with Krashen's Monitor Theory (Krashen 1977, 1981), which have been used to account for the regularities of L2 development. However it does not account for the incomplete acquisition experienced by fossilized learners.

A very different position is the strong interface position, supported through studies by DeKeyser (1997), N. Ellis (1993, 1994), and Robinson (1997). This position, motivated by information processing theory (see McLaughlin 1978, 1996; O'Malley, Chamot, & Walker 1987), holds that explicit L2 knowledge, attained through explicit learning, can become implicit L2 knowledge. This is generally achieved through practice in which learners deliberately focus their attention on L2 form as it encodes message meaning and work toward understanding and internalization. Many studies have shown support for this view. Carefully controlled in design, they tend to focus on very specific features and highly experimental conditions. Additional support has come from the meta-analysis and comparison or experimental and quasi-experimental studies on the effect of L2 instruction (Norris & Ortega 2001) on L2 learning. Together, individual studies and the meta-analysis of different kinds of studies indicate that the strong interface position is indeed a valid one, but might apply to context-specific dimensions of SLA.

Finally, there is a position known as the "weak" interface position, although it is much more robust than the other two positions in its number of supporters and supportive studies. Here, SLA is viewed as a predominantly implicit activity. However, it is believed that L2 knowledge can be built up through both explicit instruction and other interventions that enable learners to notice crucial relationships of L2 form and meaning that are difficult, if not impossible, for them to learn without such intervention. This is a view held by not only those who carry out research strictly within the cognitive perspective but also among researchers associated with strategies of consciousness raising (Rutherford & Sharwood Smith 1985) and those who work within a perspective that has come to be known as "focus on form." This work was initiated by Long (1991) and has been sustained by studies gathered in a volume edited by Doughty and Williams (1998) (see, for example, chapters by Harley; Lightbown; Long & Robinson; Swain; Doughty & Varela; Williams & Evans).

The evidence in support of this "weak" position illustrates ways in which all three positions are correct, as each is conditioned by factors that are learner-related, stage-specific, or language-related. Many of these factors need further exploration. Others have yet to be identified. Taken together with other issues across the field they augur well for a solid future for SLA research. The paper will close with a brief look toward that future.

Conclusions and Future Directions

This paper has aimed to highlight the ways in which SLA research, across the past three decades, has retained its original applied and linguistic interests, and enhanced them through greater attention to questions on acquisition processes. New research, carried out from the perspectives of linguistic and language universals and cognitive activities, has shed much light on the complexities of L2 development and the input and interactional needs of L2 learners. Application of findings from this research has rekindled old debates on the role of consciousness in L2 learning, and uncovered new and necessary ways to study corrective feedback and L2 practice, beyond a behaviorist point of view.

Many questions remain unanswered. Others are in need of more complete answers. The three positions on the role of UG remain unresolved. Is each correct, according to linguistic feature studied? Is one more relevant to UG, the others, more reflective of peripheral grammars? Continued research along these lines can contribute to a theory of L2 learning and inform theoretical linguistics as well. The study of the learner's L1 in relation to markedness and language universals has shown much promise. The classroom relevance of this research is already apparent, and that in itself should motivate additional studies.

Researchers need to continue to identify form-meaning relationships that defy the learner's grasp, and yet are outside of UG, and therefore not learnable from unmodified input or positive evidence alone. The construct of markedness can play a role in their identification. Those forms whose encodings of meaning are not salient, are infrequent or highly complex, or are embedded in specialized registers such as academic or professional discourse, are likely to require focused practice and repeated positive evidence, or various kinds of negative evidence to stimulate their learning. Future studies will need not only to identify the forms whose meaningful encodings are difficult to acquire, but also to design activities that help learners to notice them through focused input and negative evidence.

Researchers must also develop ways to operationalize and study processes of restructuring and internalization that occur after learners have noticed input and processed it as intake. The interventions designed to stimulate these processes will not only provide data on the input - intake - restructuring- internalization progression, but will serve as a basis for materials and activities that can be applied to classroom needs.

As new findings emerge on the role of consciousness and attention in the learning process, their relevance to the classroom is evident. However, there is an urgent need to operationally define these processes, lest they be mis-applied to classroom practice in behaviorist rather than cognitive terms.

A consistent theme throughout SLA research has been the need for longitudinal data. The handful of longitudinal studies that have been carried out have made an impressive impact on the field, the most recent being that of Schmidt and Frota (1986). The kind of longitudinal research needed at present must take the form of follow-up studies that check retention of features learned through instructional intervention and practice. Although it is clear that feedback and focused input can make a difference in the short term, their trusted application to classroom practice will require confidence in their long term impact.

The relevance of classroom practice in informing SLA research and in being informed by its results will find SLA researchers and SLA practitioners working together to design studies and interpret their findings.

This has already become apparent among classroom studies. Lingering linguistic questions, as described above, suggest a need for teamwork with linguists as well. Opportunities for such research teams to collaborate by sharing and exchanging roles and responsibilities and to work together in complementary roles will bring greater efficiency as well as theoretical and pedagogical relevance to SLA research.

The field has increased in size and scope, yet it is still sufficiently focused on questions of learning and teaching for many voices and perspectives to be acknowledged. The fact that corrective feedback and focused practice are now viewed as cognitive processes, and are at the forefront of research interest, suggests that the field is still open for a fresh look at processes once discarded or nearly forgotten, as long as the evidence to support them is abundant and convincing. That is how learner errors came to be seen as learning processes rather than bad habits, and how communication and comprehension came to be acknowledged as insufficient for L2 competence. Lingering questions and concerns at present will continue to lead the way to future studies. New and currently unforseen directions will be taken. The richness and complexity of SLA as a learning process and a field of study suggest that there are many perspectives to apply and many more applications to be found.

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"Communicative Lingerings": An Exploratory Study of the Emergence of 'Foreign' Communicative Features in the Interactions of American Expatriates after Reentry

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This study attempts to identify ways that experiences living abroad have affected Americans' communicative behavior upon repatriation. These residual effects of learning the language and culture of the host country are called "Communicative Lingerings." Three general categories of lingerings are found: Linguistic/paralinguistic lingerings, interactional lingerings and perceptual lingerings. Reasons for these occurrences, and their possible connection to levels of acculturation, are also explored.

Introduction

Example A

Ken: "You've improved; you're dancing really well tonight."
Laura: "Well, I don't know, but if that were the case I'd be happy."

When I heard this reply come out of my own mouth in a dance class last December, my first thought was, "Where did that come from? What an awkward thing to say!" A split second later I realized it was a direct translation from a Japanese phrase I had learned: *Ja, shiranai kedo, soo dattara ureshii to omoimasu.* Many perfectly acceptable English responses existed (e.g. "Thanks," or "I wish!") but I had learned that the Japanese "don't say it that way," and had thus learned "the right way" to reject or denigrate compliments (Chen 1993). After two years in Japan, I seemed to have accepted this different approach, and the change lingered even though I was back in my home country among native English-speaking peers. I'd been back in the US for four months, yet this kind of utterance and other unintentional, Japanese-tinted responses and behaviors kept surfacing, surprising me each time. Was I

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the only person with such odd experiences or was it a common occurrence among people who had lived abroad for extended periods of time? Were there other ways in which communicative features learned abroad subconsciously manifested themselves in the behavior of these people even after returning home? If so, why? And most importantly, what does this imply about language learning and cross-cultural interaction?

The topic of reverse culture shock has become a very common, casual one. This label itself implies that re-entrants do indeed have difficulties of one sort or another when trying to readjust to life back home. Considering my own experiences (returning home in the summer of 2001 after two years as a high school teacher in Japan, as well as after a year as an exchange student at a Japanese university in 1993) I had made several observations. Predominantly the dichotomy between what I had been "raised" to do versus what I was "taught" to do later in life seemed to be an outstanding factor.

Many studies strive to account for cross-cultural miscommunication and L2 adjustment difficulties as a result of different cultural ways of responding to various situations, such as how to respond to compliments, politely disagree with someone's idea, or use body language to nonverbally convey a message (e.g. Billmyer 1990). We are raised to behave in certain ways. I propose that we do not recognize, consider, or question most of our "natural" behavioral patterns; we continue them "because that's the way I've always done it." We are not able to explicitly define each and every act. In contrast, when going to a foreign country or learning to work with a different language and/or culture, many of these habits are suddenly considered inappropriate. At that point, someone (often within the target culture) explicitly identifies a situation where a particular behavior is (or is not) called for, raising our sociopragmatic awareness (Thomas 1983). Subsequently they deliberately teach us "the correct way" to respond, verbally or non-verbally, raising our pragmalinguistic awareness (Thomas 1983). This new understanding is then mentally and emotionally processed, and practiced until it becomes "second nature."

As I reflected on the problem, I concluded that it appears to arise upon return to the home culture or language for two reasons. First, the newly learned behavior has become automatic, and possibly even "replaced" the original method as comfortable reflex. Second and more complicated is that although we may be aware of what we learned abroad, the original "home" behavior was never explicitly recognized prior to the change, so we are unable to define the exact parameters of what was "left behind," and thus are unable to remember how to return there.

Re-entrants, adult professionals who have lived and worked abroad for extended periods of time before returning to live and work in the US, are an almost unrecognized cultural minority with their own set of doubts and questions about self- and group- identity. They leave home as

"Americans" and return home again months or years later expecting to be "Americans," but somehow they don't seem to fully "know how," reflecting the aforementioned confusion. There is suddenly sporadic confusion about how to recognize and interpret sociopragmatic conditions. Within these contexts, pragmalinguistic knowledge may also occasionally be uncertain, as interlocutors search for the appropriate linguistic form that would function in such a way as to accomplish a certain communicative goal. de Bot refers to a lexical version of this frustration as "the 'tip-of-the-tongue' phenomenon, where speakers cannot find the right word form although they know that they know it" (1996: 542).

Not only is it important to recognize the readjustment needs of these people in their own right, but as educators of language and cultural awareness, perhaps understanding these needs and why they occur will lend insight into how to better teach these aspects of sociolinguistic competence to English language learners in our classrooms. There appears to be a large gap in the literature on the learned communicative habits acquired abroad by reentrants, as well as lingerings between multiple second languages within one adult learner. My intent in this research was to find out if other people felt the same sense of confusion upon reentry as I did, and if other possible explanations became evident.

Background

There is myriad research on issues related to second language acquisition and cross-cultural communication, ranging from code switching and both L1 and L2 transfer or interference, to the concepts of "face" (e.g. Brown & Levinson 1987) and culture shock. There appear to be five generally related themes in the research, yet none of them has the combination of features to address the unique linguistic situation of these re-entrants.

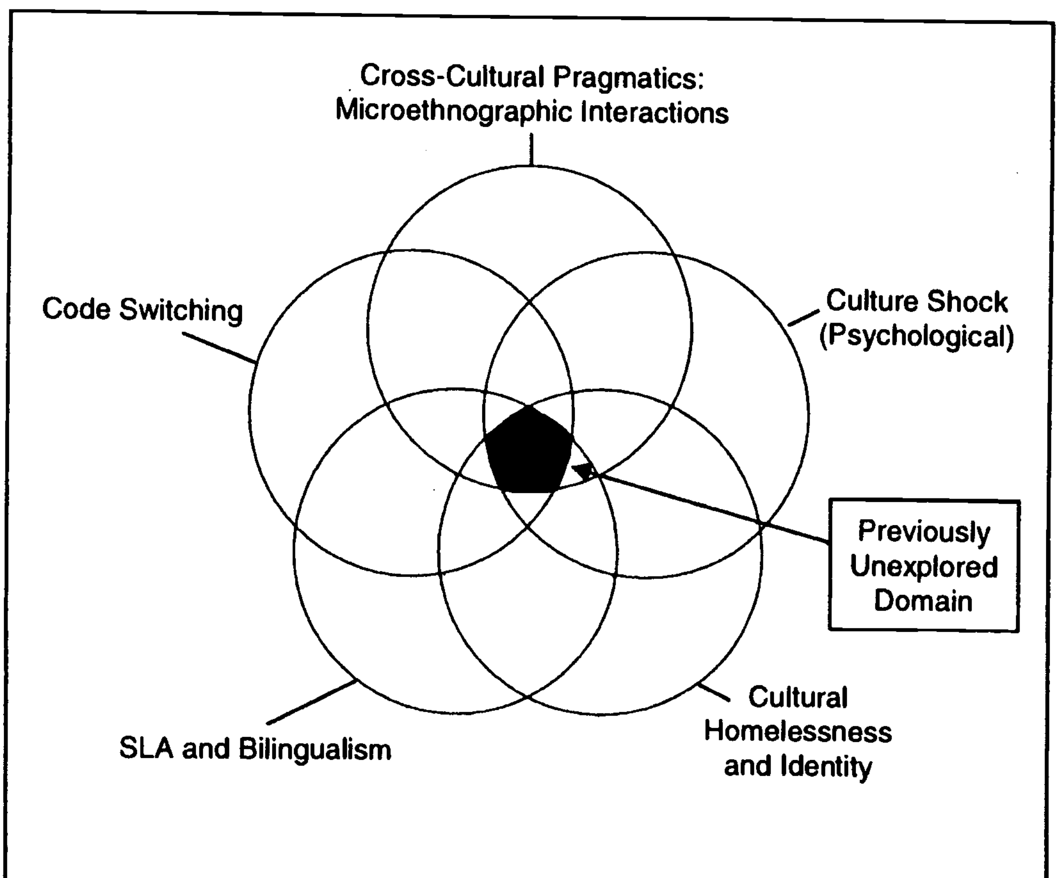
First, regarding cultural issues, there are many psychological studies that focus on the culture shock of returning from abroad, also known as reverse culture shock or reentry adjustment, but their primary focal groups tend to be exchange students returning to their home campuses (e.g. Gaw 1995; Hogan 1996), corporate executives returning to the home office (e.g. Adler 1981; Martin & Anthony 2002), missionary families (e.g. Pollock 2002), or military people returning to a domestic base, and their respective conditions. The focus is primarily on general cultural readjustment, rather than on specific linguistic behavior.

The second group of studies is on the notion of "cultural homelessness" or "third culture kids (TCKs)" These tend to look at children (such as those with parents in military service) who frequently relocate, often internationally (e.g. Pollock 2002), or multi-ethnic people who are unable to identify fully with any one group of people and thus always feel like outsiders (e.g. Navarete-Vivero & Jenkins 1999).

Linguistically, the third area of interest is code switching. However, these researchers mainly approach the subject from perspectives of grammar, language choice and identity of bilinguals (e.g. Matsuda 2000; Nishimura 1997), or types of code switching (inter/intra-sentential, mutually intelligible/unintelligible, etc.) thereof (e.g. Martin-Jones 1995; Pfaff 1979; Yoon 1992).

The fourth group of studies are related to second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingualism, with linguistic foci on language attrition and rejuvenation (de Bot & Stoessel 2000) and interference (e.g. Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz 1990; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994), both L1 and L2. These studies predominantly looked at immigrant populations or bilingual programs in schools. Similarly, there is a large body of research on implications of L1 and L2 attrition or underdevelopment that focuses not so much on SLA practices, but on language policy, practice opportunities, and motivation (e.g. Hornberger 1988; 1991; Freeman 2000).

Figure 1
Relationship Between Re-Entrants' Language Experience and Major Fields of Research



Finally, there are many studies that focus on the cross-cultural pragmatics of microethnographic interactions, analyzing miscommunications and expectations in specific speech acts and events such as apologies, requests, and compliments (e.g. Chick 1996; Billmyer 1990).

At best, each focal area has tangential relation to this situation in question and some connection to the other areas, but there appears to be a significant gap in the literature regarding the microcosm of language and culture among re-entrants, tying all of these areas together (see Figure 1). I hope that this paper will convince researchers of the legitimacy of the need to fill this gap.

Methods

In order to narrow the scope of this study, the following research questions were posed:

1. Upon repatriation, do re-entrants catch themselves unintentionally displaying "foreign" communicative behaviors, either verbal or non-verbal? If so, what are they? What are the re-entrants' beliefs about why this seems to happen?
2. Similarly, do these re-entrants ever perceive other people's displays of "home culture" communication style to be strange? What are the re-entrants' beliefs about why this seems to happen?
3. Most importantly, are there any emergent patterns visible in their reported experiences?

My participants were seven (counting myself) adult re-entrants who had lived overseas for a year or longer, but had only returned to live and work "at home" again within the past 12 months. Five were English teachers and three worked in other areas of social service and development (one had two jobs). Six were European Americans, and one was Arab American. The earliest re-entry date was in May, 2001, and the latest was in December, 2001. Language proficiency ranged from being fluent in two or three language varieties and conversant in others, to minimally functional in the host-country's language but only truly comfortable in standard American English. Although all were initially excited about the impending overseas assignments prior to going, and in retrospect considered the experience to be invaluable, the degree to which participants truly enjoyed the experience or looked forward to returning home varied considerably. (See Appendix A for brief profiles of participants.) All interviews were conducted in March, 2002. Three participants were interviewed in person, allowing for transcription, while the other three were primarily contacted over the telephone due to geographic distance. Follow-up conversations were held with all participants as well, mainly on the telephone.

The best way to answer the research questions, at least initially, appeared to be a type of ethnographic interview. For my own data contribution, I wrote down 'foreign-tinted' communicative behaviors I have noticed in myself, or that others have pointed out to me. I also asked several people who have known me for a long time (e.g. my mother) if they had noticed anything different in my speech or behavior after returning from Japan on either occasion (1994 or 2001).

After writing down and looking at my own self-observations, I developed a very loosely structured set of questions for the other participants regarding their speech anomalies, behaviors and perceptions of their home environment. Aside from general data regarding language proficiency, what countries they'd been to and for how long, etc., some of the questions I had planned to ask were along the lines of:

How has repatriation been difficult for you?
What has been difficult for you to culturally adapt to upon return?
Have you found any (foreign language) accidentally slipping into your English?
Has anyone else pointed out something you did or said that was "left over" from your time abroad?
Have you had any experiences interacting with an American where you thought their speech or behavior was strange, but probably wouldn't have noticed it had you not lived abroad?
Why do you think this happens?

However, as interviews progressed, some of the questions were modified in the following ways:

Since coming back, have you caught yourself falling into speech patterns of the other language(s)?
Have you caught yourself speaking English but in a (non-English) way?
In what situations do you find (non-English) words coming out?
Have you noticed anything in your behavior that's still (foreign country) style?

Many of the questions I actually used were not so topically clear, independently. As interviewees narrated, I would occasionally interrupt and ask them to focus on one aspect and give me more detail, for example, "What kind of impulse was it?"

I did not want to be too detailed in my questions or give examples in the beginning for fear of restricting the input of the speakers, potentially convincing them to ignore or otherwise overlook other types of examples that would have been pertinent. As the topic and research questions were very metacognitive and metalinguistic in nature, I had to allow for the fact that respondents probably had not given them much – if any – thought before. When setting up the interview time, I sent an e-mail to everyone letting them know the general topic and types of information I was looking for, thus ideally giving them time to reflect on their experiences. During the interviews, I allowed significant tangential storytelling, hoping it would jog their memories and otherwise help the informants make connections and recollections for themselves. Depending on how they responded to my initial questions, subsequent ones often strayed from the list as they brought new and different ideas to light.

Standardizing the questions was difficult, mainly because no matter how clear and concise I thought they were, respondents inevitably interpreted them differently from how I had originally intended, and rarely were they interpreted the same way twice. Upon noting what prompt a participant needed to understand what I was truly looking for, I would try to use that approach with the next participant, but inevitably the same round-about discussion would ensue until we understood each other better. Natural, conversational interviewing seemed to facilitate this better than a formalized list of exact questions.

I should address one commonly held concern about the merits of self-reported speech data. As Blom and Gumperz (1972), among others, illustrated in their study of Norwegian bilinguals, native speakers are often unaware of their own speech patterns. Thus, people's reports on what they tend to do is often unreliable. Wolfson also argues that native speakers lack the intuition to recognize their own speech behaviors because "sociolinguistic rules are largely below the level of conscious awareness" (1983: 83). This has been well documented.

However, I would contend that what makes this study different is that the participants are not being asked to evaluate their own behavioral styles or report what they think they usually do. On the contrary, they are recounting experiences that were completely out of the ordinary for them, without any sort of immediately recognized pattern, except for the fact that they generally believed these anomalies were residual effects of their time abroad. It is specifically the "where did that come from?" nature of the occurrences that made them salient enough to be noticed and remembered in the first place.

Swain has done extensive research demonstrating the value of output in SLA specifically because, among other things, it facilitates "noticing." Unlike Wolfson's complaint that many language features are "below the level of conscious awareness" as mentioned above, the unexpected nature and sudden recognition of language gaps or accidental interference is what brings these events immediately to the conscious level. Swain explains that the act of noticing "may trigger cognitive processes which might generate linguistic knowledge that is new for the learner, or that consolidates their existing knowledge" (1998: 67). As I demonstrated by the exchange I had with my dance partner in the opening lines of this paper, as soon as the words were out of my mouth, I realized something wasn't quite right, and on reflex assessed the situation to try to figure out what had happened.

As a result of the relative infrequency and sporadic nature of the experiences, plus the fact that not all pertinent examples manifest themselves out loud, it would prove difficult to set up a quantifiable or even ethnographic means of observing them first hand. In the discussion section of this paper, I will address how this matter could more formally be handled for future follow-up studies.

Results

Data collected indicate three common areas in which communicative behaviors and perceptions learned abroad have continued to manifest themselves after re-entry. I have chosen to call these residual behaviors "communicative lingerings." The general areas emerging from the data are (I) linguistic/paralinguistic features ("linguistic/paralinguistic lingerings"), (II) expectations for interactions ("interactional lingerings"), and (III) psychological perceptions of a situation ("perceptual lingerings"). It is these residual reflexes and impulses on which I will focus.

I. Linguistic/paralinguistic Lingerings

I.1. Almost every returnee admitted to having uttered a phrase in the language of the host country without realizing the switch until after actually hearing it. "I do it fairly frequently, at least several times a month." "Oh, yeah, that happens constantly with me." These were two comments made by Bob and Father James, respectively. Father James continued,

Example B

> "The other night at dinner we were sitting there talking about something and I wanted to say 'why' to this other friar, and instead of saying why I said *blungwunum*. And you know, I didn't even, it didn't even hit me until after I said it."

Of the foreign language lexical items that were unintentionally uttered in English language exchanges, I identified four categories: (i) intensifiers, (ii) set phrases, (iii) emotional expressions, and (iv) backchanneling (see chart in Appendix B: Lexical Lingerings). (Note: whether or not these translations are truly accurate is not the issue. What is important is that these are the meanings assigned to the words by the speakers, indicating the intentions of the utterance.) Other non-lexical communicative features were also affected such as (1) body language and (2) thought organization.

I.1.i. Intensifiers used commonly were equivalent to "very" or "really," and were reported as being inserted in various positions in the English sentence, such as before an adjective as would be appropriate in English syntax, or at the end of a sentence, perhaps to conform to the constraints found in the language from which the word itself came (e.g. Nishimura 1997). Bob recalled a situation in which he was talking to his sister (who lives in Kansas and doesn't speak any Arabic or have any ties to the culture):

Example C

B: Aaand, talking about travel plans to Thailand, and my rush to get ready, and how stupid I was to have agreed to go on a trip the last day of term when all papers, all the last round of papers had to be corrected, grades had to be turned in, and get to the airport by five o'clock, and, as I got more intense about that, some Arabic started popping out.

L: What popped out?

B: Uh, it, it's, it's almost always the same thing. Words like *'auwi'* which means 'very' and I said 'That was very stupid *auwi*,' to do that.

I.1.ii. Set phrases were utterances that are commonly accepted as complete responses to a prompt. This group also had two subsets: those with direct English correlations and those with no fitting English equivalent. The former include direct translations of words or multi-word phrases such as "yes," "no," "good morning," "I don't know," or "a beer." Susan described an interaction during her family's relocation back to the US from Mexico:

Example D

S: In restaurants, when you order food, I don't know why but you have, for example I was sitting with my family, when we drove up here we drove from Monterey Mexico all the way to Philadelphia with a truck full of crap and junk and stuff. So we stopped in a diner in Louisiana and I remember we would say, "Um, una *cerveza*--I mean a beer." Or would say "sí" or "no." I think just because when you give orders to someone in Mexico in a restaurant it just seemed to be natural, ordering food in a restaurant in Spanish, that seemed so natural. Because when we traveled all around Mexico we always use Spanish at a restaurant, even though around the table I'd be speaking English to Sophie or my husband, then you turn and speak Spanish.

L: So you got used to assigning roles, in a sense. Like a language role with an identity, you'd use one for your family and when you turn ...

S: Spanish, right, exactly.

Set phrases with no English equivalent are naturally more difficult to describe. Examples include "*Hodi*" in Swahili, which is used upon arrival at someone's house, announcing the arrival and intent to enter the house. Linda explained that although she never actually uttered it, for a while after returning to New York, every time she approached someone's door, she felt the urge to call,

Example E

> "*Hodi! Hodi! Hodi!* which is like, hey, I'm here, I'm coming in!"

Father James described his unintentionally picking up a Kewa term of endearment:

Example F

> "And, and another thing, they would, uh, as a sign of affection, the older people especially would come up to me and hug me and say '*ah abunanagio, abunanagio*', and it means my little son. You know, my little son. And so, uh, I found myself saying that to, you know, people, (here) or in situations, because it was such a sign of affection, really."

Another is the Arabic response "*inshala*," which means "God willing," but is often used to indicate uncertainty regarding whether something will take place, or to reduce pressures of responsibility. Susan explained that common exchanges with her students in the UAE such as the one below brought these words into her habitual language repertoire:

Example G

> "I'd tell my students 'have this essay ready by tomorrow, okay? – 'Oh, *inshala* teacher, *inshala*.' And it's like no, not *inshala*, have it done."

1.iii. The third type of code-switched utterance was emotional expression. While these expressions could potentially be used in larger sentences, they all were described in contexts where they independently comprised the full utterance. For example, Linda recalled a Swahili lingering,

Example H

> "When I'm mad at someone, catch phrases some out, like when I'm driving I said *Dwana*! Which is like 'oh, man! What are you doing!"

"*¡Híjole*!" is a virtual Spanish equivalent for "holy cow!" or "son of a gun!" that Susan described using as a response to something unexpected. To this day, I continue to say "*Are*?" (Japanese) when I suddenly realize there is a problem, such as remembering a forgotten appointment or digging in my bag for my keys only to realize they're not there. It's as if I were saying to myself, "Hold it..." or "what the...?" There is no conversational context for many of these exclamations, as they tended to be a remark-to-self when nobody else was around.

I.1.iv. The fourth type of verbal lingering is backchanneling style. When in conversation with an English-speaking interlocutor, respondents would often backchannel (Schegloff 1982) in ways learned abroad. In conversation with my mother at one point, I hadn't noticed that I had been regularly and frequently saying "*mm; mm*!" in Japanese instead of the comparatively infrequent "yeah," "okay," or "right," until my mother finally interrupted her own story and asked: "What's with the grunts?"

Fr. James and I had the following exchange when I described that experience to him:

Example I

L: And ...(she) would look at me a little funny...

F: OH, okay—

L: ... It's not a word necessarily—

F: Ah—

L: --but it's not what I would have said had I not gone to Japan.

F: That is very true. Very true. I found that is, that is constant with me. Like um, well, oh yeah, the nonverbal communication is constant. I, I've just found, my family is constantly laughing at me for, for the, for instance (laughs) this may sound funny, but like, if uh, they had this way, the old people there, or all the people there, of when something happens that isn't good, or, I don't know how to say it, like if ... you said something and I disagree with it, I'd say "uhhOOOuhhhhh!"... And also their way of laughing...They laugh on this one pitch and then it goes up I don't even know how to approximate it really, but I think that has happened for me on several occasions when I was laughing... Oh absolutely, the nonverbal communication is just constant..."

Similarly, instead of saying, "okay, okay..." Bob informed me that he occasionally uttered the Arabic phrase "*tayib, tayib*." He didn't notice any pattern regarding interlocutor or situation, but instead mused that it seemed to come out without any particular stimulus. Jordan, who lived in the former British colony of Zimbabwe, noticed that he had picked up the phrase "is it?" in place of "really?" in conversations. A nearly universal difference between English and the other languages discussed is that instead of the common English response, "oh," many languages use "ah." Many of the participants (myself included) found this lingering in their speech. I still catch myself saying it occasionally, even though now I've been back for over a year and a half.

An oft-discussed topic among Japanese is their habit of sucking air through their teeth when deeply considering something, or to indicate disagreement or disapproval, a habit which I picked up while there and still have not overcome. I use it infrequently, once every month or two at best, usually if I'm trying to figure out how to tactfully disagree or correct someone. I notice it when it slides into my interactions because it still sounds as strange to me now as it did the first time I heard it, even though now it's coming from my own mouth.

2. Speech style and organizational pattern changes were also noted. Father James described his new speech style as "simplifying, always." As the Pidgin dialect on Papua New Guinea has only about 2000 words,

Example J

> "there was always the effort at simplification... I was always having to translate my thoughts into the most simple, basic form, and I think that has lingered."

Akin to my "dancing" example (A) at the beginning of this report, he admitted that he often now says "Sorry, sorry," when hearing bad news, because the literal translation in Kewa was regularly used in Papua New Guinea. He acknowledged that he used to consider Americans' sympathetic use of the word "sorry" to be inappropriate and condescending, and still does, yet now has found himself using it inadvertently as a result of L2 interference.

Gestures and other paralinguistic cues also seem to linger on occasion, presumably because they "match" with a word or idea. Postures when standing or sitting are occasionally different, as was the angle at which I have caught myself cocking my head when pondering something confusing. In the first month or so after repatriation, I had to explain myself to American interlocutors a few times after receiving quizzical looks (and occasional outright laughter) whenever I pointed to my nose, as I had learned to do in Japan, instead of touching my heart/sternum, to imply, "who, me?" in conversation, as we do in the US. Father James summarized his feelings on these paralinguistic differences succinctly, saying "there's just a shock about coming back to the States."

Equally noteworthy is that several respondents said that although these "foreign" speech and behavioral patterns don't always outwardly manifest themselves, the first mental response is not English or a standard "American" mannerism. They report a reflex "urge" to speak or behave in the new way, but "suppress" it upon realizing that it is not appropriate in their current environment. (Examples will be seen in sections below.)

The participants themselves claimed that these unintended utterances "stuck" because they were "mechanical," "throw-away," "inserts," "automatic," "memorized," "reflex/ive," or "catch phrases."

II. Expectations for Interaction: Interactional Lingerings

Common recognitions regarding changes in interpersonal behavior seemed to be connected to issues of distance, both physical and social. This is particularly true for hugging, kissing, or other physical elements of greetings. As Susan put it,

Example K

> "You go up to someone, you approach them, and you realize you're too close, and you back away...You physically, you feel this 'oop!' and you stop."

Greeting styles were frequently cited as sociopragmatically difficult to re-adjust. Many re-entrants claimed that after living abroad, they had "changed (their) opinion on how Americans greet." For example, Jordan described Zimbabwean greetings as "long and drawn out," whereas in the US, "we don't even go through the motions." Linda echoed this sentiment and added that in Tanzania, "Relationships are deeper... Here relationships feel more superficial. People don't want to take the time to get to know you. There, people wanted to know everything about you."

Casually approaching strangers was also perfectly acceptable while in some other countries, but received negative responses from some Americans later. Susan described an experience in sociopragmatic failure during an encounter at a convenience store in Texas when she noticed a Caucasian couple with a cute baby and began to approach to "coo" at it:

Example L

> "...and acting totally normal, for a Mexican, you know cause that's how I was feeling...I approached the baby of the American couple and I didn't say anything, I just went up and the man got, got pissed. I didn't touch the baby or say anything and I'm a woman I mean and...he looked at me and he said, 'Is something the matter? Is something the matter with my kid, or, what are you doing?' And I realized, whoa, I forgot, you know I'm in the US and you don't approach babies... and it's funny because I was acting like a Mexican doing that."

In contrast, there were also several examples of acclimation to increased social distance abroad that allowed for emotional reaction upon return home. This was particularly true for participants who had gotten used to language and cultural barriers rather than overcome them. For example, Pat recalled a happy epiphany during his first time eating at Burger King after leaving Japan: "I thought to myself, 'I can ask for ketchup!'" The issue of physically "blending in" or "sticking out" also startled some. Linda, as a blue-eyed, fair-skinned woman in Tanzania, described it as "feel(ing) like, you're a rock star" while abroad:

Example M

> "You feel like you're a rock star. You get used to being stared at. After getting used to being the center of attention all the time, so when you go home it's hard to get used to NOT being stared at."

Similarly, Susan was made very aware of social class distinction abroad, and had positive, subtle emotional responses upon re-entry to realizing these were no longer concerns that needed to severely affect whom she felt allowed to interact with.

III. Perceptive Lingerings

Many returnees, from both developed and developing countries, described feeling "overwhelmed" back home in certain environments. Pat labeled himself as feeling "ADD" (i.e. as if he had Attention Deficit Disorder.) His experience in Japan was in a large, bustling city, but being back in an English speaking environment where he could once again understand everything from signs and piped-in music to nearby discussions had an unexpected effect on him. He described what happened one day upon meeting a friend for coffee at Starbucks, and mused:

Example N

> "I couldn't concentrate on a conversation in a public place because I kept listening to everything around me. It was sensory overload."

Jordan also admitted to now being "easily distracted," describing the feeling as being

Example O

> "...like 4th of July every day with fireworks and things to see."

Linda and Jordan each had spent several years living in New York City and Washington, DC., among other places, and had been very used to city life. Yet now crowds, traffic jams and crowded spaces like shopping malls were all causes for feelings of discomfort, where they previously would not have been noticed, been regarded as common nuisances, or otherwise would have been considered pleasant stimuli, prior to having lived abroad.

Returnees from lesser developed countries commonly discussed the recognition of abundance here in the US, particularly distinguishing new understandings of necessity versus waste, which Father James described as "unbelievable." People had become "creative with what (they) had" and "environmentally conscious" while abroad. They described a new, conscious awareness of not having to turn off generators at night, and being able to use the telephone, watch television or buy products at any time of the day or year. Linda commented:

Example P

> "The use of the telephone is amazing. You can call anyone, anywhere, at any time."

They marveled at the number and variety of glasses in their own kitchen cabinets and questioned other people's shopping habits. Linda also remarked:

Example Q

> "My mom asked me before Christmas if I was going to buy a new winter coat this year. I just thought, why should I? My old coat still fit and was in perfectly good shape."

Most importantly, they acknowledged that these feelings probably would have been different had they not gone abroad.

Discussion

The lexical lingerings in these discussions seem to merit their own discourse category. They are related to inter- and (less so) intra- sentential code-switching but are missing many of the conditions often associated with code switching. In all cases cited, the participant was talking with an interlocutor who clearly neither spoke the language of the lingering or had any significant experience with the represented culture. In only one example, (D), was there an indicated connection to a change in role, or situational switch (Valdés 1982), when Susan described an episode ordering drinks in the "wrong" language at a restaurant. None of these switches was a deliberate choice, and only (D) was an instance that connoted social identity (c.f. Blom & Gumperz, 1972) or other attempts to emphasize a point. Linda's urge to call "*Hodi!*" as in (E) or Fr. James' use of "*Abunanagio*" (F) as a term of endearment could be viewed as an instance of "borrowing" (e.g. Sridhar & Sridhar 1980) because there is no pragmalinguistic equivalent in English. However, most of the other utterances reported did not have social or lexical meaning outside the semantic field of English.

One pattern visible in the lexical lingerings reported is that all were independent turns, thus examples of inter-sentential code switching (e.g. Nishimura 1997, Martin-Jones 1995), except for the intensifiers, as in (C). As happened in the Blom and Gumperz (1972) study in Norway, all code switching was subconscious and unintentional. However, unlike the Norway study, my participants noticed the lingerings, whereas the Norwegian students yet did not notice when it happened, denied that they would ever do such a thing, and were shocked to hear the recording of their conversation later. Another possibly important difference is that most of the reentrants in my study had not learned these languages until well into adulthood, after moving to the host country, whereas the Norwegian students had essentially been raised bilingual.

Four recurrent themes emerged regarding possible causes for these lingerings: emotional state, the level of acculturation achieved abroad, appreciation for the host country and culture, and sequencing of experiences. Whereas other studies emphasize the importance of the identity of the interlocutor and/or the identity the speaker wishes to project of himself (e.g. Martin-Jones 1995), this did not seem to play a role for my participants, and if anything would seem counterintuitive, as they were trying to blend back into American lifestyles, and their interlocutors would not understand their lingerings.

Emotional responses to a situation seemed to trigger the most lexical and paralinguistic lingerings. Bob regularly identified his experiences with this as occurring when the topic became more "intense" or "interesting," which caused him to "rush ahead" and become "less careful about choosing words." Many of Susan's uses were linked to "positive" feelings, while Linda offered some negative stimuli such as driving in traffic (as in (H)), that caused lingerings to occur "when I'm mad at someone." Many of my own seem to occur at times of confusion or surprise, e.g. "*Are*?" Fr. James described many occurrences that were emotional reactions, from disagreement to Papua New Guinean style laughter, or "signs of affection." He speculated that

Example R

> "they're just cultural expressions that...go right to the heart. They're emotional responses that are given to some sort of (linguistic or paralinguistic) communication."

Another strong factor influencing different lingerings seemed to be the level of acculturation achieved in the host country, that is the degree to which they started to get used to the new culture and lifestyle there (whether or not they actually liked it). Certain behaviors were described as ultimately feeling "so natural" by many informants. The new ways "got comfortable" and made re-entrants feel that "you should do that" (e.g. as Susan commented regarding elaborate greetings). Pat explained that some behavioral "decisions aren't based on logic; it's just what feels right." This acculturation can result from many factors, from the need to fill communicative gaps to simply the length of time abroad. Regarding time and effort, after one year abroad, Jordan expressed frustration that he "was finally starting to understand how people think; then I had to pick up and leave." Fr. James expanded on this, discussing his motivation and efforts, having "spent so much time trying to be accepted in another culture," and resulting feelings of "isolation from your own culture." He said,

Example S

> "Four years creates a certain momentum...I became accustomed to communicating (in their way and had) to an extent appropriated (it) to my own way of being."

One issue that seemed to affect the level of acculturation was the degree to which the participants seemed to appreciate various aspects of their experience, professionally, linguistically or culturally and desired to become a part of the local culture while there (for more than simply convenience.) Many SLA researchers have looked at affective factors such as motivation, which ties into this aspect (e.g. Crookes & Schmidt 1991; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991). The majority of the participants in this study claim to "miss hearing or speaking" the languages, lament having to "resist" certain physical responses, or long to be back in a situation where they "felt like (they were) making a difference," as Jordan did.

Participants seemed in general agreement that they didn't just learn how to go through the motions of the other language and culture, but actually came to like the underlying principles represented. For example, lengthy greeting rituals, which were perceived as tedious by some at first, were considered by multiple respondents to be "so interesting," "so distinct," and "so important." The "affection and love for the people," as Fr. James pointed out, is still credited with affecting thoughts and behaviors, and speaking in the learned language now serves as

Example T

> "a way of retouching base with my lovely experience... (and) sort of a mental and psychological consolation in the transition process."

This is somewhat akin to what Lester called "a personal sense of loss and changed sense of self needing to be mourned" upon repatriation

(2001: abstract). The regret at having to leave a part of themselves behind upon repatriation, and subsequently feeling like one doesn't fit in back home anymore is also related to the condition Navarrete Vivaro and Jenkins (1999) called "cultural homelessness."

The final factor that seemed to play a part in lexical lingerings in particular was related to chronological juxtaposition. This was particularly evident in anecdotes of people who moved between several languages and cultures before returning to an English speaking environment in the US. Bob was the quintessential example of this:

Example U

> "I've switched from country to country... I always tend to use my last language on the next country. So when I was in Ivory Coast I went on vacation to Spain and people would speak Spanish to me and I'd speak Dioula, the language of northwestern Ivory Coast where I was. Then when I went to...Somalia, people would speak to me in Somali or Italian and I would answer them in French. Then I went to Egypt and people would say something to me in Arabic and I'd answer them with the little few words in Italian I'd picked up in Somalia... I just went on a marketing trip to Thailand and it happened very frequently that somebody would speak to me in Thai and I would answer in Arabic."

Susan observed as well that after relocating from the UAE to Mexico, she occasionally inserted an Arabic word into her speech, then upon returning to the US she noticed Spanish lingerings in her English. Linda recounted an experience the same week as our interview when she had tried to speak in French with a Hatian-American friend with whom she often spoke in French, but the Swahili phrase "*sijui*," or "I don't know," came out. I, somewhat like Bill, (but in less of an immersion situation) have gone back and forth between Spanish-language environments and Japanese environments over the past 15 years or so. I spent many years studying Spanish, then Japanese (including a year at a Japanese university,) at which point Spanish words or word order would occasionally slide into my Japanese speech. Then, while teaching in a bilingual Spanish/English elementary school, Japanese words or endings found their way into my Spanish. Going from that Los Angeles school to Nagoya was another switch that facilitated Spanish lingerings in my Japanese. Now Japanese lingerings – but not Spanish – appear in my English.

I commented once to a friend many years ago, semi-facetiously, that I would accidentally mix up Spanish and Japanese because "my brain was split in two halves: the English half and the everything-else-half." If I needed English, it was not usually a problem, but the rest was all thrown in to the other side, so you never knew what would come out, but at best it would be what had entered most recently because it was still "on top." Interestingly, many participants' speculations regarding their own idiosyncratic and unintentional language patterns were very similar. There appeared to be a theme of "playing catch-up." Bob speculated,

Example V

> "My stupid brain says something like 'this is a foreign language you know a little bit of' so the most recent one pops out instead of the appropriate one..." (Whereas French was clearly his strongest non-English language,) "...I think I was used to speaking the previous language, and even if I wasn't very good at it, I was certainly better at it than the one I'd only been hearing for the last week or the last month."

Linda seemed to agree, observing,

Example W

> "My brain was switching into speaking another language and Swahili was the last one I'd spoken in a while."

Summary

This exploration has provided significant evidence that adult, professional expatriates do have difficulty readjusting to life in the US after reentry. These difficulties are cultural, emotional, behavioral and linguistic. There are many situations in which a lingering feature of the host culture's behavioral norms or language will manifest itself subconsciously and unintentionally in the behavior of the repatriot. Question 3 asked if there were any patterns to be deciphered in these behaviors. There were many patterns noted, as I will outline below:

Regarding Question 1: (Upon repatriation, do re-entrants catch themselves unintentionally displaying "foreign" communicative behaviors, either verbal or non-verbal? If so, what are they?)

The data clearly showed many different examples of unintentional verbal and nonverbal lingerings. Linguistic lingerings are evident in lexical insertions, including intensifiers, set phrases, emotional expressions and backchanneling. Paralinguistic features such as body language and intonation were also evident. Many lexical lingerings occurred because they were "handy," some of which also carried connotations that could not be found in English.

Regarding Question 2: (Do these re-entrants ever consider other people's displays of "home culture" communication style to be strange?)

Re-entrants also expressed surprise and uncertainty about how to interact with other Americans upon returning home. Newly accepted (foreign) norms of behavior yielded new expectations for interpersonal interactions. In addition, many returnees expressed emotional responses to changed perceptions of different features of American life, particularly a sense of being overwhelmed and easily distracted.

Regarding Question 3: (If such altered behaviors and perceptions do manifest themselves upon repatriation, what are the re-entrants' beliefs about why this seems to happen?)

According to the participants, these changes appear to be related to the level of acculturation attained while abroad, and many could have a correlation to how much the sojourner enjoyed his time abroad and appreciated the host culture(s) and language(s). The linguistic lingerings often seemed to be displayed in interactions in which there were heightened emotions, such as tension or excitement, and there was a visible pattern discerning which languages lingeringed at which times, primarily "one step behind," in the chain of international moves made by a person, as Bob noted.

The participants did not indicate a feeling of being unable to identify former (i.e. pre-original move) behavior norms as a cause for readjustment difficulties. On the contrary, many expressed disbelief at the way they used to think and behave, as if to indicate that it was the values, not simply rote behaviors, that had been "replaced" while overseas. The "automaticity" of many behaviors was regularly cited as cause for why they still lingered.

Limitations

Naturally, this is an exploratory study and has many limitations. First, there were only seven participants, of similar cultural and professional backgrounds (although they all went to very culturally divergent countries), so a larger and more varied sample group may yield considerably different—or confirming—results.

Methodologically, although I asked each participant similarly phrased questions in the beginning of the interview, many interpreted them differently, giving me completely different kinds of input that I hadn't previously considered. Some of this was insightful, and it may have proven informative to have a second formal follow-up interview with each person to present these new angles to them and see how they responded. On the other hand, it also added some confusion to the conversation on occasion. For example, as was seen in (I), Fr. James had originally dismissed backchanneling as irrelevant to my study because he had considered it to be "non-verbal," and later corrected me, commenting "well, that's not linguistic," at which point I realized he had thought I was only looking for dictionary-type lexical items.

Similarly, in an attempt to not restrict answers, I deliberately did not offer any of my own experiences as examples to help facilitate recall. This inadvertently allowed for off-topic stories and tangents requiring regular conversational repair, and lessened the number of directly applicable data due to time constraints, etc. (again, as in (I).) Later in most interviews I decided to share some of my own experiences, which were inevitably met with, "Oh! Well if you want to talk about that stuff..." (as Father James remarked), and similar responses. This indicated to me that the objectives of my initial questions were not as immediately obvious as I had thought. In future studies, the approach should be modified to account for—and ideally avoid—such discrepancies.

Of course the methodological question of the validity of self-report must also be revisited. To compensate for potential inaccuracies due most likely to the amount of time lapsed between the actual experience and the interviews, it might be helpful to contact new participants right before their repatriation or very soon thereafter, asking them to keep a journal of their readjustment experiences for several months. This would help close the possible gap between what participants think they do versus what they actually experience. The question would remain whether or not to tell them the specific kinds of details the study would be looking for, so as not to influence their behavior through the power of suggestion and create self-fulfilling prophecies, so to speak.

Future studies also might delve further into the relationship between these lingerings and communicative competence, exploring the effects of L2 on L1 knowledge. This could be approached from the angle of the contexts in which these lingerings happen, analyzing what speech acts and events are most commonly affected and why, since it does not appear that the identity of the hearer has much bearing on whether or not they occur. A comparative study could also look for potential similarities in the communicative lingerings of a group of sojourners returning from the same country (e.g. Japan) and the interlanguage development patterns of Japanese-L1 learners of English.

Conclusion

Some possible implications for foreign/second language instruction can be taken from this. As Fr. James explained:

Example X

> "...because speaking in a language is a reflection of a world view, it also affected my thinking patterns."

This is akin to the principle of linguistic relativity (Whorf 1956), particularly by the use of the word "reflection." While there are many people who have criticized the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in its stronger forms, most would likely agree that a language is a representative symbol of culture, while simultaneously being reinforced by it (Kramsch 1998).

As language teachers, we need to recognize the immeasurable influence that a natural context has on socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic development. Studying how to use a language grammatically is moot if a learner cannot perceive the "world view" that the language reflects. The fact that these "lingerings" occur so automatically in certain patterns and contexts lends credence to the notion that a language must be "felt" to be truly learned. While it would be impossible to instruct students directly on how to respond in every possible scenario, there must be a way to incorporate as much natural, pragmatic stimulus and feedback as possible during instruction. This will be necessary to avoid continued frustration through mere memorization and futile attempts to mechanically apply rules, ideally enabling learners to more naturally acquire cross-cultural communicative competence in their new language.

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Appendix A: Participant* Profiles

1. Laura:

   Countries lived in: Japan
   Language/proficiency: Japanese/comfortably proficient; Spanish/fluent
   Time frame: August, 1999 – July 2001 (2 years)
   Occupation: English teacher

2. Susan:

   Countries lived in: United Arab Emirates (2 years), Mexico (4 years)
   Language/proficiency: Arabic/none; Spanish/conversationally functional
   Time frame: 1996 – 2001 (6 years)
   Occupation: English teacher

3. Pat:
   Countries lived in: Japan
   Language/proficiency: Japanese/minimally functional; French/conversant
   Time frame: October, 2000 – November, 2001 (1 year)
   Occupation: English teacher

4: Bob:
   Countries lived in: Ivory Coast, Ecuador, Somalia, Egypt, Thailand, and the UAE.
   Language/proficiency: Standard French and West African Pidgin French/fluent;
   Spanish/comfortable; Arabic/conversationally functional; Thai/minimally functional
   Time frame: 1970 – 2001 (30 years)
   Occupation: English teacher

5. Linda:
   Countries lived in: Tanzania
   Language/proficiency: Swahili/conversationally proficient; French/fluent
   Time frame: June, 2000 – May, 2001 (1 year)
   Occupation: English teacher, Catholic services volunteer

6: Father James:
   Countries lived in: Papua New Guinea
   Language/proficiency: Kewa/conversant; Pidgin/fluent
   Time frame: January, 1998 – August, 2001 (3_ years)
   Occupation: Catholic priest/missionary

7. Jordan:
   Countries lived in: Zimbabwe, Egypt
   Language/proficiency: Shona/minimally functional; Arabic/minimally functional
   Time frame: January, 2001 – December 2001 (1 year)
   Occupation: Administrative worker for group providing assistance to victims of torture

* All names have been changed except for the author's.

Appendix B: Lexical Lingerings

Category	Utterance[a]	Language	US English Meaning[b]	Literal Translation[c]	Examples
1. Intensifier	*Kabisa*	Swahili		really/very	"*Safi Kabisa.*" (Very cool.
	Auwi	Arabic		very	"That was really stupid *auwi.*"
	Lazzm	Arabic		must	
2. Set Phrases					
(a)With English Equivalent	*Blungwunum*	Kewa		why	"*Blungwunum?*"
	Una cerveza	Spanish		a beer	"*Una cerveza.*"
	Si	Spanish		yes	"*Si.*"
	No	Spanish		no	"*No.*"
	Queue	British English		line	"*Queue* up."
	Mm	Japanese		yes	"*Mm.* Right."
	Un-n	Japanese		no	"*Un-n*, no…"
	Usiku mwema	Swahili		good morning	"*Usiku mwema.*"
	Sijui	Swahili		I don't know	"*Sijui.*"
(b) With no fitting lexical equivalent	*Hodi*	Swahili	I'm here/I'm coming	?	"*Hodi! Hodi!*"
	Inshala	Arabic	God willing		"*Inshala*, Teacher, *inshala.*"
	Abunanagio	Kewa	(term of endearment)	my little son	"*Ah, abunanagio*"
	Karibu	Swahili	?	welcome	"*Karibu* (chair)" – "Have a seat." "*Karibu* (food)" – "Help yourself."
	Sinikiza	Swahili	Accompany someone out	escort	"I'll *sinikiza* you to the car."

Category	Utterance[a]	Language	US English Meaning[b]	Literal Translation[c]	Examples
3. Emotional Expressions	*Hijole*	Spanish	son of a gun, holy cow		"*Hijole*, what is he…"
	Aram	Arabic	God forbid!; awful		"*Haram*"
	Humdilila	Arabic	Thank god!		"*Humdilila.*"
	Safi	Swahili	cool (colloquial)!		"*Safi Kabisa*!"
	Dwana	Swahili	oh man!		"*Dwana*!" (at another driver)
	Are	Japanese	Huh? Wait a minute…		"*Are*? Where's the …?" (self talk)
4. Backchanneling	*Tayib*	Arabic	okay, very good		
	Yahreit	Arabic	oh (light surprise)	a little bit	
	Is it?	British English	Really?		
	HeeeEEEh?	Japanese	Really?		
	UhhOOOhhh	Kewa	disagreement, disapproval		
	Mmm, mm	Japanese	uh-huh, yeah		
	Ah	(various)	oh		

[a] As pronounced by participant. [b] As described by participant when translation is not clear. [c] As told by participant.

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Acquiring Business English in a Quasi-Natural Business Environment: A Method of Teaching Business English to Students of Business and Economics

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This article discusses a method of organizing Business English studies for students who learn it as a foreign language at schools of business and universities outside English-speaking countries. Those students typically lack both previous practical experience in business and opportunities to watch business being done in English or to participate themselves in real-life business communication in English. That puts additional obstacles in the way of language acquisition. The suggested method is based on creating a quasi-natural business environment in the classroom where students acquire Business English by modeling the process of doing business in English through continuous simulation. A pilot study indicates that this approach may improve on existing methods.

Introduction

The purpose of the study reported in this article was to develop a method (and a coursebook corresponding to that method) most suitable and effective for teaching students of Business English in a typical Post-Communist Eastern European country. The students of tertiary-level schools of economics and business were chosen as the target – those students who are already at the intermediate level of their command of General English, but know neither Business English (BE) nor the practical workings of business, which they have just started studying as their major. A new approach to teaching such students is necessitated by the lack of effectiveness in out-of-date methods (and coursebooks) developed in the former USSR. This cannot be remedied by simply adopting the methods (and coursebooks) for BE studies existing in the West since they are not adapted to specific local conditions and needs.

The solution to this problem is an urgent requirement because, for economic and political reasons, BE teaching/learning is rapidly becoming one of the most popular branches of EFL teaching/learning in the Post-Communist countries of Eastern Europe, such as the Ukraine. But this teaching/learning is different from teaching and learning BE in, for instance, most of the developed countries of Europe. One of the principal differences lies in the fact that in the countries of the former USSR, BE is rarely learned by people who already work in business, know their jobs, and only lack the knowledge of English for professional purposes. In Ukraine, such people mostly rely on translators and interpreters when they are in need of making oral or written contacts requiring the command of BE. (A similar situation may characterize some other countries.)

The body of BE learners in Ukraine consists almost exclusively of students from business schools, colleges, and universities majoring in business and economics who lack more than the knowledge of Business English at the start of their studies. Their ideas of business as a whole are also rather vague, with little or no practical experience in that area. This is further complicated by the fact that Business English is being learned in a non-English-speaking country, where nobody uses English outside the classroom and where the students are deprived of opportunities of watching business being done in English. Having never seen it in reality, most teachers and students have only vague ideas about business communication in English. So in teaching practice that can be observed in Ukrainian tertiary schools, classes of BE mostly focus on language forms used in business communication but not on communication proper. That focus is supported by the existing tradition and BE coursebooks published in the former USSR. As a result, both the students and the teachers concentrate their efforts almost solely on conscious learning with explicit explanations and training in grammar and vocabulary. According to Krashen (1982), this cannot lead to developing communication skills successfully, since they are mostly acquired unconsciously in the process of taking in rich and varied comprehensible input (and, it should be added, in the process of communication in the target language itself).

The existing BE coursebooks support the "conscious learning" approach, as has already been mentioned, and those that are published in the countries of the former USSR are rather obsolete and seem inadequate in view of up-to-date pedagogical approaches. The inadequacies show up in their language, the suggested ways and methods of teaching and learning, the contents, the design, and the structure. That is why both the teachers and the students often, and justifiably, voice their dissatisfaction with them, preferring BE coursebooks published in the West. But Western BE books do not really solve the problem. First, they are not easily accessible in Ukraine and are often too expensive. Second, they don't take into account the local conditions and students' background knowledge. Third, they also support either explicitly or implicitly the conscious learning approach, focusing students' attention not so much on the ways of doing business in English as on the language used for it. Fourth, their design and structure offers nothing that can help the Ukrainian students from business schools and universities feel the practicality of doing business in

English. Authentic materials that are included in those coursebooks are not helpful in that respect. They are psychologically authentic to people already working in business and knowing it, and it is actually for them that the coursebooks under discussion are mostly designed. But they cannot be perceived as such by students who know next to nothing about business and economics - nothing practical at least, just the theory that they were taught in their studies.

It is hardly possible to fill with life the process of doing business in English for students without putting them in a situation of doing it in that language. If that happens, it can replace or, at least, supplement consciously learning BE grammar and vocabulary with unconscious acquisition of communication skills in real-life communication. Doing business in English cannot be achieved in reality in the conditions under consideration, but an attempt can be made to model this process in the classroom. Such an approach requires a specific method of teaching and learning Business English. The following part of the article is devoted to the discussion of the basic characteristics of that method. It should be noted in advance that the method, the practical teaching, and teaching materials developed were elaborated exclusively for students who have already reached the intermediate level in their command of General English since that level was considered to be the required foundation for starting any course of Business English.

Business English Through Continuous Creative Communication (BET 3C): The Basic Characteristics of the Method

To achieve the ends of making the process of doing business in English relevant and life-like to learners, a number of recent (and not so recent) innovations in BE teaching were incorporated into the method being developed. For instance, the teaching materials were oriented so that students could mostly learn Business English via communication that imitates or models genuine business communication (Ellis & Johnson 1994). Learning was task-based, and learning assignments were mostly different tasks from the area of business that students solved using English as a tool (Prabhu 1987). Learning was content-based, so that everything that was learned about Business English was learned through the content matter from the areas of business, marketing, etc. (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche 1989). It was also theme-based, with activities and information focused on a number of themes that in their entirety covered the selected content-matter (Brintonet al.). Finally, authentic case studies were a regular feature and an integral part of the learning process.

All of the above mentioned features are inherent to quite a number of American and British state-of-the-art BE coursebooks. Yet, as has already been said, in the Ukraine and for the students under discussion, such coursebooks do not solve the problem of replacing mastering BE through conscious learning of language forms with unconsciously acquiring it in the process of business communication while doing business in English. To ensure that students get practice doing business in English, the BE classroom must offer a quasi-natural business environment. To create such an environment, several specific components of the method were developed that, in their combination, characterize it as something quite distinct from other methods of teaching and learning Business English. The method itself, as a unity of all its characteristics, was called BET 3C – Business English Through Continuous Creative Communication.

Among the six characteristics comprising the method, the driving principle is continuous simulation, which is the foundation for creating the required quasi-natural business environment in which students can acquire Business English, instead of consciously learning it. But the other five characteristics are in no way dispensable since they make a considerable contribution to the creation of that environment and facilitate students' activities in it with the goal of facilitating BE acquisition. The six characteristics are:

1. Continuous simulation (as the driving principle)
2. Project work
3. Learners' autonomy
4. Introduction of fictitious setting
5. Cooperative or team work
6. Integrated-skills approach

Continuous Simulation

Continuous simulation is, as has already been mentioned, the most important conceptual characteristic, with all the other characteristics supporting it. Continuous simulation is a specific organization of the Business English course whereby learning develops during continuous modeling and enacting of business activities and communication in class. The enactment is done in the framework of the functioning of an imaginary firm or company. Students themselves invent it, "set it up", organize its "functioning", and "work" in that firm or company. It is a kind of play where learners themselves are actors, directors, and playwrights on an on-going basis. Continuous simulation, unlike traditional simulations which are disconnected episodes in the learning process, creates a common meaningful plot for BE learning and communicative activities in the course, from class to class. Students decide what form of business they will organize and what the structure and management hierarchy of their firm will be; they organize the firm, elect or appoint its top executives, and find, interview, and select employees; determine the place that their business can occupy in the economy of the country; and they do marketing research, solve financial problems, participate in fairs, sign contracts, etc.

This common plot developing from class to class creates an imaginary life continuum in which students do not need to focus on conscious learning. They get the opportunity to acquire both Business English and business itself by constantly playing it in conditions imitating or modeling the business environment. What is very important is the fact that in continuous simulation, the modeled business environment is created by students themselves, who develop the plot when they play business. That makes students' communication highly creative and imaginative. Learners' creativity and imagination is what the entire approach is based on.

Continuous simulation as a tool in Business English teaching were first presented at IATEFL 1998 Manchester conference (Tarnopolsky 2000). But then they were just an additional activity superimposed on a more traditional Business English course. In the concept of BE studies discussed in this article, continuous simulation has become the leading organizing principle of the whole course. In Appendix A several tasks for students are given exemplifying the use of continuous simulation in that course. The examples are taken from the coursebook *Business Projects* (Tarnopolsky, Kozhushko, Bezugla, Degtiariova, & Gibson 2002), which was designed following the BET 3C method (the coursebook itself will be discussed later.)

Project work

The use of project work (Fried-Booth 1996) naturally follows the use of continuous simulation and the BET 3C approach in general. This is because project tasks are the most natural and the most creativity-oriented means of making students prepare for playing episodes in continuous simulation. For example, if an episode is connected with reporting the results of market research, playing the episode should be preceded by project work. The project task requires students to collect material for their report and write its abstract with the main points before doing the actual presentation. Such writing is done on the basis of learners' discussions in pairs or small groups that are also parts of continuous simulation. In this way, written project tasks not only prepare students for the following episodes but form links between episodes themselves becoming an integral part of continuous simulation.

They also summarize all the continuous simulation activities because after "founding" their firm at the start of the course, the students immediately get the assignment of writing the firm's prospectus - an assignment which they will continue to work on until the end of the course. At the end of every unit, learners write one section of that prospectus in which all the work done in the unit is summarized. For instance, on finishing Unit 2 (Company Structure), the students write the section of the prospectus where the structure of their firm and its management hierarchy are described. After Unit 5 (Domestic and World Economy), they write a section discussing their firm's place in the economy of the country, and so on from unit to unit. That makes the results of written project tasks the visible material products of everything done in the course. Thus the entire work in the course finds its full expression in the final product - the prospectus of learners' imaginary firm written and prepared for publishing by themselves. Writing and preparing for publishing (typing, formatting, finding or creating illustrative materials for the prospectus, etc.) are very important for the success of continuous simulation. They are one of the principal means of making that simulation seem "real-life" because real material products of the firm's functioning are demonstrated.

The project work is also the leading means of developing students' writing skills in the course. Learners do their written project tasks in the framework of the process-oriented approach (Tribble 1996; White & Arndt 1991; Zamel 1982) since there are both pre-writing and post-writing discussions of what is going to be or has been written, and those discussions serve as a basis for drafting and redrafting the written texts. Besides, since written project tasks cover various and numerous themes related to business activities, different genres (Swales 1990) of business writing are also covered. As a result, the skills developed are somewhat different from those ordinarily set as the goals of teaching writing for business purposes in courses of Business English. They are not so much the skills of writing some standard business documents as the skills of writing creatively on business issues. Developing such skills seems to be more important than teaching students to write several types of standard business letters and other standard business papers. If creative writing skills are developed, developing skills of writing standard business documents may become a comparatively simple task.

What has been said about the use of project work can be summarized, first, by remarking that, thanks to it, writing in the suggested course of Business English becomes as creative and continuous as speaking in continuous simulation. Second, this writing may be considered the focal point of continuous simulation. This is because everything done by the students to get ready for continuous simulation or to demonstrate its results is gathered in students' project work writings. Thus, project work done in writing reflects all the other communicative activities in the course. Speaking has just being mentioned, but this concerns reading and listening as well. They are also done as creative activities because learners read or listen to some information for use in their continuous simulation, i.e., for transforming it creatively in their speaking. But since everything that the students say during continuous simulation is reflected and transformed in their own writing in the process of project work, the information obtained from reading and listening in English passes through no less than two creative transformations - in the learners' own speaking and in their writing.

Examples of project tasks used in the Business English course can be found in Appendix B. They are again taken from the previously mentioned coursebook *Business Project*, which is the practical embodiment of the suggested BET 3C method.

Learners' Autonomy

Learners' autonomy (Benson & Voller 1997) is the result of introducing continuous simulation and project work. They would become impossible as creative activities (see the description above) if learners were not autonomous in what they do and say and how they do and say it. But students are autonomous when doing the continuous simulation and/or project tasks, and all the assignments in the developed course are designed to ensure that autonomy. Students discuss different points stating their own opinions and using their background knowledge, they read texts and listen to talks and conversations to find information that they lack for their own discussions and conversations on certain topics, and they write about the results of their discussions to state their own ideas in writing. Thus, they autonomously decide what to do and say and how to do and say it - learning while doing and saying it. The task for the teacher is not so much to teach as to organize learning and facilitate it. It does not mean that in the actual instruction process teacher-dependent and teacher-fronted learning activities are excluded, but they become a kind of starting point, stimulating and initiating further activities in which learners are autonomous or even fully independent. The importance of ensuring learners' autonomy lies in the fact that there is no other way of developing the skills and abilities students require to become truly independent users of Business English.

Introduction of Fictitious Setting

This supplementary feature of the method is needed to ensure the proper functioning of its three principal tools: continuous simulation, project work, and learners' autonomy. The introduction of fictitious setting means connecting the contents of a lot of materials used in the course (texts, dialogues, case studies, etc.) to an imaginary fictitious country where imaginary fictitious businesses operate. It also means setting learning activities in that fictitious country - for instance, when students found their imaginary firm there.

This feature seems essential enough. To become autonomous in continuous simulation and project work, learners have to feel the psychological freedom to use their imagination and fantasy. This is hardly possible if they are confined by the economic reality in their own country or any other. They may be limited even by not knowing something of that reality since they will be afraid or at least embarrassed to invent. But establishing one's own business and operating it in a fictitious setting - an imaginary country with imaginary businesses in it - creates a degree of psychological freedom otherwise unattainable. Acting in some fictitious space, students will not feel the need to keep to strict facts of life and economy, and they will not be afraid of speaking or writing about something not fully known to them. This creates an opportunity to use imagination much more broadly and effectively than when the subject of communication is a real country with its real economy, businesses, etc. The result is creating an environment where students will freely and independently (autonomously) play business while doing continuous simulation and project work. It is a free play ground where learners may feel themselves at home because they set its rules and laws. This creates good conditions for enhancement of positive motivation and forming highly positive, anxiety-free attitudes to everything done in the classroom.

Cooperative Learning

This characteristic serves the same purpose as the previous one - ensuring the proper functioning of continuous simulation, project work, as well as making learners' autonomy possible. The great demands made by continuous simulation and project work, enhanced by the necessity of doing them autonomously, require learners' mutual help. So the focus in the course is on cooperative learning (Kessler 1992) instead of on traditional individual learning. Almost all the principal activities are designed to be done in pairs or small groups. This concerns project work, continuous simulation, all kinds of discussions and brainstorming, etc. When doing such learning tasks, students are required to pool their efforts. Such pooling is aimed at increasing learning in comparison with the assignments done individually - students not only learn themselves but teach each other and learn from each other. In the method under discussion, cooperative learning is fundamental to its organization and is the basis of learning activities, not only in but outside of class.

Cooperative learning also ensures ample practice in using language. If the greater part of activities are done in pairs or small groups, and not as teacher-fronted ones, it means that all students are actively practicing most of the class time. This is impossible in teacher-fronted activities since not more than one student can be genuinely active at any given moment of time - the one directly involved with the teacher (answering the teacher's questions or making a presentation, etc.).

Integrated-Skills Approach

The use of project work as one of the basic characteristics underlying the method under discussion leads to the emergence of one more feature. It has already been said that students' speaking in continuous simulation depends on their preparatory project work done in written project assignments which, in turn, depend on discussions, brainstorming, etc. The material both for speaking and writing is taken from what students listen to and read. This interconnectedness and interdependence in developing the four basic communication skills (speaking, reading, listening, writing) means those four skills are developed not separately from each other but in unison, so that reading and listening support speaking and writing, while speaking and writing reinforce the language material to be used for further development of reading and listening skills. This is the integrated-skills approach (Oxford 2001), and its systematic implementation as one of the conceptual features of the method is the last distinctive characteristic.

The six characteristics of the method make students' learning quite concrete. Thanks to them, learning Business English happens while students play business in English by way of doing continuous simulation and project work. Playing is mostly done autonomously by students in teams, i.e., in pairs or small groups, for which the efforts of all the members of a team are pooled to reach a common goal. That goal is attained by using different ways of communicating in English (speaking, listening, reading, writing) as interconnected instruments for playing business. Finally, students play business in the fictitious imaginary setting created by themselves. This allows them to use fantasy and imagination quite freely, enhances motivation, and stimulates anxiety-free attitudes. It was believed that the suggested approach used in its entirety could create a quasi-natural business environment which replaced learning of grammar and vocabulary with unconscious acquisition of communication skills and was fun for students. And when working on a foreign language is fun, the work is often successful. But the assumption had to be verified in teaching practice.

Such verification required, first of all, writing a new kind of coursebook of Business English designed in strict accordance with the method developed and its conceptual characteristics. Without such a coursebook, there was no hope for a teacher to use the method as it was meant to be used because of its peculiarities unusual for the standard BE teaching practice (at any rate, in the Ukraine.)

Design and Structure of a BE Coursebook

The coursebook, by Tarnopolsky et al., titled *Business Projects* was published in 2002. It consists of the Student's Book with the Workbook (for doing homework assignments) included in it, so that each unit of the Student's Book is followed by a corresponding unit of the Workbook. The set also includes the Teacher's Book, with detailed explanations and instructions for the teacher, and a 90-minute class cassette with the audio materials for the course. The title of the coursebook *Business Projects* was chosen because, as has already been said, project work is the focal point of learners' activities in the course.

The Student's Book is divided into 12 theme-based units, each unit devoted to one theme of business communication, i.e., one area of content in the field of business activities. Every two units are united by a more general theme, which creates a broader section of the coursebook consisting of two units. The themes of units and more general section themes are traditional for coursebooks of Business English. They were selected to cover the most important content matter of business communication. They include:

I. Starting a Business
   Unit 1. Forms of Businesses
   Unit 2. Company Structure
II. Job Hunting
   Unit 3. Making Appointments and Applying for a Job
   Unit 4. Career Profiles. Job Interviews
III. Business Environment
   Unit 5. Domestic and World Economy
   Unit 6. Business Objectives, Strategies, and Competition
IV. Marketing and Production
   Unit 7. Marketing
   Unit 8. Production
V. Banking and Finance
   Unit 9. Banking
   Unit 10. Finance
VI. Fairs, Exhibitions, Contracts
   Unit 11. Participation in Fairs and Exhibitions
   Unit 12. Contracts

Every unit consists of a Lead-in and three or four Steps. Lead-ins are designed to introduce students to the themes of units, to encourage them to understand, guess, and learn as much as possible about the content matter involved in any particular theme before reading special texts devoted to it. So, the activities are mostly directed at (a) eliciting students' background knowledge, (b) making them guess some information and give reasons why real facts should be as they have guessed them, (c) listening to some particular information that permits making conclusions as to more general information behind it, (d) getting students familiarized with the key vocabulary used in the unit, and (e) making students speak as freely and as much as possible on the theme from the point of view of their guesses and anticipation. Some Lead-ins also make learners write on the basis of their guesses and anticipation, this writing being done in the process of project work. Thus, speaking, listening, and (in some cases) writing are the principal forms of communication in Lead-ins, while reading is used mainly for understanding instructions and assignments. In some Lead-ins, short texts for reading are included which serve to achieve the purposes mentioned above. The activities in Lead-ins embrace different discussions, brainstorming, role-plays, and even continuous simulation activities.

Steps 1, 2, and (in some units) 3 are the central parts of every unit. They are devoted to developing the theme and communication skills required to speak, read, listen, and write using its content matter. A text on some aspect of the theme is the focal point of each of those steps. Reading the text in class is preceded by some problem-solving discussions or brainstorming assignments for students to guess and anticipate its content matter and understand its key vocabulary.

After-reading assignments begin with comprehension check-up activities (answering questions, discussing particular points, summarizing, etc.). Just as in Lead-ins, problem-solving activities, for which students have to generate new information on the basis of information learned from the text, are the principal ones and take a considerable part of class work. One or several listening assignments are also frequently included into such steps. Such assignments are always followed by speaking and/or writing assignments. Role-plays are characteristic of speaking assignments and are usually done in pairs while discussion/brainstorming-type assignments may be done as whole-class, small group, or pair activities only. Reading and listening assignments are done individually, while all the others are done as a team (cooperative learning).

All these activities lead to and prepare students for continuous simulation and project work, which are the most important parts of every step. Continuous simulation is done as a pair, small group, or whole-class activity, and in almost every class one or several continuous simulation episodes are played. Project tasks are mostly out-of-class activities. But before actually doing them out of class, students first discuss and brainstorm them in class. Later, when a particular project task has been done, they present the results to their group-mates in class again followed by a whole-class discussion of those results.

There are two specific activities included into two steps of every unit. One of them contains a Business News section. In this section students listen to business news and do assignments that check understanding and develop speaking skills on the basis of listening. The second specific activity is a case study. It starts with reading (or listening to) an open-ended short text. Several questions accompany the text; to answer them, students have to do one or several problem-solving tasks using their background knowledge or the knowledge obtained from what they have done in that particular unit. The assignments are of a discussion/brainstorming type and are usually done in small groups or pairs.

The Final Step (3 or 4) in every unit is probably the most important one. It summarizes the work in the unit and contains the most creative activities. As a rule, final steps contain no more than two types of activities: continuous simulation and project work. The project work is mostly discussions of the results of project tasks done out of class. For instance, if the project task was to develop the logo of students' imaginary firm, the logos developed by different teams would be presented to the whole class. Those logos are discussed and evaluated with the aim of choosing the best one.

Continuous simulation makes up the greater part of the Final Step in a unit. It may be organized as different meetings for discussing and making decisions on some issues. It can be, for example, the 'Board meeting' of the students' imaginary firm held to discuss the sales results in the current year and sales targets for the coming year. It can be a meeting devoted to listening to and discussing the report of the "Vice-President for Marketing" on the latest promotion campaign, etc. Continuous simulation in every final step is linked to project work. For instance, the above mentioned discussion of the company's logo would be organized as a meeting of the Marketing Department. In a greater part of the course continuous simulation involves presentations done by students, and those presentations are followed by discussions. Presentations themselves are the result of project work which, in turn, was done on the basis of previous discussions in the preceding episodes of continuous simulation.

The description of the coursebook given above illustrates characteristics of the method such as the use of continuous simulation, project work, and the integrated-skills approach. The other three characteristics are also fully embodied in the coursebook. First of all there is learners' autonomy. Both the nature of tasks and assignments (see above) and the recommendations given to the teacher in the Teacher's Book ensure autonomy. They also ensure cooperative learning because almost all those tasks and assignments are designed to be done in pairs or small groups. Finally, the coursebook introduces fictitious settings because a lot of materials in it (e.g., printed and audio texts) are connected to an imaginary, fictitious country called Bacardia with its imaginary, fictitious economy and businesses. In organizing the continuous simulation and project work at the very start of using the coursebook, the teacher is also instructed to encourage her or his students to locate the firm they are setting up in an imaginary country - for instance, in Bacardia.

One of the most characteristic features of the coursebook (and the course that can be organized on its basis) is that it is not explicitly focused on language forms; it is focused on content and using the content matter in communication, and it is in such communication that the language itself (BE) is acquired.

Since the coursebook is the practical embodiment of the method discussed in this article, the required verification of the method's practical effectiveness in a pilot study meant trying out the coursebook in teaching practice.

Testing the Coursebook in Teaching Practice

The objective of the pilot study of the coursebook was to find out whether it really worked better than the existing BE coursebooks published in the countries of the former USSR. It was also important to know how it compared to typical Western coursebooks on Business English.

Organization of the Pilot Study and Selection of Students

The study was organized in the 2001-2002 academic year with the second year students of the Department of Economics and Finance at Dnipropetrovsk University of Economics and Law. Classes of English there are held three times a week with two hours for every class. Three groups of students were involved. One group of 15 students, henceforth Group A, worked with the coursebook *Business Project* (Tarnopolsky et al. 2002) during the academic year. For a group of eight students, Group B, work during the same period was organized using a typical and methodologically up-to-date, Western coursebook of Business English - *Insights into Business* by Michael Lannon, Graham Tullis, and Tonya Trappe (1996). For Group C, again with eight students, a typical Russian coursebook *English for a Businessman* by O. I. Antonov (Informpechat 1991) was employed. It should be noted that the last coursebook mentioned was the most traditional and even obsolete in its concept, design, and structure, with the greatest attention paid to learning activities focused on language forms and the least concentration on purely communicative activities. This approach is quite characteristic of the BE coursebooks published in the countries of the former USSR.

The three groups were taught by three different teachers of equally high qualifications, each painstakingly following all the requirements of the method embodied in the coursebook that they were using. No changes or deviations from what was recommended in the coursebooks and teacher's books were allowed.

One of the reasons for choosing the two coursebooks for groups B and C, which were to be compared with group A, was the fact that their content matter and language material was similar to those of the *Business Projects* coursebook. Since all the three coursebooks were worked on during exactly the same period (one academic year, six hours of classes per week), the teaching/learning process was consistent in all the three groups: similar themes of units, similar content matter and language material to be learned, the same time of study. Students were approximately the same age (18-20 years of age with nobody younger or older.)

A similar male/female ratio in different groups was maintained as well: 9 females, 6 males in group A, 5 females, 3 males in group B, and 5 females, 3 males in group C (60% females, 40% males in group A, 62.5% females, 37.5% males in groups B and C). Finally, students in three groups had similar initial levels (intermediate) in their command of General English. This level was determined using a pre-test of their speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills.

In the pre-test, the same testing procedure and criteria were used as for testing during and after the course of studies (see the detailed description below.) The principal difference was in the themes of what the students were reading about, listening to, speaking, and writing about (General English, not Business English). For instance, they were asked to speak about their hobbies and interests, write about their future life plans, read a text about environment protection, and listen to a short interview with a British actress.

The mean pre-test scores for every group (in percentage of correct test task completion) are given in Table 1. It can be seen from the table that the mean test scores for all the groups were very close. This suggests that the students (as separate groups) were at a similar initial level in their command of General English. Before entering the university, all the students learned English at their secondary schools only, within the framework of a standard (Ukrainian) secondary school program of English studies, in a six-year course. They knew no other foreign languages, though all of them were bilingual (Ukrainian and Russian).

Therefore, since the pre-test scores, language backgrounds, age and gender ratios were consistent among the three groups, the groups could be considered equal for the practical purposes of a small pilot study. It therefore seemed reasonable to ascribe differences in learning outcomes to the different coursebooks.

Organization of Testing Procedure

Testing was divided into three stages. Every stage covered the work done in four consecutive units of the 12-unit *Business Projects* coursebook (one third of the course) and ended with a testing session in all three groups. The progress in the development of students' speaking, writing, listening, and reading skills was tested during every testing session. The division into three stages with tests at the end of every stage permitted observation of the dynamics of that development. Since the tests at every stage were absolutely identical in all the groups, they could reveal the difference in skills development - those differences that depended on the coursebooks and methods used in different groups.

Before describing the testing materials and procedure, it should be said that we made every attempt to create tests which were not biased towards any group or the coursebook used in it. The coursebooks for groups B and C, were specifically selected because they covered the same or similar themes and the same or similar language material as in group A. Therefore, the degree of test difficulty for students of different groups depended on the method embodied in each particular coursebook, not on its content matter.

Table 1
Mean Test Scores

Mean Test Scores[a]	Speaking	Writing	Listening	Reading
Group A	70.5%	65.0%	57.8%	82.1%
Group B	70.0%	63.6%	59.0%	82.5%
Group C	69.3%	66.0%	56.7%	81.0%

[a]In percentage of correct test task completion

In every testing session a speaking test was administered first. Every student had to talk to two independent assessors. He or she had to talk for several minutes (without any preparation) on one suggested topic and then to answer four questions. The topics were within the range of the themes and content matter studied by students of all the groups during each third of the course time after which the test was administered. For instance, the following topics for speaking were used in the first speaking test: If you were to organize your own business, what form of business would you choose and why? If you had to employ a top executive for your company, what personal qualities would you look for and why? What can you say about the management hierarchy in a typical company? If you are applying for a job in a big company, what papers should you submit? How would you try to interest your perspective employers when completing them? What questions should you get ready to answer during a job interview? What departments do most companies have and what are their functions? The questions that followed students' presentations were aimed at clarifying some points in them or could touch upon other topics.

Two independent assessors evaluated every student's speaking using the criterion approach (Cohen 1994). Seven criteria were employed: (a) relevance to the suggested topic and questions asked, content of what was said, (b) fluency, (c) comparative linguistic accuracy (grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation) (d) logical coherence and cohesion of what was said (e) variety of grammar and vocabulary used by the student when speaking, (f) volume of speaking (not less than 12 sentences had to be pronounced in the presentation to score top points), and (g)correct aural comprehension of questions asked. A student could score up to 10 points according to every criterion so that the maximum score was 70.

The same criterion approach was used in the writing test. Students were given 30 minutes to write a 180-200-word essay on a suggested topic. For instance, the topic in the third and last, writing test was "What do you know about the types of banks and their different services?" The two independent assessors when reading every students' essay, evaluated it using the following criteria: (a) relevance to the suggested topic, content of what was written in the essay, (b) adequacy of the essay's format and style, (c) linguistic accuracy (grammar, syntax, vocabulary, spelling), (d) logical coherence and cohesion of what was written, (e) variety of grammar and vocabulary used by the student in her/his essay, and (f) volume (not less than 180 words for the student to score top points). A student could score up to 10 points according to every criterion so that the maximum score was 60. Both in the speaking test and in the writing test, the points given by each assessor according to every criterion were added up and divided by two. In this way the final score of every student for every test was calculated (Underhill 1987).

It should be mentioned that the same independent assessors graded all three groups with no replacements allowed because it would have immediately made the assessment results unreliable. Another point that should be mentioned is the fact that the assessors preferred to negotiate their grades between them before final grading, though they were in no way encouraged to do so. That is why their evaluations agreed to a point in most cases. The differences appeared only in disagreements, but those happened very rarely, and the difference practically never exceeded two points (There were only three cases of three points difference and one case of four points difference.)

In the three listening tests, students listened to three five-minute tape-recorded conversations on business matters. The tapescript of the conversation listened to in the first listening test is given as an example in Appendix C (see Sample 1).

After listening, learners had to answer ten comprehension questions in writing: The comprehension questions used in listening test 1 are also given in Appendix C as an example (see Sample 2). Every correct answer gained the student one point, so that the maximum possible score was 10 points.

Finally, in the reading tests the students were given ten minutes to read authentic original texts of about 800-1,000 words each from the area of business and economics. The text used in reading test 2 is given as an example in Appendix C (see Sample 3).

The text was taken away from the students after they finished reading, and they were requested to answer ten comprehension questions in writing. Examples of comprehension questions used in reading test 2 can be found in Appendix C (see Sample 4). Just as in the listening tests, every correct answer gained the student one point, so that the maximum possible score was 10 points.

Test Results and Discussion

Test Results

The results of testing after every stage are shown in Figure 1 (showing the means for every group).

The data in Figure 1 demonstrate that the students from group A performed much better in all the tests and during all three testing sessions than the students from the two other groups. Though this demonstration is the result of a limited pilot study, it gives sufficient grounds for some preliminary conclusions.

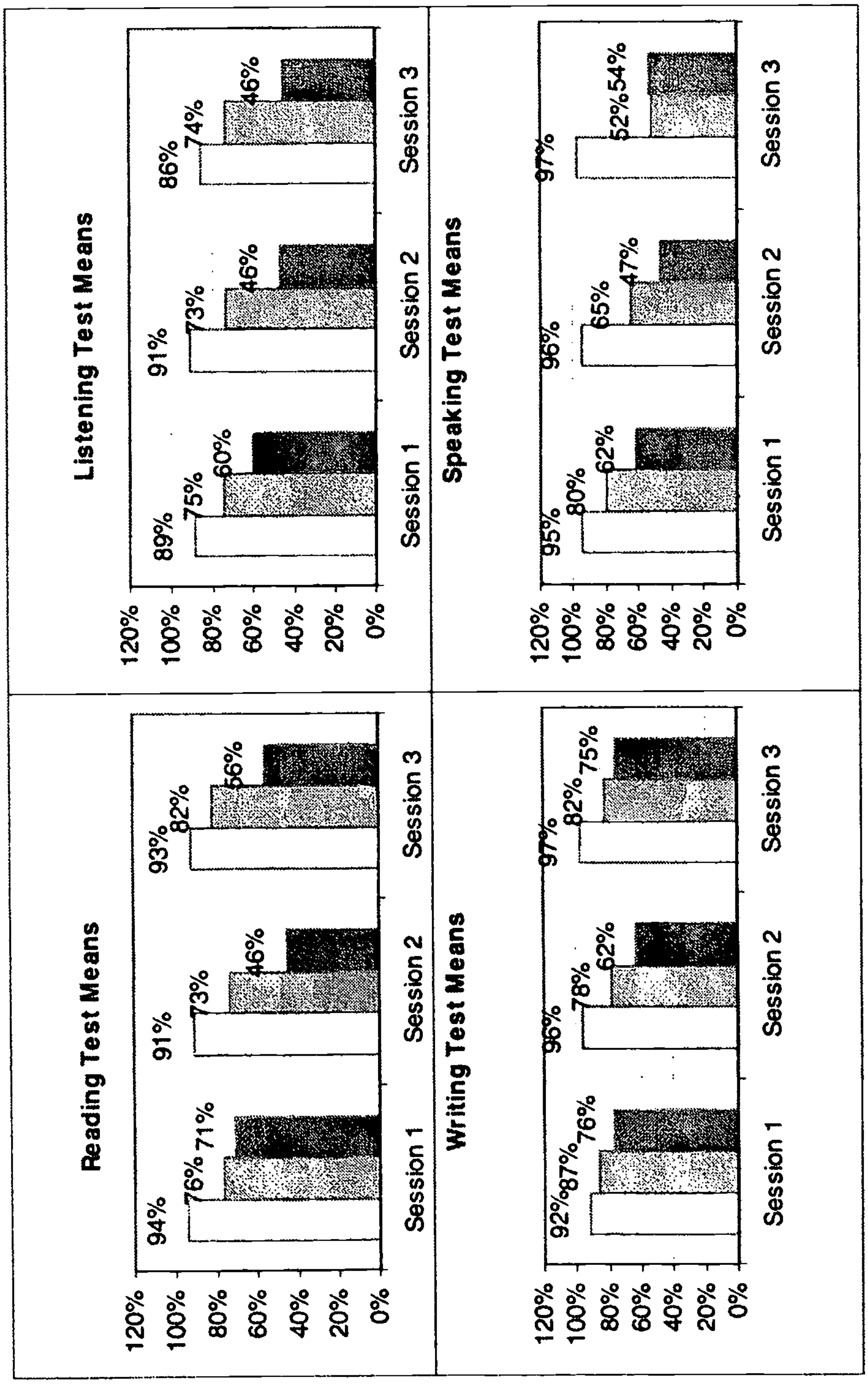
Better performance in testing suggests that the students from Group A manifested higher levels in their speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills. This suggests the advantages of the method introduced and the coursebook *Business Projects* over the more traditional methods and the two other coursebooks embodying them - at least, for the given students and in the given conditions of learning.

This conclusion particularly concerns the group with which a typical BE coursebook published in Russia was used because the results in that group (C) were so much poorer than in Group A (see Table 2). This suggests that the method employed is considerably more effective than the traditional method of teaching Business English which is based on focusing on learning language forms. But if the results of Groups A and B are compared, the comparison also demonstrates greater effectiveness of the method used in Group A. This signifies that the suggested method performed better in the classroom than even the up-to-date method used in a typical Western BE coursebook.

What was said above becomes especially visible when making the intra-group and inter-group comparisons of results from test to test, i.e., from lower to higher stages of learning. Those comparisons can show the dynamics of students' skills development in speaking, writing, listening, reading. The comparative data given in Figure 1 demonstrate that the gap in testing results between group A, on the one hand, and groups B and C, on the other hand, did not become narrower in the course of students' progressing from one stage of learning to another one. The students from groups B and C did not approach the level of group A.

It should also be noted that every following test was naturally more difficult than the preceding one. That was due to the increasing level of language and content difficulty of materials used in each test. That level almost doubled with every test in succession - in full accordance with the level of tasks and teaching materials used at the stage of learning pre-

Figure 1.
Group Test Means



*White represents Group A, light gray Group B, and dark gray group C.

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ceding a certain testing session. Test results in group A show that the students from that group were able to keep abreast of the increasing level of difficulty. Their test results remained stable and quite close to 100%. They even slightly improved and approached closer to 100% with the succession of tests. The only exceptions were test 2 in reading and test 3 in listening which showed slight decreases (see Fig. 1). This suggests that the development of communication skills in group A progressed steadily, never lagging behind that level of skills development which was the aim of a definite stage of learning. The pictures in groups B and C were quite different. The test results of those groups seemed to progress by fits and starts. After reaching a certain level in testing session 1, they dropped (in many cases quite low) for all the tests in testing session 2. Then they went up again in testing session 3, but not for all tests and never reaching the level of group A, nor the results of the same groups achieved in testing session 1 (see Fig. 1), which was the simplest of the three. The only exception was reading test 3 in group B which showed results slightly higher than the results of reading test 1 in the same group (see Fig. 1). It seems that the students from groups B and C, unlike group A, could not keep abreast of the increasing difficulty of tasks and teaching materials in the development of their skills in speaking, writing, listening, and reading.

Therefore, it can be said that the coursebook and the method of teaching used in group A seemed to ensure rapid development and improvement of students' communication skills permitting them to increase steadily in the level of language and content difficulty of learning tasks and teaching materials. The other two coursebooks and the methods underlying them did not seem to provide the means for achieving similar outcomes.

Discussion of Test Results

All the test results given above suggest that the method and the coursebook under discussion seem to be the most effective in comparison with the typical Western Business English coursebook occupying the second place, and the typical Russian coursebook being the least effective.

It has already been mentioned that the conclusions made above cannot be considered as final and completely generalizable because of the limited pilot character of the study. But the results of this study show a clear tendency of the all-around advantages of the suggested method and coursebook Business English.

Students' Subjective Response

Those advantages were also confirmed in a different aspect - the levels of students' satisfaction and motivation. Every student from every group was asked to complete a questionnaire anonymously after his or her final (third) testing session. The questionnaire is shown in Appendix D. The 13 questions in the questionnaires were all aimed at revealing whether the students were satisfied with different aspects of the coursebook used in their particular group during the academic year. The level of satisfaction with the coursebook naturally reflected the level of learners' satisfaction with the course organized on the basis of that coursebook and, consequently, with the method of teaching underlying both. That level of satisfaction was also a reflection of the level of motivation so that the higher level of satisfaction the students demonstrated, the higher their level of motivation was.

Satisfaction was defined as positive answers to the questions in the questionnaire by answers "yes" in questions 1, 4-9, 11-12, "better" in question 2, "fun" in question 3, "the best way" in question 10, and "just right" in question 13. All the other choices of answers were interpreted as dissatisfaction with a certain aspect.

It was decided that 12-13 positive answers out of 13 (92-100%) suggested a student's complete satisfaction; 9-11 positive answers (70-85%) were interpreted to mean that a particular student was almost satisfied with the coursebook; 6-8 positive answers (46-62%) were a sign of partial satisfaction and less than 6 positive answers (less than 40%) demonstrated dissatisfaction with the coursebook used.

The results of filling in the questionnaires by the students were as follows:

1. In group A, 13 students out of 15 (86%) demonstrated their complete satisfaction by giving 12-13 positive answers; one student (7%) was almost satisfied, and one (7%) was partially satisfied with the coursebook used. There were no dissatisfied students.
2. In group B one student out of eight (12.5%) was completely satisfied; one (12.5%) was partially satisfied, and six (75%) were dissatisfied with the coursebook used. There were no almost satisfied students.
3. In group C there were no students who were either completely satisfied or almost satisfied. Two out of eight (25%) were partially sat isfied, and six (75%) were dissatisfied.

Therefore, it was the students from group A only who showed the high level of satisfaction with the coursebook used in their group (*Business Projects*) and everything that it stood for - the course organized on its basis and the method that had been laid as the foundation of the coursebook and the course. They were capable of generating and maintaining the high level of students' positive learning motivation that the other two coursebooks seemed incapable of doing (This could also be observed by the teachers in the instruction process.)

Limitations

To finish the discussion, the already mentioned limitations of the pilot study described in this article should be listed – those limitations that constrain the generalizability of the results obtained and the conclusions drawn above concerning the effectiveness of the suggested method and coursebook. Such listing is required for pinpointing the direction of future studies.

The most important limitation is the fact that in the reported study, both the method and the coursebook were tried out in one single group in one educational institution and not in different institutions. The effectiveness of the methods in coursebooks used in this study should be tested with different groups of students in different schools in order to support our findings. Another limitation is the high qualifications of teachers who were teaching in all three groups. While the teachers in our study were equally highly-qualified, it would be important to test our method using teachers of varying qualifications. The third limitation is an insufficient number of collected students' opinions and impressions concerning the coursebook. Finally, one more limitation is the absence of properly collected and processed teachers' opinions. This suggests that the results and conclusions of this study have to be considered preliminary, and only in mass teaching, which is planned as the next step, will they be finalized and become conclusive.

Conclusion

The method discussed in this article is based on six original characteristics that have been fully embodied in the coursebook *Business Projects.* These features have never before been used in such a combination in any other coursebook for Business English studies. They include (a) the use of continuous simulation as the principal learning activity that creates a quasi-natural business environment and makes learning fun for students; (b) the use of project work as the activity accompanying and reinforcing continuous simulation; (c) learners' autonomy; (d) the introduction of a fictitious setting that allows students to use their imagination freely, enhances learning motivation, and stimulates relaxed anxiety-free attitudes to learning; (e) organization of classroom activities on the basis of cooperative learning; and (f) the integrated-skills approach so that speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills are developed interdependently supporting and reinforcing each other.

The pilot study of the coursebook in question in comparison with one typical Western and one typical Russian Business English coursebook has suggested its advantages and higher effectiveness both in developing learners' communicative skills of speaking, writing, listening, and reading in English and in enhancing the students' positive learning motivation and their satisfaction with how their learning was organized. It has also been found that using the coursebook *Business Projects* ensured the accelerated development of learners' Business English communication skills, permitting rapid increases in the level of language and content difficulty of learning tasks and teaching materials. The other two coursebooks showed the opposite results in that respect. This suggests the overall effectiveness of the method employed for the given conditions of learning Business English. Though such results and conclusions can be considered only as preliminary, they are still very hopeful and promising.

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Appendix A

Examples of tasks used in the course of Business English for organizing continuous simulation in the classroom. The examples are taken from the coursebook *Business Projects* by Tarnopolsky et al. (2002).

1. Conduct a discussion with the whole class. Suppose that your class has decided to start a business. You cannot all be sole proprietors, because those of you who have money do not have managerial talents, specific skills, and so on. Those who have skills do not have money. So, you have to choose between a partnership and a corporation. Decide which you will have, and why. Then discuss what you will do, who will invest what, what the name of your partnership or corporation will be, whether it will be located in Ukraine or some other country. You can choose freely. Give reasons for all your decisions (Unit 1, p. 18-19).

2. (Pair work). In the last class (on Unit 1, class 5) your group founded your own business (a partnership or a corporation). In the last class on this unit you will hold a meeting to decide what job in the business each of you will do and what position everyone will hold. You need to do a lot of preparation for that meeting. Now you need to ask your partner a number of questions to find out:

a. In which department or body of your company he or she would prefer to work, and why.
b. Which job he or she would prefer to do there, and why.
c. Which position he or she would prefer to occupy (a superior or a subordinate), and why.

You should try to get your partner to give reasons for every choice. Then change roles and let your partner find out the same information about you. Report your findings to the class (Unit 2, p 29).

3. In whole-group discussion discuss the results of interviewing students about their preferences for some definite job in your company or partnership (see activity Lead-in 8). Discuss what you have discovered about the types of intelligence that different students have (see activities IIId.2, 3). Each student should report his/her results and conclusions made when doing activities Lead-in 8 and IIId.2, 3. He or she should recommend which position in the company (or partnership) best suits his or her former partner, according to his/her type of intelligence and personal wishes. In each recommendation, include your reasons. All the recommendations should be discussed and alternative candidates may be nominated for every position. After discussing all the candidates for each position, elections are to be held. Elect the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Chief Executive Officer, and members of the Executive Board. Finally appointments are made by the Chief Executive Officer for the positions of directors, managers, heads of departments, etc. (Unit 2, p. 43-44).

4. Working in pairs, exchange with your partner the application letters and CVs that you wrote as Project Work in the preceding unit. Study your partner's application letter and CV very carefully. After you have finished, do job interviews. First you interview your partner, trying to decide whether he or she is suited to a certain position in your company (partnership). Then he or she should interview you with the same purpose (Unit 4, p. 78).

5. You will have a new Executive Board meeting now. Its aim is to listen to the presentations about your company (partnership's) position in Ukraine. After the second class on this unit you were to prepare presentations (as project work) stating your opinions on: a) how you see the place of your company (partnership) fitting into the economy of Ukraine, and b) how your company (partnership) can help in developing the economy of Ukraine

and in improving the economic situation as a whole. Each participant has about 2 minutes to make his or her presentation, and about 1 minute to answer possible questions (Unit 5, p. 98).

6. Work in the same small groups to develop a promotional campaign plan for a specific product or service in your company. Use the same product or service that you discussed when choosing target market and pricing. From your plan it should be clear which forms of promotion you will use for this specific product or service, and in what order. You will have to decide what forms of advertising will be used and why. Will these forms of advertising be used all at once, or one after the other? Why? (Unit 7, p. 126).

7. While working on Unit 7, you discussed how to promote some product(s) or service(s) of your company (partnership). If you selected a product, discuss in groups of three or four what materials and machinery you will need to manufacture it. What kind of instructions would you give to use this product? If you selected a service, discuss what product(s) your company (partnership) should manufacture, and what materials or machinery will be needed to produce it. Then list your instructions for using this product, and prepare appropriate recommendations to give your company (partnership) (Unit 8, p. 139).

8. Pair work. Student A in the pair is a representative of your company (partnership). Student B is a representative of a bank. A is talking to B about getting a loan for your company (partnership).

   Before starting, A should decide and make notes about the following issues:
   a) for what project of your company (partnership) the loan is requested;
   b) what profits are expected and when;
   c) what sum of money will be requested;
   d) what the possible time of repayment is;
   e) what interest rate your company (partnership) can afford to pay.

   B should decide and make notes about the following issues:
   a) what information will be requested from the applicant;
   b) what estimates and documents the applicant will be requested to submit;
   c) what conditions of the loan will be offered (Unit 9, p. 159).

Appendix B

Examples of project tasks used in the course of Business English (taken from the coursebook *Business Projects* by Tarnopolsky et al. (2002).

1. The group is divided into 4 small groups (with 3 to 4 students per group). Two of the small groups have to write minutes of the meeting just held, including what issues were discussed, who spoke, and what decisions were taken. Two of the small groups should list characteristics of the company's (partnership's) top executives, to be included into the prospectus (Unit 2, p. 44).

2. Every applicant is required to write a letter of application for the job for which he or she is applying (following the results of the discussion above – see Ib. 4). Your application letters do not need to be truthful; use your imagination. Application letters should follow the format of the letter in the text that is used as a sample one. They may be started in class and finished as the home assignment for the next class. At the beginning of the next class, they should be handed in to the teacher for correcting and commenting (Unit 3, p. 55).

3. On the basis of what you have heard during the meeting, write an essay of 100-150 words giving your recommendations to your company (partnership) about trying to start a business in one of the four English-speaking countries. Give your reasons for choosing that country over the other. Specify what kind of cooperation may be possible (exports, imports, joint projects, etc.). List practical ways of starting the cooperation you envision. Your essay should be finished before the next class (Unit 5, p. 97).

4. (individual, pair-work, or small-group work – as the class decides). Design the logo of your company or partnership, and explain why you think that your logo would best represent it. You will have to design your logo before the last class on the next unit where all the suggested logos will be presented (Unit 7, p. 130).

5. Based on the discussion above (IIIa. 1 and 2) the next section of your company's (partnership's) prospectus should be written. This section describes production in the company (partnership) – the factory/factories and its/their structure, what goods are manufactured and how, how the Production Department functions, etc. The work should be done in small groups of 3 or 4 stu-

dents and completed before the last class of the next unit (Unit 8, p. 145).

6. In the next class you will simulate your company's (partnership's) participation in an international exhibition or fair, based on your decision when preparing a catalogue for it. You will need to make two slightly different presentations at the exhibition (fair). If your company (partnership) is engaged both in manufacturing some goods and in some type of public service, a separate presentation will be needed to focus on each of those aspects. If your company (partnership) is only involved in one of these, the two presentations should focus on different aspects of product/service.

   Now divide the class into two equal groups, each of which should brainstorm, prepare its presentation speech, and appoint a student to give it. All the graphs, charts, and schemes should also be prepared for the presentation. You should also decide: who the presenter's assistants will be to join him/her in answering questions; who the stand attendants will be to demonstrate particular products and services to visitors and answer their questions, etc. Prepare carefully for a good presentation because the reputation of your company (partnership) depends on it (Unit 11, p. 191).

7. During and after the preceding class you wrote contracts to sell some of your company's (partnership's) products. Exchange those contracts (pair A with pair B, and pair C with pair D, etc.). Each pair attentively reads and brainstorms the text of the contract written by the other pair, an then decides what improvements could be made in it. You should also identify the strong points of the contracts, and after class, write an essay concerning your suggestions (100 words). Prepare to use this essay as a basis for your presentation in the last class of this unit (Unit 12, p. 204).

Appendix C

Samples of Materials for Listening and Reading Tests

Sample 1. Tapescript of the text for listening in listening test 1 (The source of the tape-recorded audio text was the class cassette that was a part of teaching materials developed by the first author. The materials were designed for the course of oral business communication Starting

Business Relations.)

A. Come in!

B. Good afternoon, gentlemen.

A. Oh, here you are! Sylvia, I would like you to meet Mr. Schevchuk. Mr. Schevchuk, that's Miss Sylvia Peters, our Public Relations manager.

B. Glad to meet you, Mr. Schevchuk.

C. How do you do. Nice to meet you.

A. How about a drink, guys? Something refreshing, eh?

B. It would be nice. Coca-Cola is just what I need.

C. And the same for me, please.

A. Well, here you are. And now I'm leaving you alone. I must be off. See you soon.

B. Well, Mr. Schevchuk, Jack has informed me about your problem. I'm ready to answer all your questions about the structure of our company.

C. Miss Peters, first of all I would like to know about the functions of departments which are under the Managing director.

B. I think that the functions of the Sales and Production departments are quite clear. As to the Human Resources department, it takes care of the personnel, its recruitment, and training. The Finance department is responsible for finance and accounting, and the Management Services department is in charge of rationalization throughout the company. Finally, the R&D department works on new products development. It works in close contact with the Regions. Each department has its own manager or director.

C. And what about the Regions?

B. Well, Regions, or regional departments, are under direct control of the Managing Director, as you probably know. They report to him. But Regional Managers are supported by two Sections - Marketing and Technical Services. The Section Heads, or Leaders, are accountable to Regional Managers. They work with the Regions on the marketing and technical problems.

C. I see that the Managing Director is the key figure in the company. He is in charge of everything and everybody is accountable to him.

B. You are right in principle. But you must remember that a big company, such as ours, can have its subsidiaries abroad. For example, we have three subsidiaries: Rutland Canada, Rutland Australia and Rutland Greece. The subsidiaries report their activities to the Export Sales department of the parent company, i.e., to our offices here in London. The Export Sales department, in its turn, is accountable directly to the Board of Directors and not to the Managing Director. Well, that's a brief survey of the management of our company.

C. Thank you very much. You helped me a lot. I still have many questions, but don't want to take too much of your time. But can we meet again?

B. Yes, sure. It would be nice. Let me look into my diary. Will tomorrow at 10 a.m. do for you? I'll have a full hour to answer all your questions.

C. Wonderful. Thank you. I'll be on the spot at 10 sharp. Good-bye.

B. So long. See you tomorrow.

Sample 2. Comprehension questions for listening test 1.

(1)What departments are under the Managing Director? (2)What is the function of the Human Resources department? (3)What is the Management Services department in charge of? (4)What does the R&D department work on? (5)Who directly controls Regional departments?, (6)What two sections support Regional Managers?, (7)Who are Section Heads accountable to?, (8)Who is the key figure in a company?, (9)Whom do the subsidiaries report to?, (10)What body is the Export Sales department accountable to?

Sample 3. Text for reading in reading test 2 (retrieved from the Internet in a slightly adapted and abridged version: http://www.wikipedia.com/wiki/Japan/Economy).

Japan's Economics

Japans industrialized, free-market economy is the second-largest in the world after the United States. Its economy is highly efficient and competitive in areas linked to international trade, but productivity is far lower in areas such as agriculture, distribution, and services. After achieving one of the highest economic growth rates in the world from the 1960s through the 1980s, the Japanese economy slowed dramatically in the early 1990s, when the "bubble economy" collapsed. Its reservoir of industrial leadership and technicians, well-educated and industrious work force, high savings and investment rates, and intensive promotion of industrial development and foreign trade have produced a mature industrial economy. Japan has few natural resources, and trade helps it earn the foreign exchange needed to purchase raw materials for its economy.

While Japan's long-term economic prospects are considered good, Japan is currently in its worst recession since World War II. Plummeting stock and real estate prices marked the end of the "bubble economy" of the late 1980s. The impact of the Asian financial crisis also has been substantial. Real GDP in Japan grew at an average of roughly 1% yearly between 1991-98, compared to growth in the 1980s of about 4% per year. Growth in Japan in this decade has been slower than growth in other major industrial nations. The Government of Japan has forecast growth in Japan fiscal year 2001 at 1.7%. A number of economic indicators remain in negative territory, and growth for first quarter 2001 was 0.2%.

Agriculture, Energy, and Minerals

Only 15% of Japan's land is suitable for cultivation. The agricultural economy is highly subsidized and protected. With per hectare crop yields among the highest in the world, Japan maintains an overall agricultural self-sufficiency rate of about 50% on fewer than 5.6 million cultivated hectares (14 million acres). Japan normally produces a slight surplus of rice but imports large quantities of wheat, sorghum, and soybeans, primarily from the United States. Japan is the largest market for U.S. agricultural exports.

Given its heavy dependence on imported energy, Japan has aimed to diversify its sources. Since the oil shocks of the 1970s, Japan has reduced dependence on petroleum as a source of energy from more than 75% in 1973 to about 57% at present. Other important energy sources are coal, liquefied natural gas, nuclear power, and hydropower.

Deposits of gold, magnesium, and silver meet current industrial demands, but Japan is dependent on foreign sources for many of the minerals essential to modern industry. Iron ore, coke, copper, and bauxite must be imported, as must many forest products.

Labor

Japan's labor force consists of some 64 million workers, 40% of whom are women. Labor union membership is about 12 million. The unemployment rate is currently 4.9% - a post-war high. In 1989, the predominantly public sector union confederation, SOHYO (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), merged with RENGO (Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation) to form the Japanese Trade Union Confederation.

GDP: purchasing power parity - $2.95 trillion (1999 est.)
GDP - real growth rate: 0.3% (1999 est.)
GDP - per capita: purchasing power parity - $23,400 (1999 est.)
GDP - composition by sector: agriculture: 2%, industry: 35%, services: 63% (1999 est.)
Population below poverty line: NA%
Household income or consumption by percentage share: lowest 10%: NA%, highest 10%: NA%
Inflation rate (consumer prices): -0.8% (1999 est.)
Labor force: 67,76 million (November 1999)
Labor force – by occupation: trade and services 65%, industry 30%, agriculture, forestry and fishing 5%
Unemployment rate: 4,7% (1999 est.)
Budget: revenues: $463 billion expenditures: $809, including capital expenditures (public works only) of about $94 billion
Industries: among world's largest and technologically advanced producers of motor vehicles, electronic equipment, machine tools, steel and nonferrous metals, ships, chemicals, textiles, processed foods
Industrial production growth rate: -0,1% (1999 est.)
Electricity – production: 995,982 billion kWh (1998)
Electricity – production by source: fossil fuel: 56.68%, hydro: 8.99%, nuclear: 31.93% other:2.4% (1998)
Electricity: consumption: 926,263 billion kWh (1998)
Electricity – exports: 0 kWh (1998)
Electricity – imports: 0 kWh (1998)
Agriculture – products: rice, sugar beets, vegetables, fruit, pork, poultry, dairy products, eggs, fish
Exports: $413 billion (f.o.b., 1999 est.)
Exports: commodities: motor vehicles, semiconductors, office machinery, chemicals

Exports: partners: US 31%, Taiwan 7%, China 5.5%, South Korea 5.4%
Hong Kong 5.2% (1999)
Imports: $306 billion (c.i.f., 1999 est.)
Imports: commodities: fuels, foodstuffs, chemicals, textiles, office machinery
Imports: partners: US 22%, China 4%, South Korea 5.1%, Australia 4.2%, Taiwan 4.1% (1999)
Debt – external: $NA
Economic aid – donor: $9,1 billion (1999)
Currency: yen
Exchange rates: yen per US$1 – 105.16 (January 2000), 113.91 (1999), 130.91 (1998), 120.99 (1997), 108.78 (1996), 94.06 (1995)
Fiscal year: 1 April – 31 March

Sample 4. Comprehension questions for reading test 2.

1)What place does the economy of Japan occupy in the world?;
2)What can you say about the economic situation in Japan now?;
3)What is the situation in Japan's agriculture?;
4)What are the principal sources of energy used in Japan?;
5)What can you say about the labor resources of the country?;
6)What was Japan's budget in 2000/2001 fiscal year?;
7)What branches of industry are most developed in Japan?;
8)What does Japan export, and what countries were its principal export partners in 1999?;
9)What does Japan import, and what countries were its principal import partners in 1999?;
10)What are the dates of fiscal year in Japan?

Appendix D

Questionnaire For Students' Evaluation of the Coursebook and Methods Used

Please help us to know your opinion of the coursebook that you have been using this academic year.

1. Do you like the coursebook that you have been using (circle yes or no)?
yes no

2. If you compare this coursebook with those that you have used before, is it better, worse, or just similar (circle better, worse, or just similar)?

better worse just similar

3. Do you think that assignments in the coursebook were fun or that they were boring (circle fun or boring)?

fun boring

4. Did you enjoy your classes of Business English when this coursebook was being used (circle yes or no)?

yes no

5. Do you believe that the assignments in the coursebook were creative and helped you demonstrate your creative potential, imagination, fantasy, inventiveness, your personality, and resources (circle yes or no)?

yes no

6. Do you believe that the assignments in the coursebook gave you as much autonomy (independence) for doing them as you would like to have (circle yes or no)?

yes no

7. Did you get sufficient help for doing such assignments (circle yes or no)?

yes no

8. Were the materials and assignments in the coursebook interesting, attractive, and useful for you personally (circle yes or no)?

yes no

9. Did the way of learning Business English suggested in the coursebook suit you personally (circle yes or no)?

yes no

10. Do you think it is the best, most efficient, and useful way of learning Business English or would you prefer something different (circle the best way or something different)?

the best way something different

11. Did you feel that your personal command of Business English was growing from class to class when you were using this coursebook (circle yes or no)?

yes no

12. Did the coursebook, the assignments in it, the course organised on the basis of this coursebook help you feel relaxed, anxiety-free, interested, and active in class (circle yes or no)?

yes no

13. Were the assignments in the coursebook too difficult for you, too easy for you, just right as to difficulty (circle too difficult, too easy, or just right)?

too difficult too easy just right

Thank you for your help!

Closing the Advising Session

Mihyon Jeon

University of Pennsylvania

This study investigates closing patterns for an institutional conversation in an ELP (English Language Program) at a university in the United States. What is the relationship between the closing patterns of the participants and their level of proficiency in English? By indicating that ESL learners, especially beginners, face difficulty in closing conversations successfully, this study draws attention to a need to provide appropriate instruction on closings. Second, this study also demonstrates that as ESL students' proficiency level increases, their conversational closings become less marked. Finally, it suggests what to teach ESL learners to help them in performing unmarked closings in advising sessions. Instruction on the four subsections of this type of closing would be useful for ESL students. Information about marked and unmarked closings would help them to terminate conversations felicitously.

Introduction

The current study aims to investigate closing patterns for an institutional conversation in an ELP (English Language Program) at a university in the United States. The conversational closings that will be investigated have been realized between representatives of the institution, who are native English speakers, and their students, who are non-native English speakers. For the non-native speakers of English, it is not a simple task to close a conversation in English. Knowing how to close a conversation in their native languages does not guarantee success in English, because conversational closings are culture-specific (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig 1992: 93). Bardovi-Harlig, Hartford, Mahan-Taylor, Morgan and Reynolds (1991: 6) argue that learners of English are sometimes unable to close conversations in culturally and situationally sensitive ways. Even for advanced learners of English, it might not be easy to close conversations by initiating a closing or responding properly when their interlocutor initiates a closing.

As a non-native speaker of English, my own experience related to conversational closings might be an appropriate example of the difficulty which non-native speakers of English encounter in closing conversations. I was talking on the phone with one of my classmates whose native language is English. I had initiated the phone call for the purpose of finding out some information related to course work. After fifteen minutes of conversation and a few topic shifts, my classmate said, "Okay." I interpreted this as a signal for both finishing the current topic and starting the next topic and, therefore, I started to talk about another topic by using a phrase, "By the way." After some time, he said again, "Okay," and I initiated a new topic by saying, "By the way." This pattern was repeated a few more times and finally he said, "I gotta go," and we closed the conversation by a terminal exchange. After the phone conversation, I felt that something was not quite right. My response to the preclosing signal, "Okay," was not appropriate, because I had misinterpreted it.

Bardovi-Harlig et al. (1991: 6) suggest that closings, if overly extended, may make learners appear rude by making them seem "hard to get rid of." In the opposite case, closings that are too brief also make learners seem rude by making them seem "abrupt." These are examples when social norms of interactions in a speech community are broken. People tend to misinterpret these violations as unfriendliness, rudeness, or over familiarity as proposed by Wolfson (1983: 62-3).

In order to lessen the risk of appearing uncooperative or rude, non-native speakers of English need to be aware of the functions and patterns of conversational closings in English. Instruction may be an effective way to help learners to develop their pragmatic awareness about conversational closings. When the previously mentioned telephone call was made, I had formally studied English for over ten years and had been living in the United States for two and a half years. However, I had not been taught explicitly how to close conversations in English. Instruction about closing conversations might have helped me to be aware of this specific speech act and to respond to my interlocutor's closing initiation more successfully.

The effectiveness of formal instruction regarding "the social rules of language use" in classrooms was demonstrated in Billmyer's research on the performance of compliments by ESL learners who had been instructed on how to compliment (1990: 285-6). Wolfson argued that

> the acquisition of sociolinguistic rules can be greatly facilitated by teachers who have the necessary information at their command and who have the sensitivity to use their knowledge in order to guide students and help them to interpret values and patterns which they would otherwise have difficulty in interpreting. (1989: 31)

In order to instruct ESL learners in using pragmatically appropriate English in a target speech community, the selection of speech acts for instruction should be considered early on. The ways in which these speech acts are carried out among native English speakers should also be identified. Even though there might not be critically important speech acts for instruction, selection of the speech acts for instruction should be made according to both the ESL learners' needs or interests and the possible types of English contact which they may face (Bardovi-Harlig et al. 1991: 5). In order to find out ESL learners' needs and to identify areas of difficulty in their English use, their conversational or written language use should be collected and analyzed through observation or through recording spontaneous conversations performed by ESL learners (Bardovi-Harlig et al. 1991: 5). Little research has been conducted on ESL learners' English language use regarding conversational closings. As a result, there is little instruction about conversational closings, even though ESL learners often have difficulties in closing conversations successfully.

This paper contributes to an understanding of ESL learners' attempts at English conversational closings by analyzing the conversational closings made by ESL learners and their advisors, who are native speakers of English, in advising sessions in an ELP. The relationship between the participants' English language proficiency and their conversational closing patterns is investigated. By implication, this study draws attention to conversational closings in instructing ESL learners.

Theoretical Framework

The current study draws on the work by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) on conversational closings of the academic advising sessions. Their study in turn draws on both the study of conversational closings by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and the studies of the structure of institutional discourse by Agar (1985) and Erickson and Shultz (1982). Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992: 94) argue that the academic interview in their study is an institutional discourse whose structure is determined by the needs of the institution or something else. Agar (1985: 149) claims that the structure of all institutional discourse consists of the following phases: diagnoses, directives, and reports. In the first phase, the institutional representative diagnoses the client – the reason the client is in contact with the institution. In the directives phase, "the institutional representative directs the client to do certain things or directs an organization to do certain things to or for the client" (Agar 1985: 149). A report is the summary of the institutional discourse that the institutional representative produces.

The specific realization of this structure for the advising session in this study is defined as the following:

OPENING

A student comes in and takes a seat with greetings.
An advisor asks for the student's history.

DIAGNOSIS
The student requests a course change.
The student provides the reasons for the request.

DIRECTIVE
The advisor provides information on the courses appropriate for the student's needs.
The advisor also explains how course-change requests can be workedout.

REPORT WRITING
The student fills out the course-change request form with the advisor's help.

CLOSING
Shutting Down
Preclosing
Thanking (Expression of Gratitude)
Terminal Exchange

The "Opening " and "Closing" serve as the initial and final phases in addition to the three phases suggested by Agar, whose work does not focus on the openings and closings.

In their pioneering study of American English closings from natural telephone-conversation data, Schegloff and Sack (1973) analyze ways in which two interlocutors negotiate the placement of the end of the last topic and close conversations. They argue that ending sequences employ adjacency-pair formats (1973: 297). An adjacency pair refers to "a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers" (Richards, Platt, & Platt 1992: 7). Adjacency pairs have the following features: the length of two utterances, adjacent positioning of component utterances, and the production of each utterance by different speakers (Schegloff & Sack 1973: 295). In order to close a conversation successfully, an initiation of a closing by a speaker, the first part of the adjacency pair, should be understood and accepted by his or her interlocutor and should be successfully answered. This response will complete the adjacency pair and will achieve a successful closing.

While Schegloff and Sack focus on the closings of naturally occurring phone conversations, Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992: 99) focus on the closings of academic advising sessions, which they consider to be an institutional discourse. Analyzing thirty-one academic advising interviews by both native and highly advanced non-native speakers, they argue that institutional conversations differ from natural conversations in terms of their closings. The closings of the academic advising session can not be reopened in the same ways in which the closings of natural conversations can be reopened, as described by Schegloff and Sacks. Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig argue that "for the monotopical advising interview, exactly what cannot occur felicitously in the closing sections is reinvocation of previously negotiated matters" (1992: 101). They report that native-speaker interviews are not reopened at all or are followed by highly limited reopening talk, while some nonnative speakers reopen their closings by reinvocating previously negotiated topics, resulting in infelicitous closings.

The study by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig sheds light on the closing of institutional conversations by demonstrating that institutional conversational closings are different from the closings of naturally occurring conversations. However, in their study, the relationship between non-native speakers' English proficiency and their closing patterns in their institutional conversations was not investigated since Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig aimed to find evidence that the closings of institutional conversations differ from those of naturally occurring conversations. This study aims to fill that gap by investigating the patterns of the conversational closings produced specifically by non-native speakers, whose English proficiencies vary from low beginner to advanced, in advising sessions related to course-changing requests.

The main purposes of this study is not only to describe closing patterns for the advising session related to course-changing requests, but also to investigate the developmental patterns of closing according to the proficiency in English of the students. In this way, this study seeks to contribute to our understanding of the second-language acquisition of the speech act of closing and to shed light on educational practice by illuminating pedagogical implications of research on conversational closings. The following research questions are proposed:

1. What are the closing patterns of the ELP students for advising sessions related to course changing requests?
2. What is the relationship between the closing patterns of the par-ticipants and their level of proficiency in English?

Methods

Setting and Participants

The setting in which the conversational closings were conducted was an office of the ELP at an American university. All sessions were scheduled between the ELP students and their advisors with the purpose of advising the ELP students in their course-changing requests. In each session, the advisor had received the student's permission to record the session after having learned the academic purpose of the recording. The data collection was conducted during the academic year of 1998 and 1999 under the direction of the head of the institution.

Four native English-speaking advisors in the institution and thirty-two non-native English learners participated in the study. Some of the advisors had more than five years of experience advising in the program, while some had only two years. The linguistic backgrounds of the ELP students were Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, and Thai. These students were classified into the following three proficiency levels: level I - beginner and low intermediate (n=10), level II - middle intermediate (n=9), and level III - high intermediate and advanced (n=13), according to their MPT (Michigan Proficiency Test) placement results. No information was collected on the participants' length of time in the U.S. Length of time in the U.S. is not considered a significant variable for the current study because this study focuses only on the relationship between the participants' English language proficiency and conversational closing patterns.

Data Collection and Analysis

Originally forty-eight sessions were tape recorded and transcribed. Thirty-two sessions from the transcribed data were selected for data analysis; the others, which did not have any closings because the tapes ended, were discarded. These thirty-two sessions were analyzed in terms of their closing structures. First, I identify a closing section from each of the thirty-two transcripts. Each closing section contains the following subsections: a shutting down, a preclosing, a thanking, and a terminal exchange. A "shutting down" refers to an utterance or utterances serving to finish up a previously mentioned topic. Second, a "preclosing" means a way of initiating a closing, such as "Well," "O.K.," and "So" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 303). A "thanking" is not considered to be a subsection of a closing by Schegloff and Sacks (1973); however, this study includes thanking as one of the subsections because a thanking has a "ritual" role in closing service encounters (Rubin 1983, cited in Aston 1995: 59). A student who has been helped by an advisor is supposed to express gratitude to the advisor. Finally, a terminal exchange consists of an adjacency pair containing "Bye," "Good-bye," "See you," and so on. A closing section consisting of all these four subsections is considered a complete closing while one with fewer subsections than a full closing is classified as an abbreviated closing. A closing section that has a "reopening" or "making an arrangement" will be categorized as an extended closing. A "reopening" refers to invocation of a previously negotiated topic, and "making an arrangement" means arranging later meetings. The discussion of the structure of closings above is shown in Table 1.

After identifying the closing sections, regardless of the length of each closing section, I identify it as marked or unmarked. The concept of "markedness" has been adopted from markedness theory. That theory proposes that in the languages of the world certain elements are more basic, natural, and frequent (unmarked) than others, which are referred to as "marked" (Richards et al. 1992: 220-221). The concept of markedness has been discussed particularly within generative phonology (e.g., Chomsky & Halle 1968). In the current study, markedness in conversational closing is context-specifically defined. That is, the patterns of marked closings are determined within the context of the English Language Program in the United States where pragmatic rules of English are customary standards which students in the program should learn and want to learn.

Table 1
Types of Closings

Abbreviated Closing	Complete Closing	Extended Closing
Missing any of the four subsections	Shutting Down Preclosing Thanking Terminal Exchange	Shutting Down Preclosing Reopening or Making Arrangements Thanking Terminal Exchange

The following describes the conditions for unmarked and marked closings in this study. Unmarked closings are ones terminated in the ways which native speakers of English perform and perceive as natural, similar to the "felicitous" closings of Hartford and Bardovi-Halig (1992: 104). Marked closings are those that are terminated "infelicitously" or unsuccessfully. Even though there exists a parallel between the concept of unmarked/marked closings and felicitous/infelicitous closings, the conditions for unmarked/marked closings are here determined context-specifically. First, if a closing section is too abrupt - for example, if it contains only a terminal exchange or a thanking - it is identified as marked. Second, in an extended closing, if a reopening is made by the advisor and is responded to successfully by the student, the closing section is classified as an unmarked closing. If a reopening made by a student is a reinvocation of previously negotiated matters, the closing is considered marked, following Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992: 106). Third, all complete closings are coded as unmarked.

Results and Discussion

In the results of this study, about half of the closings (fifteen out of thirty-two) were extended, one-third of the closings (ten out of thirty-two) were complete, and six were abbreviated.

An extended closing has a reopening in addition to a shutting down, a preclosing, a thanking, and a terminal exchange. Two examples of extended closings follow:

Excerpt 1 Unmarked Extended Closing

Male Level I (Beginner, Low Intermediate) Student

1	Shutting down	S: Mm hmm, after three o'clock pm?
2		A: Yes, //in your //mail folder.
3		S: //uh huh //mail folder.
4	Preclosing	S: Okay.
5		A: Okay.
6		S: Okay, I see// I see, Okay.
7	Reopening	A: //That's all you just have to tell me,
8		that. (1.0) You already seem to speak well.
9		S: Already to speak,
10		A: You already// seem to speak well.
11		S: //uh huh, oh really?
12		A: Mm hmm.
13		S: Uh I exercise to speak// this//
14		A: //yeah //yeah
15		A: I'm glad you came to our school.
16	Thanking	S: Mm hmm thank you.
17	Terminal exchange	A: Bye-bye.
18		S: See you.

The excerpt above has the following components of the closing section in this order: a shutting down, a preclosing, a reopening, a thanking, and the terminal exchange. The advisor (in line 7) initiates the reopening, providing the student a compliment on his English proficiency. The student repeats a part of the advisor's compliment, indicating that he may not understand it. Noticing his incomprehension, the advisor (in line 10) repeats the same compliment, and the student finally understands it. The topic of the reopening is not the matter that has been previously negotiated, but instead functions to build a relationship, which is also illustrated in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 2 Unmarked Extended Closing

Male Level II (Middle-intermediate) Student

1	Shutting down	A: When you talk to her, tell her to talk to me.
2	Preclosing	S: O//kay.
3		A: //Okay?

4	Reopening	S: What's your name?
5		A: Alice.
6		S: Alice?
7		A: Yeah.
8	Preclosing	S: Okay.
9		A: Okay?
10	Terminal exchange	S: Okay. Bye-bye, Alice.
11	Thanking	S: Thank you very much.
12		A: Hum-hmm.

This extended closing section includes a reopening initiated by the student, while the extended closing in Excerpt 1 has the reopening initiated by the advisor. The student here asks the advisor's name in the first line of the reopening. Because of the highly formulaic format of the advising sessions for course-change requests in this institution, the advisors' names are not often introduced to the students. In contrast, the students' names are often required by the advisors in order to fill out the course-request form. The current excerpt is from an advising session that started with the advisor's question, "Why did you want to see me today?" Throughout the session, the advisor's name is not given to the student. The student's initiation is appropriately followed by the advisor's response. In the terminal exchange, the student uses the information that he has obtained from the reopening by saying "Bye-bye, Alice." The reopening serves a relationship-building function.

In addition, the student's asking for the advisor's name seems to be necessary, because the advisor has asked him, "When you talk to her (the student's teacher), tell her to talk to me." It is worth noting that this closing session has two preclosings, one before the reopening (lines 2 and 3) and the other before the terminal exchange (lines 8 and 9). In addition, the terminal exchange (line 10) precedes the thanking (lines 11 and 12), which indicates that the order between a thanking and a terminal exchange may be reversed. These two extended closings are coded as unmarked because both reopening sections, regardless of the initiators, are well responded to by the interlocutors and the topics have not been discussed in the previous sections of the session.

Complete closings, ten of thirty-two, contain all four subsections. For example, the following closing consists of all four subsections without any reopenings:

Excerpt 3 Unmarked Complete Closing

Female Level III (Advanced) Student

1	Shutting down	A: Okay, so you could, you need to continue to go to
2		Academic Speaking tomorrow and Wednesday and

3		then um Wednesday afternoon look in your mailbox
4		for your new class schedule.
5	Preclosing	Okay?
6		S: Okay.
7		A: Bye, //great.
8	Thanking	S: //Thank you very much.
9		A: Thanks a lot for coming. (1.0) //Okay.
10		S: //Thank you.
11	Terminal exchange	A: Bye-bye.
12		S: Bye-bye. Have a great day.
13		A: Thanks, you too.
14		S: (3.0) Bye-bye.

In this excerpt, the advisor (lines 1-4) finishes up what she has previously mentioned. This shutting down is followed by a preclosing initiated by the advisor (line 5) and responded to by the student (line 6). The advisor's first attempt to close the session (line 7) is taken up by the student's thanking (line 8). In the terminal exchange initiated by the advisor (line 11), the student repeats the farewell three times (lines 12 and 14). This may imply that the student wishes to show a friendly attitude to the advisor.

Finally abbreviated closings, six out of thirty-two, include less than all four subsections as illustrated in the following two excerpts:

Excerpt 4 Unmarked Abbreviated Closing

Female Level II (Middle Intermediate) Student

1	Shutting down	S: Yes but maybe for the the//next next session.
2		A: //next session, yeah definitely, definitely.
3	Thanking	S: Thank you very much again.
4		A: You're welcome.
5	Terminal exchange	S: It's a good day, bye-bye.
6		A: Bye-bye.

This closing does not contain a preclosing, but even so, it is unmarked and serves as a felicitous closing. The utterance (line 5), "It's a good day," may mean that the student wishes to express that things are going well for her. Otherwise, it is possible that the utterance is an interlanguage form meaning "Have a nice day" since it appears in the terminal exchange.

The following closing lacks a shutting down, a preclosing, and a thanking.

Excerpt 5 Marked Abbreviated Closing

Male Level I (Beginner, Low Intermediate) Student

1		A: Have you talked to your teacher?
2		S: Yes.
3		A: And what does your teacher say.
4		S: Say? uh xxx
5		A: Mm hmm what did she say?
6		S: She said you will change your class.
7		A: Okay, I will talk to your teacher.
8		S: Yes (sounds of picking up schoolbag)
9	Terminal exchange	A: Good// bye.
10		S: //Bye.

In this closing, the student picks up his bag without giving any chance for the advisor to provide any moment for preclosing. Neither does the student provide a thanking. This marked closing consists only of the terminal exchange - very abbreviated.

Table 2 presents a distribution of the types of closings according to the participants' English proficiency level. Thirty percent of the closings made by the beginners and the low intermediates are abbreviated, ten percent of them are complete, and sixty percent are extended. Forty-four percent of the closings by the middle-intermediate level students are abbreviated, twenty-two percent complete, and thirty-three extended. None of the high-intermediate and advanced students make an abbreviated closing, while fifty-four percent of them make complete closings and forty-six extended.

Table 2

Number of Closings According to Students' English Proficiency Level

	Abbreviated Closing	Complete Closing	Ended Closing	Total
Level I	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	10
Level II	4 (44%)	2 (22%)	3 (33%)	9
Level III	0	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	13
Total	7 (22%)	10 (31%)	15 (47%)	32

As far as abbreviated closings are concerned, the frequency of these abbreviated closings decreases as the students' English proficiency increases. In the case of complete closings, an opposite pattern emerges - the frequency of these complete closings increases as the students' English proficiency increases. The percentage of extended closings (60%) made by the beginner and low-intermediate students ranks highest among those three proficiency groups, followed by the advanced (48%) and the middle-intermediate (33%). This result is not consistent with a common assumption that conversations performed by beginners tend to be shorter than ones by advanced learners. However, the advising sessions in this study were conducted with ELP students and native English-speaking advisors. It is necessary to analyze who initiates a reopening or an arrangement for the next meeting which extends a closing, as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3
Number of Marked and Unmarked Extended Closings

	Extended Closings		Total
	Initated by Advisor	Initiated by Student	
Level I	2 (1 unmarked, 1 marked)	4 (2 unmarked, 2 marked)	6
Level II	2 (1 unmarked, 1 marked)	1 (1 unmarked)	3
Level III	5 (4 unmarked, 1 marked)	1 (1 unmarked)	6

This table demonstrates that four out of the six extended closings of the beginner and low intermediate students are initiated by the students, while only one extended closing from each of the higher level groups is initiated by the student.

Not only the initiator of a reopening but also the effect of the reopening should be considered: Does the reopening contribute to the performance of an unmarked closing section? While neither of the extended closings initiated by the intermediate and advanced level students is classified as marked, two out of the four extended closings initiated by the beginning students are classified as marked.

The following excerpt illustrates an example of a marked closing containing a reopening initiated by a student:

Excerpt 6 Marked Extended Closing

Female Level I (Beginner, Low Intermediate) Student

1	Shutting down	A: This is the situation at this time.
2		S: mm. Ok I understand.
3	Thanking	S: Thank you very //much.
4		A: //You're welcome.
5	Reopening	S: Uh I think I wanna talk to, uh, Kay.
6		A: I will advise Kay as well.
7		S: Okay.
8		A: Mm hmm
9	Terminal Exchange	S: Bye.

In this closing, the student reopens the closing section by mentioning, "Uh I think I wanna talk to, uh, Kay." In the directive stage of the session, she has indicated her desire to take some advanced courses, even though she has not passed the previously taken courses. The advisor explains that the student cannot take any higher-level courses until she passes the course that she has failed, as shown in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 7 Directive Stage

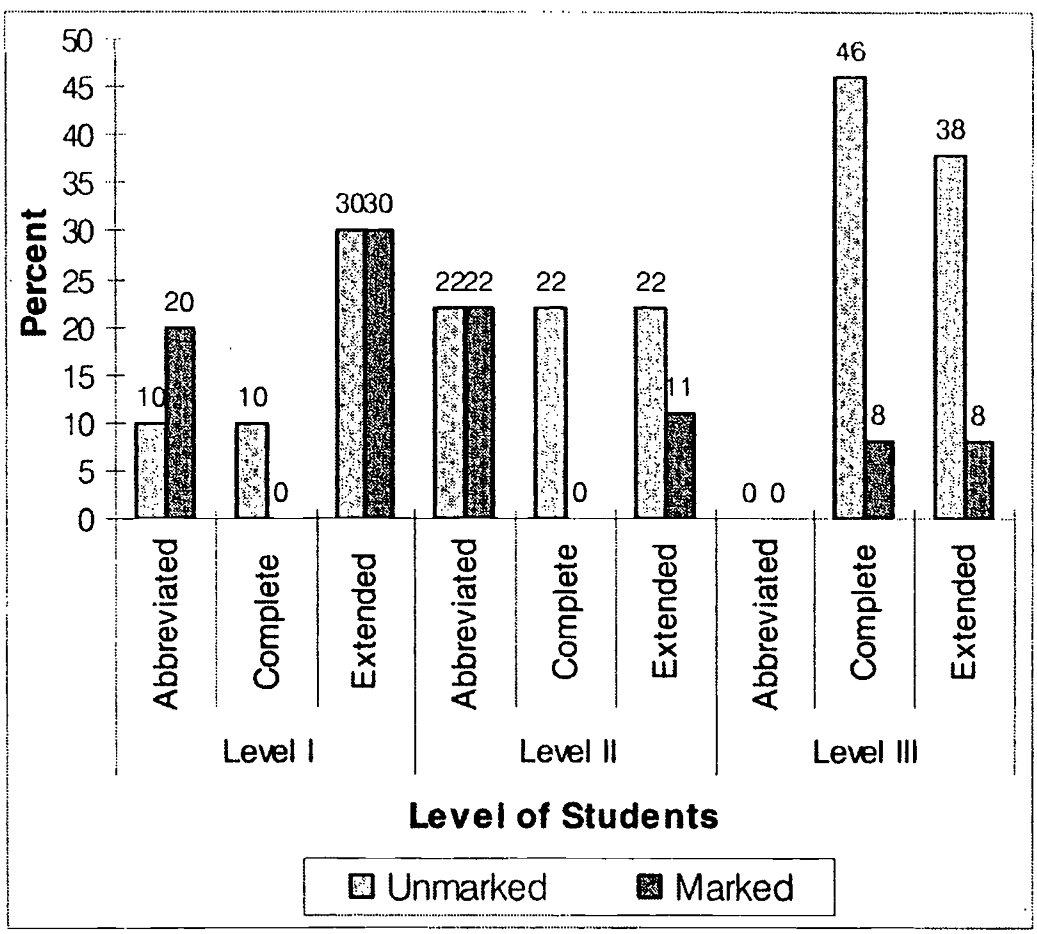
Female Level I (Beginner, Low Intermediate) Student

1 S: There's no way to take the other elective class?
2 A: I'm afraid not.
3 S: Humm, no, no way? No?
4 A: No.
5 S: I can't talk my- to my teacher, Kay, or to my new teacher?
6 A: You can talk to all of your teachers, but you must take this class before you can go to the next level.

The student seems to believe that she might take the other classes if her teacher, Kay, allows, but the advisor (lines 5 and 6) makes it clear that the student's talking to her teacher would not change the situation. In the closing section (in line 5 of excerpt 6), the student reopens the topic that the advisor has already mentioned. The advisor does not accept the student's reopening, implying that the student will not have any chance to take the other course even though she talks to her teacher, Kay, because the advisor will advise Kay of the situation as well. Since the reopening made by the student contains a topic that has been already discussed before the closing, this closing session is coded as marked.

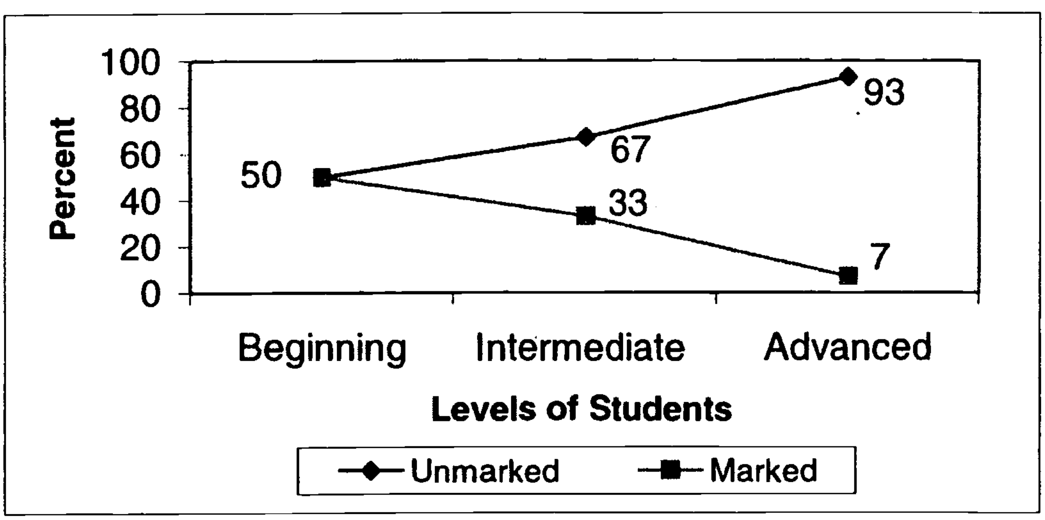
Figure 1 presents a distribution of the types of closings made by the beginning, intermediate, and advanced students in terms of their markedness or unmarkedness. Fifty percent (five out of ten) of all of the closings by the beginning level students are marked. Two of the five marked closings are abbreviated and three of them are extended. Compared to the closings by the beginning-level students, the closings by the intermediate students are more frequently unmarked. Thirty-three percent of the closings (three out of nine) are marked. Two of the three marked closings by the intermediate students are abbreviated and one is extended. The closings by the advanced students are the ones most frequently unmarked, and none of the closings are abbreviated. Eighty-four percent of the closings (eleven out of thirteen) are unmarked.

Figure 1
Closing Patterns



As illustrated in Figure 2, as the students' English proficiency level increases, their closing patterns approach unmarked closings. Fifty percent of the closings made by the beginning students are marked as are 67 percent of those by the intermediate students and 84 percent of those by the advanced students. This high percentage of unmarked closings by the advanced-level students may have originated not only from their high English proficiency but also from the fact that many advanced students may have had prior experience in similar advising sessions. The sessions end very predictably because they are "monotopical" (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig 1992: 115) in character. In all of the advising sessions, the main topic of discussion focuses on course-change requests; the ELP students want to change one or more courses and need to get advice about how to do it. Few advising sessions addressed other topics. In addition, the procedure of the sessions is highly formulaic. The students are required to fill out a course-change request form during the report stage, which is followed by the closing section. This monotopical and formulaic nature of the specific advising session might help the students with prior experience to know when to finish the sessions; the same advanced students might have difficulties in conducting successful closings in other situations.

Figure 2
Marked/Unmarked Closings



Summary and Implications

This study aimed to investigate the closing patterns for an institutional conversation in an ELP at a university in the United States. Thirty-two closing sessions classified into the three proficiency levels were analyzed in terms of both the types and the markedness of the closings. Three types of closings - abbreviated, completed, and extended - emerged according to the presence or absence of the subsections of a closing: a shutting down, a preclosing, a thanking, and a terminal exchange. The findings demonstrated that about half of the closings (15 out of 32) were extended, one third of the closings (10 out of 32) completed, and 6 abbreviated.

The students' closing patterns vary according to their English proficiency level. The frequency of the abbreviated closings decreased as the students' English proficiency increased, while the frequency of the completed closings increased as the students' English proficiency increased. The beginning students were the most frequent performers of an extended closing, followed by the advanced and then the intermediate students. Only half of the extended closings initiated by the beginning students were unmarked, while more of the extended closings initiated by both intermediate and advanced students tended to be unmarked. As the students' English proficiency increased, their number of marked closings decreased.

In spite of these findings, this study has a few limitations and possible extensions. First of all, the total number of advising sessions investigated in this study is limited. More data at each proficiency level are needed in order to verify the findings of this study. Second, this study would benefit from any retrospective information provided by the participants. This information would enhance understanding of the closings of the advising sessions in terms of the participants' own perceptions about how the advising sessions should be closed. Third, in defining unmarked closings, more native baseline data would clarify the nature of unmarkedness in closings in academic advising sessions. Fourth, this study focuses on only closings in the advising sessions. However, second-language learners of English face other situations besides advising sessions in which they have to terminate a conversation successfully in English. Since conversational closings are context-specific other types of conversational closings may require second-language learners to have a different type of pragmatic competence. For example, when students terminate a conversation with their English-speaking friends, they may not need to express their gratitude. Thus, further research on other types of conversational closings is also needed.

Despite these limitations, this study may have some implications for language learning and teaching. First, by indicating that ESL learners, especially beginners, face difficulty in closing conversations successfully, this study draws attention to a need to provide appropriate instruction on closings. Second, by demonstrating that as ESL students' proficiency level increases, their conversational closings became less marked, this study suggests that performance of a specific speech act is learnable by

ESL speakers. Finally, the study suggests what to teach ESL learners to help them to perform an unmarked closing in an advising session. Instructions on the four subsections of this type of closing would be very useful for ESL students. Information about marked and unmarked closings would probably help them to terminate conversations felicitously.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

'-'	unfinished utterance
'?'	rising intonation
'.'	falling intonation
','	pause or breath without marked intonation
'(1.0)'	silences
'//'	indicates simultaneous talk by two speakers, with one utterance represented on top of the other and the moment of overlap marked by two slashes
'xxx'	speech hard to discern

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