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Human language is a far more complex phenomenon than merely a system of sounds and symbols and rules to combine them. It is an adaptive social, affective and cognitive entity composed of inter-connected components and processes hard to unravel and understand (Beckner et al, 2009; Al-Mahrooqi & Tuzlukova, 2011; Chaika, 1994). Language neither exists in a vacuum nor is determined by a set of limiting factors. Since it reflects societal complexities, its use varies, depending on situational and user-related factors which are numerous and changing. It is clear, however, that its main aim is communication and that communicative competence is essential for it. And yet because logic and research tell us there is no such condition as perfect competence (Nunn, 2007, 2011), no individual can claim possession of it. Within conversation, problems often arise, but competent speakers using compensation strategies can usually solve them. A mastery of strategies for meaning negotiation, therefore, is a huge advantage enjoyed by effective communicators.

Learning a foreign language, let us agree, is a remarkable feat, involving such factors as personal differences, age, aptitude, motivation and attitudes, curriculum and teaching methods, teacher variables, feedback and assessment – to say nothing of a myriad other elements that determine what gets acquired and to what degree of competence. Performance, or language production, is said to be a reflection of competence, but the two are not synonymous since performance might lag behind competence in some situations and contingencies.

This June issue of the journal addresses the complexity of language learning from different perspectives. The nine articles included are diverse, yet they all acknowledge the multiple and intertwining roles of factors that either promote or hinder language learning.

Roger Nunn’s editorial piece, “An argument for Holism Part 2”, continues a previous contribution on the connection between holism and complexity, exploring holistic views’
implications for such areas as language and discourse use, motivation, assessment, task-based curriculum and methodology. Taking an unequivocal stance against binary comparisons, he urges EFL theorists and practitioners to adopt a holistic perspective on education and research as this “provides a theoretically sound means of adapting to context at the same time as integrating atomistic activities or studies into a meaningful whole.” (p.20). He further suggests more research on “real-life learning conditions” in order to support ‘creative, rational practice” (p. 21).

Article two, “The effect of verbal glosses on vocabulary learning and reading comprehension”, by Vahid Salehi and Farid Naserieh, acknowledges the importance of vocabulary as a vital building block for language learning. In particular, it investigates the effect of four types of verbal glosses - namely L1, L2, bilingual, and mixed - on reading comprehension and incidental vocabulary learning and retention. Basically, glossing, it is suggested, is more helpful than non-glossing, and mixed glossing is even better still.

The article by Mohammadtaghi Shahnazari-Corcheh, Rebecca Adams, and Saeed Ketabi’s entitled “The Relationship between modified output and working memory capacity” addresses the issue of corrective feedback from a cognitive perspective, examining short-term phonological memory’s effect on modified output arising from elicitation as a form of corrective feedback. Their study’s findings suggest that “there is a positive significant correlation between PSTM and modified output following elliptical elicitation” (p. 66).

The fourth article, by Glen Poupore, is entitled “The influence of L2 motivation and L2 anxiety on adult learners’ socio-affective conditions and language production during communicative tasks”. The study it reports is premised on the rationale that it is important to take into consideration learners’ affective variables, which function with cognitive variables within the social context where language learning occurs. The findings showed that, within task-based group work, “learners with a high L2 motivation and/or international posters were more highly motivated, more emotionally comfortable and had more positive perceptions of the social group dynamic during task performance” (p. 94).

Focusing on metadiscourse resources in the opening sections of introductory and scholarly textbooks, Davud Kuhi, Marzieh and Maryam Yavari analyzed a corpus of 30 pieces, evenly divided between the two textbook types. Slight differences were found, which can be explained in terms of the textbooks’ awareness of their audiences’ needs and abilities. The authors call for more research into the role of metadiscourse in academic texts.
As indicated by its title, Jerry Gebhard’s article, “EFL learners studying abroad: Challenges and strategies”, examines the challenges faced by students from Asian EFL backgrounds who are studying in US universities. It looks at the adaptation strategies they use to overcome these challenges. The findings show learners facing diverse challenges around academic life, social interaction, and emotional reactions to their new environment. They respond by using coping, observing, imitating and reflecting strategies.

Jim Yee Him Chan’s study examines Hong Kong’s sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociolinguistic situation in order to evaluate the appropriateness of using English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the local EFL classroom. The author holds that, while the use of an ELF multilingual model can be advantageous, applying it might be premature before an in-depth analysis of the Asian sociolinguistic situation is carried out.

In article eight, John Trent investigates, from the perspective of teacher identity, English language instructors’ use of the L1 in L2 teaching when using English as a medium of instruction (MOI). Being both experiential and rational, identity is a penetrating concept that is not static, but rather dynamic, multifaceted, evolving and socio-politically and professionally determined (Al-Mahrooqi, 2012). Hence, it is bound to have an influence on teacher beliefs and practices. Using interviews with pre-service English language teachers in Hong Kong, Trent found that they were challenged by MOI issues as they “struggled with multiple identities at the institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal levels” (p. 217). He discusses the implications for teacher education and policy implementation around the use of L1 in L2 teaching in Hong Kong’s MOI classes.

On the subject of identity construction, Nancy Burkhalter’s article, “Overcoming resistance in post-Soviet teacher trainees in Kazakhstan”, explores pre-service teachers’ negative attitudes and resistance to new teaching methodologies because, as students, they were trained under a politically authoritarian regime. To circumvent this resistance, she discusses three techniques that draw on research in the areas of psychology, critical thinking and education.

Though the issue’s nine articles are distinctive in their approach, they all acknowledge the important role of a multitude of factors in foreign language learning. Variables around context, learner, and teacher work together to affect the learning process, and only through a holistic view can we think about all these factors in relation to one another. They simply do not work separately and independently.
References


An Argument for Holism Part 2
(An Editorial Opinion Piece)

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Abstract

In ‘An Argument for Holism Part 1’ (Nunn, 2013), I focused on the meaning of holism within applied language studies considering in detail the relationship between focused atomistic studies and holistic views of epistemological diversity (Moser’s, 2002). In addition, I compared Moser’s view of holism with ecological views. While fully accepting the importance of context, I suggested that context-independence is also a legitimate focus. As such, my characterization of ‘holism’ is more closely associated with complexity theory (Pappamihiel and Walser, 2009 and Cvetek, 2008), emphasizing the need to take the unpredictable and unstable nature of complexity into account.

In part 2, I explore the implications of views of holistic diversity in relation to just a few important areas in our field: language and discourse use, motivation, assessment, task-based curriculum and materials planning. I provide evidence and specialist support for my view that all of these areas are essentially holistic and that recent scholarship in these areas seems to require us to situate focused atomistic studies within a broader framework.

Keywords: Diversity, holism, motivation, assessment, task-based curriculum
2.1 Introduction

In part 1 of this two-part editorial opinion piece, I proposed Moser’s (2002) meta-epistemic instrumentalism to be the most appropriate view for our diverse and emerging academic field, as opposed to premature attempts at providing coherent all-encompassing systems. Definitions of ‘holism’ in applied language studies need to remain broad enough to allow for true epistemological diversity (Moser, 2002) and complexity (Pappamihiel and Walser, 2009 and Cvetek, 2008), rejecting prematurely coherent impermeable systems that do not reflect the present state of knowledge and development in our field. In this second part, I will consider holism in relation to the following fields:

- The nature of (academic) competence
- Language and Discourse Use
- Motivation
- Assessment
- Curriculum and methodology

2.2 The nature of (academic) competence

In Nunn 2011, I discussed the view that the abstract concept of academic competence cannot be reduced to a simple definition, but can be usefully characterized by considering some of its distinctive holistic qualities. I suggested a provisional broad characterization of academic competence as the total available range of (multi-cultural) abilities, skills, knowledge and experience that can be drawn upon for any particular performance by an individual or group of individuals to address a real-world task or set of tasks.

Some broader tentative definitions of competence were suggested in Nunn (2007) in relation to different types of communities ranging from international to local. In part 1, I argued that the global and holistic nature of competence has important consequences for education as no single individual is able to demonstrate more than partial competence. Even the most competent students utilize their strengths to compensate for inevitable limitations. A holistic view therefore proposes the ability to compensate as an important aspect of competence. Atomistic assessment, for example, may exclude compensation, while I am defining the ability to compensate as one central aspect of competence that needs to be built into assessment. My tentative characterization of
academic communicative competence (slightly modified from Nunn, (2007/2011) reflects this holistic nature:

Competence in communication is a holistic, global and international concept encompassing various interlocking components of usable knowledge and the skills and abilities needed to put these into practice within a variety of communities and types of community. Some important components are pragmatic, discourse, strategic, intercultural, interpersonal and linguistic. Competence includes skills in areas related to both written and spoken language and certain adaptive skills such as the ability to negotiate meaning with people of different backgrounds. Creativity is also a characteristic of competence. The sum of these components amounts to something very diverse and only certain aspects of it will be called upon in any one context.

Individual competence is always partial and subject to compensation and development both for local and international use. Total competence is beyond the range of any individual, or indeed of any single community, but competent users and members of communities will compensate for weakness in one area with skill or knowledge in another. In an international sense, an ability to transfer competence acquired in one context, adapting it to a large variety of cultural contexts across discourse and speech communities is also implied together with the ability to use at least one variety of English in a manner which is intelligible to users of other varieties and which can be adjusted to the needs of intercultural communication. Thus, users in different contexts may be at very different levels of competence and have very different needs. Some of these needs may be global and others local. The implication of the above is that competence is owned only by its users and, where it is assessed, it should be, at least partially, assessed within the communities in which it is to be used. No one global standard will fit all users and communities, but all competent users will have enough in common to be able to negotiate norms and interim norms in order to communicate successfully within and between particular communities and sub-communities in any given context.

2.2 Language and Discourse Use

A holistic view of language and discourse use allows us to relate the atomistic study of important phenomena, such as article use or the use of the passive voice, to the role they are playing within
the whole communication event. Rather than opposing an atomistic focus to a holistic perspective, the camera lens is a useful metaphor. A skilled cameraman is able to zoom in and out at different stages of a process. A broad lens obscures detail, a narrow focus prevents us seeing the whole picture. Only combinations of broad and narrow foci can provide a holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

A holistic view of language and language use, for example, allows us to consider the choices available for language users from a broad available repertoire. Beckner et al. (2009) in an important position paper characterize language as “a complex adaptive system (CAS)”. Table 1 outlines the key characteristics of a CAS:

Table 1: Aspects of language use as a complex adaptive system (Beckner et al., 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Interpretation or Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Distributed Control and Collective Emergence (pp. 14-15)</td>
<td>“Language exists both in individuals (as idiolect) and in the community of users (as communal language)” (p.14).</td>
<td>This implies that each user has a different but holistic repertoire that draws on a communal repertoire. Beckner et al. refer to each individual’s “unique exposure and unique experience of language use” (p.15). Diversity is an inevitable feature of competence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Intrinsic Diversity</td>
<td>“In a CAS, there is no ideal representing agent for the system”. (p.15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Perpetual Dynamics</td>
<td>“Both communal language and idiolects are in constant change and reorganization”. (p.15)</td>
<td>Beckner et al. refer to an “open system” which is characterized by “a fundamentally far-from-equilibrium nature” which will never reduce to a steady state of equilibrium. (p.16).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Adaptation Through Amplification and Competition of Factors</td>
<td>“Complex adaptive systems generally consist of multiple interacting elements, which may amplify and/or compete with one another’s effects.” (p.16)</td>
<td>Beckner et. al. refer in one example to the “conflicting interests between speakers and listeners”, the former preferring “production economy” the latter competing for “perceptual salience, explicitness, and clarity” (which may rather lead to elaboration). For Beckner et al. structure arises from “positive feedback” competing with “negative feedback”, between perpetuating certain factors and imposing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Non-linearity and Phase Transitions</td>
<td>“In complex systems, small quantitative differences in certain parameters often lead to phase transitions (i.e., qualitative differences)” (p.16).</td>
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<tr>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sensitive to and Dependence on Network Structure</td>
<td>“Linguistic interactions are not via random contacts; they are constrained by social networks.” (p.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Change is local</td>
<td>“Complexity arises in systems via incremental changes, based on locally available resources, rather than via top-down direction or deliberate movement toward some goal” (p.17).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Becker et al. suggest that “language is said to be a form of cultural adaptation to the human mind, rather than the result of the brain adapting to process natural language grammar” (p.18). Among other issues, Beckner et al. identify social complexity as a super-ordinate of communication: “the complexity of human communication is to some important extent a function of social complexity” (p.18). Interestingly, they do not exclude the importance of cognitive processing. This issue is important from a holistic perspective, as we would ideally need to attempt to reconcile, but also accept current conceptual diversity between, cognitive and social views of language processing rather than perpetuate a binary opposition. While Beckner et al. lean towards the importance of social interaction, their work considers the search for linguistic universals within a holistic paradigm influenced by “intrinsic diversity” (p.15). Theory construction is, therefore, an important pragmatic/dogmatic consideration; and is especially so in this sense, as there is implicit criticism of cognitive grammars that might (appear to) exclude such a notion as intrinsic diversity.
2.3 Assessment

In Nunn and Thurman (2010), we briefly considered the relationship between reliability and validity for in-house testing. Ever since my studies at the masters level in the 1980s, I have struggled to come to terms with the binary distinction which seemed to entail that a test could not be valid if it was not reliable, but that somehow reliability could be achieved independently of validity. This rather facile binary relationship appeared to encourage very narrow forms of testing. As long as there was a convergent answer (the only ‘correct’ solution), 100% reliability could be achieved.

The holistic thinking of Cyril Weir (2005) has more recently superseded this atomistic binary distinction by providing a broader socio-cognitive framework. Within this framework a different set of resultant relationships can be envisaged. In figure 1 below (Weir, 2005), for example, reliability is subsumed under ‘scoring validity’ which immediately places it within, rather than in opposition to, a broad holistic set of validity relationships.

Figure 1 An Outline of the Socio-Cognitive Test Validation Framework (Weir, 2005, p.2)
2.4 Motivation

Motivation to learn a language is another field which has emerged from a focus on a narrow binary distinction between “instrumental” and “integrative” motivation, “instrumental” referring to a narrow functional purpose for learning such as the need to pass an entrance test. “Integrative” is apparently a broader concept, in that it appears to have been used to reflect a need to integrate into a speech community. Sivasubramaniam (2004, p. 70), however, points to a need “to focus on some issues of motivation in addition to the definitional categories of integrative and instrumental motivation” arguing that “it is not always possible to refer to motivation in terms of its integrative or instrumental aspects because motivation can take different routes in second language education depending upon the sociocultural history of the learner”. Once we begin to consider the importance of international communities of practice, rather than speech communities in the traditional sense that relate to native competence within a more homogenous community, the need to develop our thinking becomes apparent. Sivasubramaniam (2004, p.70) provides several other angles from which motivation can be viewed such as social construction as a transformational process: “Most importantly, viewed in the light of the sociocultural perspectives examined earlier, a foreign language can be learned for the numerous possibilities of educational transformation it affords.”

During a (2009) keynote presentation, Dörnyei underlined how his thinking has evolved over the years on motivation, rejecting as insufficient the binary distinction that he had previously supported between instrumental and integrative motivation. Dörnyei’s most recent work (Dörnyei, 2009a, conference program, p.9) emphasizes the close relationship between holism and motivation:

The behavior of language learners in various communicative tasks is determined by a wide range of variables, from personal characteristics (e.g. L2 proficiency, motivation, and willingness to communicate) to task organizational and situational factors (e.g. the composition of the task participants working together, the structure of the task, the expected task outcome, and the availability of sources of support such as the teacher or relevant language materials). These interrelated factors can be seen to form a dynamic system in the sense that they cannot be studied meaningfully in isolation [my emphasis] because their impact/role is always dependent on the constellation of the other variables.
Dörnyei’s comment about the impact of the “constellation” of other variables is interesting from the point of view of how to conduct meaningful scholarship in our field. The implication is that any attempt to isolate variables for investigation can only be a temporary atomistic focus, but cannot be an end in itself. Ultimately, while studies that have a clear focus are essential, they always need to be interpreted from a complex, holistic perspective. At the same time, Dörnyei’s own ability and willingness as an acknowledged specialist to develop and critically evaluate his own previous much cited work on motivation reflect an important aspect of holistic learning: the constant search for new angles and connections to relate to and improve previous knowledge rather than seeking to defend increasingly entrenched historical positions. This is the essence of lifelong learning, which is normally included in any characterization of holistic learning.

Dörnyei (2009b, pp. 232-233) further underlines the complexity of intrapersonal characteristics such as individual differences:

Rather than being monolithic, most learner characteristics are complex, higher order mental attributes, resulting from the integrated operation of several subcomponents and subprocesses. Indeed, higher order ID variables such as aptitude and motivation involve, at one level or another, the cooperation of components of very different nature (e.g., cognitive, motivational, or emotional), resulting in “hybrid” attributes.

Dörnyei (2009b, p.235) concludes that “future research should try and take a systemic approach by identifying higher level amalgams or constellations of cognition, affect, and motivation that act as “wholes.”

2.5 Curriculum

In Nunn (2006), I proposed holistic task-based language learning units as a more holistic approach to task-based learning whereby activities are integrated into flexible units consisting of pools of activities. The principal holistic tasks are essential components, but the context alone will help determine which other parts are used. Rather than opposing holistic tasks and atomistic exercises, both types of activity are integrated into flexible holistic units. These integrated units of learning might span a large number of lessons. They are sensitive to context in that the component parts are not predetermined so units that are not adopted enthusiastically may be
brought to a close quite quickly whereas units that are perceived as more productive may be exploited over many lessons.

Holistic units were designed to allow regular changes of focus between the ‘parts’ and the ‘whole’. The units provide a broad forum that allows a focus on intensive language practice to take place alongside or even within meaning-based tasks. The effectiveness of tasks is further enhanced by task repetition (Bygate, 2001), as task familiarity allows learners to focus more on atomistic detail and to develop fluency.

In this paper, I did not provide my own research evidence in support of the use of such units. The design proposed is based on evidence already available and summarized in Ellis’s ten principles (Ellis, 2005) of SLA as a kind of checklist to assess adequate holistic coverage of taught units (See Nunn, 2011). Each of Ellis’s principles below does not exist in isolation, so they are all interrelated. They are context-dependent in the way they are implemented in the sense that my task-based unit approach requires the teacher to work out what needs more emphasis with a particular group of learners at their current stage of development.

Ellis’s 10 Principles of Instructed Learning are summarized in the following list and more extensively discussed in Ellis (2005) (available on the Asian EFL Journal’s own site):

Instruction needs to ensure that learners develop a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and a rule-based competence. (Linguistic Competence)

Instruction needs to ensure that learners focus predominantly on meaning.

Instruction needs to ensure that learners also focus on form.

Instruction needs to be predominantly directed at developing implicit knowledge of the L2 but should not neglect explicit knowledge.

Instruction needs to take account of the learner’s built-in syllabusing.
Successful instructed language learning requires extensive L2 input. Successful instructed language learning also requires opportunities for output. The opportunity to interact in the L2 is central to developing L2 proficiency. Instruction needs to take account of individual differences in learners. When assessing learners’ L2 proficiency it is important to examine free as well as controlled production.

Holism provides a framework for designing units of learning in the form of integrated sets of exercises and tasks that respond to these or other principles in a context sensitive manner. In particular, the type of unit illustrated in Nunn (2006) provides extensive input, extensive opportunities for interaction and extensive output as well as provides a framework for assessing free production. The units are predominantly directed at implicit knowledge, but do provide opportunities for focus on form and developing explicit knowledge. Students assist in the design of materials for input, providing them with a participatory role in “syllabus” creation/internalization. They focus on meaning, in particular, pragmatic meaning, which Ellis highlights as an essential focus.

Holistic activities are not always group activities: a full solo presentation is also an interactive activity involving the production of a whole piece of meaningful language. This activity may even encourage (if not require) students to re-use pre-taught atomistic skills and language in a less controlled environment. The units are designed round a repeated holistic task. The first task is a holistic small group decision-making conversation (as shown in the example below), and is basically a trial run. The second related task performance is the final outcome of the unit and can also be used for assessment.

A Schematic Overview of a Holistic Theme-Based Unit – Crossing Borders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity type</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Pre-)task exercises</td>
<td>Providing input</td>
<td>A set of reading texts on foreign trips, e.g., Darren’s trip to Fiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introducing topic area and lexis</td>
<td>A recorded two-person conversation choosing a foreign country for a holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening/ reading</td>
<td>Extensive reading</td>
<td>A three-person conversation choosing a country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Language exercises</th>
<th>Initial Holistic Tasks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modelling future activities</td>
<td>Providing output activities,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Practising language useful for tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Intensive reading and listening practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm up activities,</td>
<td>Providing opportunities for extensive interaction,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practising language useful</td>
<td>- Promoting pragmatic functional ability,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for tasks</td>
<td>- Providing opportunities to practise taught language,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Providing task familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anagrams – names of countries and nationality words</td>
<td>Providing diagnostic information to the teacher and students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the main linguistic focus of the unit</td>
<td>Self-assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A set of exercises for question practice</td>
<td>A small-group conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(atomistic written exercises, and exercises combined with listening/reading texts), (direct, indirect, conversational questions, follow up questions, asking for clarification)</td>
<td>exchanging information on three countries from an information sheet provided by the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparisons</td>
<td>comparing the information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making expressions</td>
<td>reaching a decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reporting a decision to the whole class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided turn-taking practice</td>
<td>Survey activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning own micro-research within the topic area</td>
<td>Students/teacher ask their questions to ten students on their preferred choices for a foreign study visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take notes and analyze the findings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rowland (2007) helps provide a further rationale for holistic learning units when he characterizes learning and performance as “non-linear, unpredictable, paradoxical and emergent” (p.133). For Rowland, one implication is that learning and performance are enhanced by “participation within rather than control of activity” (p.133 - his italics).

**Implications for Editing and Reviewing**

In this two part paper, I have argued that a holistic approach to education and research provides a theoretically sound means of adapting to context at the same time as integrating atomistic activities or studies into a meaningful whole. I have suggested that reports of well-designed atomistic studies can have intrinsic value but also need to adhere to a maxim of relevance. Authors should, therefore, address in a way that is central to the paper – not just as an afterthought – how the findings of a focused study relate to a broader area of knowledge and practice. At the same time, more holistic papers that are closely related to real-life learning conditions are needed. These may not typically be based on a new research effort by the authors, but instead need to include theoretical constructs that integrate the scope of their research interests. The kind of papers generated does not exclude new holistic research, but they may also be a creative attempt to put together the parts available in research already published, a kind of
secondary research that is in no way less important providing that it supports creative, rational practice.

As reviewers and editors in our brave new “publish or perish” world, we may sometimes feel that the purpose of many authors is only to get published and that the shortest way to this end is a certain type of formulaic experimental report. Would it not then create a better balance in this relatively new discipline if there were more original holistically oriented papers and more papers that draw on the large body of research that has already been published? The implications of individual focused research efforts are then considered in relation to other research. As a result, some useful holistic consequences may evolve over time to justify the combined existence of atomistic and holistic efforts that not only enhance CVs but actually contribute to improved learning and knowledge. At the moment it is the holistic overviews that are lacking, but without these, the growing number of published atomistic studies may often seem irrelevant.

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The Effects of Verbal Glosses on
Vocabulary Learning and Reading Comprehension

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Abstract

The study explored the effectiveness of four types of verbal glosses in terms of reading comprehension and incidental vocabulary learning and retention among 95 Iranian undergraduate university students. There were two instances of each of fifteen target words in the text. The gloss types included L1, L2, bilingual, and mixed glosses. With the mixed gloss type for the first annotation, the readers viewed both L1 and L2 definitions of the target word; the second annotation involved the sentence in which the target word appeared for the first time. Having read a short story, the participants took a reading comprehension and two word recognition tests,
one immediately and the other two weeks later. The results disclosed the effectiveness of glossing compared with non-glossing. No difference was detected between L1 and L2 glosses, though the participants preferred the former to the latter. And finally, mixed glosses appeared to be the most advantageous gloss type. The findings and their implications will be discussed.

**Keywords:** Computer-Assisted Language Learning, Gloss, Reading Comprehension, Vocabulary Learning

**Introduction**

In learning a second or foreign language, reading might be regarded as a beneficial skill for expanding vocabulary repertoire. It also serves as an invaluable source of authentic language that is “always meaningful, often in fully grammatical form, and that includes every feature of the target language but pronunciation” (Eskey, 2005, p. 563). Vocabulary knowledge, in turn, plays a pivotal role in both receptive and productive skills (Coady & Huckin, 1997; Nation, 1990, 2001). Among approaches to promoting vocabulary knowledge through reading, incidental vocabulary learning (i.e., learning as a by-product of reading) figures prominently since (a) it is individualized, (b) it occurs in a contextualized form, (c) it is more permanent, and (d) it offers simultaneous occurrence of vocabulary acquisition and reading (Huckin & Coady, 1999). However, the drawback is the incrementally slow process of such learning (Hulstijn, 1992). One way to facilitate incidental vocabulary learning and reading comprehension is to provide learners with marginal glosses. During the past two decades, a significant body of research has explored the effectiveness of various gloss types (Akbulut, 2007a, 2008; Al-Seghayer, 2001; Chun & Plass, 1996; Hulstijn, Hollander, & Greidanus, 1996; Lomicka, 1998; Nagata, 1999; Watanabe, 1997; Yanguas, 2009; Yoshii, 2006). In general, research has suggested the usefulness of applying glosses while reading L2 texts as an aid to learners’ vocabulary learning and reading comprehension (Abraham, 2008; Yun, 2011). However, the effectiveness of different gloss types is not clear-cut. In other words, the shift of emphasis in recent years has been away from the benefits of glossing towards the differential effects of various gloss forms on vocabulary learning and reading comprehension (Yoshii, 2006). Verbal glosses, as opposed to multimedia glosses (i.e., visual alone or verbal plus visual), are easy to construct and do not have common problems such as having to find suitable visuals for the latter. In this study, the
effectiveness of four types of verbal glosses (L1, L2, bilingual, and mixed) on vocabulary retention and reading comprehension were explored.

Literature Review

Traditionally, glosses, or the interchangeable term annotations, have been defined as short definitions (Nation, 1983) or explanations of the meaning of words (Pak, 1986). Glosses provide easy access to the definition of unknown words while reading, hence facilitating learners’ comprehension and promoting incidental vocabulary learning. In multimedia settings, however, we usually deal with “computer-mediated glosses” (Abraham, 2008) or “hypertext glosses” (Yun, 2011), in which readers have more control, in that they can access annotations by clicking on the hyperlinked vocabulary items in the passage. As Yun rightly pointed out, traditional paper-based and hypertext computerized glosses differ in two important aspects: interactivity and nonlinearity. These refer to the way a reader may interact with hypertext glosses; they tend to invoke glosses on the basis of their needs, interests, knowledge of the given word, proficiency level, and specific reading strategies employed. In such a context, hypertext glosses are “short definitions or explanations with nonlinearly linked-data [most often] associated with graphics, audios, and videos in computerized texts” (Yun, p. 41). As noted, the quotation was refined to include the possibility of verbal glosses alone (Roby, 1999); that is, as in the current study, the gloss might take a solely textual form (e.g., L1 or L2 glosses).

According to Roby (1999), glosses are more than the definition of difficult words. He offered a taxonomy of glosses covering such dimensions as authorship, presentation, function, focus, language, and form. The last two dimensions have been receiving special attention in empirical studies. Language refers to L1 or L2 or a combination of the two. Gloss focus may include verbal, visual (icon, image, video), and audio. Additionally, those glosses with a combination of different foci are referred to as multimedia glosses.

Research focusing on multimedia glosses has proved the general usefulness of a combination of verbal and visual gloss forms when compared with either of them alone in promoting incidental vocabulary learning (Akbulut, 2007a; Al-Seghayer, 2001; Chun & Plass, 1996; Yoshii, 2006). As for the effectiveness of such glosses on reading comprehension, the results are less conclusive, however. Some studies have shown that visual glosses combined with verbal ones tend to make a difference (Akbulut, 2008; Chun & Plass, 1996; Lomicka, 1998; Yanguas, 2009).
In contrast, others have revealed either no significant difference in applying multimedia annotation types (e.g., Akbulut, 2007a) or even a negative correlation between visual glosses and reading comprehension (e.g., Ariew & Ercetin, 2004; Sakar & Ercetin, 2004). Even less conclusive is the effectiveness of different verbal gloss forms. The following is an account of empirical studies on verbal glosses followed by an overview of theoretical frameworks.

**Verbal glosses and incidental vocabulary learning and retention**

Studies exploring the effect of verbal glosses have usually focused on either L1 glosses (Cheng & Good, 2009; Grace, 2000; Hulstijn et al., 1996) or both L1 and L2 glosses (Chen, 2002; G. Jacobs, Dufon, & Hong, 1994; Miyasako, 2002; Yoshii, 2006).

Hulstijn et al. (1996) examined incidental vocabulary learning among Dutch undergraduates studying French under three conditions: L1 marginal gloss, bilingual dictionary access, and text only. The findings revealed that the provision of marginal glosses produced much better retention scores and uninterrupted reading than that of dictionaries. Likewise, Grace (2000) compared two conditions among 181 native or near-native English speakers studying French: dialog-level L1 translations and no translation. The significant effectiveness of L1 translations was reported. In addition, Grace detected no gender-related differences in performance on vocabulary tests. She concluded that using L1 translations minimizes the risk of incorrect inferences from an L2 context.

Cheng and Good (2009) studied the usefulness of three L1 gloss forms among 135 Chinese undergraduates at four proficiency levels at a Taiwanese university. The gloss conditions included L1 (Chinese) gloss plus L2 (English) example sentence, L1 in-text gloss, L1 marginal gloss, and no gloss. The study found that the experimental groups accessing glosses outperformed the control group without glosses on all vocabulary post-tests (one immediate and two delayed). Additionally, proficiency level tended to play a role; L1 plus L2 example sentence and L1 in-text glosses were the most effective for the participants at levels 2 and 3. In contrast, no difference was detected for those at levels 1 and 4. From these findings, the authors concluded
that “language proficiency is indeed a factor in gloss effects, but not all levels benefit equally” (p. 128).

Other researchers have been more interested in examining the effectiveness of both L1 and L2 glosses. In a study conducted by G. Jacobs et al. (1994), 85 American students learning Spanish as a second language read a 632-word text with 32 glossed words in three groups: L1 (English), L2 (Spanish), and no gloss. The participants were asked to translate the target words immediately after exposure and then four weeks later. The findings showed, first, no difference between the two experimental gloss groups, indicating that language as a factor did not determine gloss effectiveness. Second, both L1 and L2 gloss groups outperformed the no-gloss group; however, this difference was not retained after four weeks. Almost similar findings were reported in Chen (2002) with 85 Taiwanese freshmen studying ESL using L1 (Chinese) and L2 (English) glosses.

Miyasako (2002) explored the effectiveness of L1 and L2 single and multiple-choice glosses among 187 Japanese high school students under six conditions: L1 (Japanese) single gloss, L2 (English) single gloss, L1 multiple-choice gloss, L2 multiple-choice gloss, no gloss, and no reading (control group). Participants read a 504-word text with 20 glossed words. The tests used in the study involved the target words in context and required the test takers to select the most appropriate English definition from four choices. The participants took one test immediately after reading the text and another eighteen days later. Results indicated that L2 gloss groups (multiple-choice or single) outperformed L1 gloss groups (multiple-choice or single) in the immediate test but not in the delayed one. There was also no difference between the multiple-choice and single types of glosses in terms of vocabulary learning. In addition, the participants’ English proficiency tended to make a difference with L2 glosses being better for higher ability students, while L1 glosses were more effective for lower ability ones. Based on this finding, Miyasako recommended that “concerning the choice of glossing language for reading materials, we should take account of learners’ English ability: L2 may be for better learners and L1 for poorer ones” (p. 15).

Using multimedia glosses, Yoshii (2006) examined 195 Japanese university students learning EFL. The participants were randomly assigned to one of four gloss conditions: L1 text only, L2
text only, L1 text plus picture, and L2 text plus picture. They did two vocabulary posttests: one immediately and one two weeks later. The findings disclosed that although the L1 text-only group retained their scores over time, the effectiveness of glosses, either in L1 or L2, did not differ with respect to the posttests. Yoshii attributed this to the slow rate of incidental vocabulary learning, disallowing for making conceptual links in a short period of time on the first exposure. He added the possibility of the participants’ higher-than-expected proficiency level contributing to insignificant differences between L1 and L2 glosses.

**Verbal glosses and reading comprehension**

Empirical evidence on the effectiveness of verbal glosses on reading comprehension has yielded mixed results. For the sake of simplicity, we could divide such studies into two categories: those involving only L1 glosses and those with both L1 and L2 glosses. While some studies in the former provided evidence for the significant effectiveness of L1 gloss groups when compared with no gloss groups (e.g., Aweiss, 1994; Davis, 1989; Stoehr, 1999), others revealed no difference between the two (e.g., Cheng & Good, 2009; Johnson, 1982; Joyce, 1997). As for the studies involving both L1 and L2 glosses, they generally showed no difference in terms of gloss language (e.g., Bell & LeBlanc, 2000; G. Jacobs et al., 1994; Miyasako, 2002; Yoshii, 2006). However, there is a smaller subset of studies revealing the advantage of applying either L2 glosses compared with the L1 ones (e.g., Ko, 2005) or the other way round (e.g., Al-Jabri, 2009).

In an early non-call study of the effectiveness of L1 marginal glosses on reading comprehension, Davis (1989) had 71 American students read a French short story. The participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: those who had to read the passage and write everything they remembered, those who were given some vocabulary items and their meanings as a guide before reading, and those with the same vocabulary guides offered while reading and in the form of marginal glosses. The findings revealed that the participants with access to glosses either before or while reading were more successful at comprehending the text than the group without such glosses. Similarly, Aweiss (1994) showed the superiority of L1 (English) glosses in terms of comprehension among English speakers of Arabic.
In contrast, Joyce (1997) showed no comprehension differences between groups with L1 glosses and those without. The participants were 90 native speakers of English attending French university classes. The analysis of recall protocols disclosed that those with access to L1 glosses did not recall the text any better than those without. Joyce attributed this finding to the inadequacy of recall protocols in tapping everything the readers actually understood from the text. She recommended “using several types of reading comprehension assessment methods to make sure that the true comprehension of the subjects is being measured” (p. 63). In a similar vein, Cheng and Good (2009) failed to find any significant differences in reading comprehension among 135 Chinese undergraduate students - a finding they called “unexpected.” (p. 119). Cheng and Good’s explanation for this insignificant difference was twofold. For one thing, they pointed to the difficulty of the texts. For another, they were consonant with Watanabe (1997) in arguing that, because of limited vocabulary size, readers might not be able to make effective use of glosses, no matter how comprehensible they were. Additionally, they referred to the negative effect of using only five items in their comprehension test, resulting in a failure to discriminate the participants.

Numerous studies have also disclosed no significant difference in using L1 and L2 glosses; however, there has been a clear preference for L1 glosses among the participants. Bell and LeBlanc (2000), for instance, investigated which type of L1 and L2 verbal glosses better helped the readers comprehend the text. They had 40 American undergraduates read a Spanish short story with 67 glossed words. The participants’ scores on the comprehension test disclosed an insignificant difference between the performance of those applying L1 (English) glosses and those using L2 (Spanish) glosses. However, the former consulted twice as many of the words as did the latter, reflecting a strong preference for L1 over L2 glosses among the participants. Similar results were observed in studies conducted by Miyasako (2002) and Yoshii (2006) among Japanese high school and university students learning EFL, respectively. These researchers also found that gloss language (i.e., either L1 or L2) may not be a factor influencing reading comprehension.

There are also some studies that found the superiority of either of L1 and L2 glosses over the other. Ko (2005), for example, examined the reading comprehension of 106 Korean undergraduates under three gloss conditions: L1 gloss, L2 gloss, and no gloss. It was found out
that L2 glosses were significantly more effective than L1 glosses. Contradictory results were detected by Al-Jabri (2009), who had 95 Saudi male students of EFL read a 470-word English passage with 19 glossed words. According to the results of the comprehension test, those with L1 (Arabic) glosses outperformed those with L2 (English) glosses. The author argued that this finding could be explained in light of the model of lexical and conceptual representation revised by Kroll and Stewart (1994) and also attributed it to the fact that conceptual links appeared to be stronger between L1 and concepts than between L2 and concepts. Put simply, L2 readers process the text with L1 glosses faster and, maybe, more successfully than without L1 glosses.

Overall, the usefulness of either L1 or L2 glosses in facilitating reading comprehension and incidental vocabulary learning is unclear. However, L2 proficiency level seemed to exert a great influence. In addition, there is a dearth of evidence on the effectiveness of bilingual glosses (i.e., L1 and L2 definitions in the same gloss). The present study aimed to explore the effectiveness of L1, L2, and bilingual glosses along with a slightly different gloss form (see the section Gloss Conditions), hence shedding some light on these unclear areas.

**Theoretical frameworks**

Most studies on multimedia glosses have heavily drawn on Paivio’s (1971) dual coding theory and/or Mayer’s (1997) generative theory of multimedia learning. In the simplest of terms, these theories postulate that learning with both verbal and visual inputs combined could lead to meaningful learning, better gains, and longer retention. On the other hand, research on verbal glosses might be put within other theoretical frameworks such as levels of processing hypothesis, noticing hypothesis, and involvement load hypothesis.

Based on Craik and Lockhart’s (1972) levels of processing hypothesis, there is a close relationship between depth of processing and retention. The process of encoding information starts from a sensory level of analysis and proceeds to a deeper semantic enrichment. In sensory analysis (e.g., verbal repetitions) memory traces are shallow and long-term retention is not guaranteed. Efficient and durable retention, in contrast, requires a deeper level of processing, involving semantic elaboration of new words. Put simply, the degree of mental effort invested in
learning tasks is proportionate to gains. Schmidt’s (1990) noticing hypothesis is not dissimilar to current views on levels of processing, which relate depth of processing to elaboration and a high degree of consciousness (Craik, 2002). Noticing means that learners, in the first place, have to pay attention with some level of awareness to any language form or structure to be acquired.

Building upon levels of processing and related theoretical underpinnings (e.g., attentional models of learning like that of Schmidt), Laufer and Hulstijn (2001) introduced a motivational-cognitive construct of task-induced involvement hypothesis, primarily for incidental vocabulary learning. A detailed discussion of this hypothesis and its components is beyond the scope of the present paper. However, its basic premise is that “retention of unfamiliar words is generally conditional upon the degree of involvement in processing these words” (Hulstijn & Laufer, 2001, p. 545). The researchers also provided evidence that different tasks impose differential degrees of demand or involvement load on learners, and that “the greater the involvement load, the better the retention”. This hypothesis has been garnering empirical support, though the number of studies directly related to it remains small. Nevertheless, the available data suggests that tasks inducing greater involvement are better in terms of retention and retrieval of respective information (e.g., Keating, 2008; Kim 2008; Rott, 2005; Rott & Williams, 2003).

In sum, the aforementioned theories are related to the core notion that the more actively and deeply learners work out a solution to a task, the more likely they are to remember this information. As applied to studies on glosses, we could posit that the more learners “work on” the information offered by a gloss, the more likely they are to store this information permanently. With this in mind, we hypothesize that mixed glosses could induce a greater load, and accordingly, a higher mental effort on readers compared with other gloss types in the study. In mixed glosses, readers were provided with the definition of unknown words for the first annotation and with the sentence in which the given word first appeared for the second annotation. For testing our hypotheses, the following research questions were formulated.

1. Is there any difference in the participants’ performance in different gloss conditions in terms of incidental vocabulary learning and retention?

2. Is there any difference in their performance in different gloss conditions in terms of reading comprehension?
3. What are their attitudes towards computer-assisted reading, and which gloss type did they prefer?

**Method**

**Participants**

Originally, 109 second-year undergraduate students in diverse disciplines volunteered to take part in the study. They were non-English majors from the Faculty of Education and Psychology at Allameh Tabataba’i University, Tehran, Iran. They had all received English instruction for six years as part of their general education requirements before entering the university. In Iran, such instruction is almost always provided in the students’ native language, Farsi. A few had also passed some general courses at English Language institutions at which a bilingual teaching method is often adopted.

The participants were randomly assigned to one of five gloss conditions. Only those who attended all sessions of the study were counted as the final sample. Accordingly, fourteen students were excluded. Four were eliminated due to their high scores on the pretest, one reported having read the passage prior to the exposure, and nine failed to take either of the posttests. In the end, 95 students remained in the study. They were all Farsi-speaking and ranged in age from 18 to 27 (mean age = 21.4 years). They were also asked to rate their proficiency level as they perceived it on a four-point scale. Most were at elementary or lower intermediate levels (elementary 18%, lower-intermediate 69%, upper-intermediate 9%, advanced 4%). Table 1 demonstrates the distribution of the participants in five gloss conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss Condition</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No gloss</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1 definition</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 definition</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1 &amp; L2 definitions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1 &amp; L2 definitions + L2 sentence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Materials

Reading text and target words

The reading passage utilized was a simplified version of Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Black Cat” retold by Wharry (1999). The reason for this selection was twofold. First, a short story seemed to be more appealing than a text stating some factual information. Second, the content of the passage was of a general nature and not related to the participants’ field of study so that it would not affect their scores. The passage was modified, and some parts were deleted; however, great care was taken not to distort the comprehensibility of the storyline. The end result was 1007 words long, presented in 13 paragraphs. The text readability was 72.2 in Flesch Reading Ease and 6.1 in Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level. All in all, the text appeared to be appropriate for the participants’ perceived level of English proficiency; it was neither too easy nor too difficult.

Using the computer software Multimedia Builder 4.9.7.8 (2006), five computerized versions of the reading passage were developed for each gloss condition. Each paragraph was placed on one page. Reading the text, the participants could also navigate back and forth between pages.

For the purpose of the study, at least two instances of each target word were needed. Examining the text, therefore, the researchers selected 15 words that appeared at least twice in the text. They were from among various parts of speech except for adverbs, and most of them were crucial for understanding the meaning of the sentences or paragraphs in which they appeared. The selected words were then replaced with low frequency words of similar meanings, hence establishing the pool of target words. In sum, 15 words constituted the target words, each of which appeared twice in the text and at least one page apart (see Appendix A).

Glossing. Fifteen target words were glossed and hyperlinked. They were underlined and displayed in blue bold-faced font. As each word appeared twice in the passage, the text included 30 annotations of the target words. No target word, however, occurred twice on the same page. When the participants clicked on a hyperlinked target word, a yellow textbox was displayed as a marginal textual gloss on the top left-hand side of the screen.
**Gloss Conditions.** The participants in the first condition served as the control group with no access to glosses. Those in the second and third conditions could consult a verbal gloss involving L1 (Farsi) and L2 (English) definitions of the target words, respectively. As for the fourth condition, a verbal gloss with both L1 and L2 definitions of the given word was prepared.

The last gloss condition involved mixed glosses: L1 and L2 definitions and the sentence in the text in which the target word appeared for the first time. However, the mode of gloss presentation was made distinct. Put simply, when the first instance of a target word was clicked on, its L1 and L2 definitions were displayed. However, consulting the second instance, the participants viewed the sentence from the text in which the given word first appeared. This sentence was shown as a marginal gloss with the target word highlighted in a different color in order to make it distinct from the surrounding text. It is worth noting that those in this condition were allowed to see L1 and L2 definitions only in the first annotation. In order to account for this special type of gloss presentation, a script was embedded in the hyperlinks designed for this group. Additionally, a tracker was built into the glossed versions of the text to make sure that all glosses were consulted. For the sake of simplicity, gloss conditions in this study are referred to as no gloss, L1, L2, bilingual, and mixed, respectively (see Appendix B for examples of each gloss types).

**Tests**

Five assessment tasks were employed in the study. The computerized measures were designed in flash format using the computer software QuizCreator 3.0.0.36 (2009; see Appendix C for sample screenshots of the tasks). What follows is a description of the assessment tasks.

**Vocabulary pretest.** This paper-based test included the list of 15 target words along with the list of 40 Farsi words. The test takers were asked to specify the target words they knew and select their meanings from among the presented L1 words. Each correct answer was counted as one point. The test was given one week prior to the reading session as the pretest. It served the purpose of ensuring the participants’ equivalence in terms of pre-knowledge of the target words. That is, those whose scores exceeded 5 (a 30% cut-off point) were eliminated from the subsequent phases of the study.
Vocabulary recognition posttests. Two computerized word recognition tests were constructed for assessing incidental vocabulary learning and retention. The tests included 15 multiple-choice items, each covering one of the target words. The participants had to select the English definition of the given word from among four alternatives. The order of items and the place of alternatives were different in each test so as to minimize practice effect and transfer from immediate to delayed posttests. To this end, the test interface features - including background color, layout, and font type - were also made distinct. Each correct answer was counted as one point. The Cronbach’s alpha value for the immediate and delayed vocabulary posttests was .73 and .65, respectively.

Reading comprehension posttest. This was also a computerized test consisting of 12 multiple-choice items measuring the level of comprehending the story. Nine of these items were directly related to the annotated target words and the remaining three were of a global nature. Difficult vocabulary items were avoided, and great care was taken to ensure the simplicity and comprehensibility of sentences. The participants had to select the correct statement out of four choices, and they were not allowed to refer to the passage. Each correct response was given one point. The Cronbach’s alpha for this test reached an index of .67.

Questionnaire. A computerized questionnaire was developed for eliciting such data as the participants’ name, age, contact information, perceived proficiency level, and whether or not they had read the story before. In addition, it served the purpose of gathering information on the participants’ experience with computer-assisted reading and their preferred gloss types.

Procedure

All three sessions of the present study were held during a three-week time span (see Figure1). One week prior to the reading session, all participants took the pretest. On the day of exposure, the participants were first randomly assigned to one of five conditions. They were then briefly informed of computer-assisted reading and how to use the computerized text. The experimental groups were additionally trained as to what were glosses and how to consult them and were
asked to consult all instances of target words. They were also asked to read the passage for comprehension but were not informed of the vocabulary posttests.

Figure 1. Timeline of Sessions in the Study

After the participants completed reading the text, they did reading comprehension and vocabulary recognition tests, respectively. Finally, they were also asked to respond to the computerized questionnaire. The researchers provided the participants with necessary information regarding the questionnaire items. Two weeks later, the participants were unexpectedly requested to take the delayed vocabulary test.

The results of the assessment tasks were automatically submitted to the researchers’ e-mail addresses. On the whole, the data from 95 students who successfully went through all phases of the study were analyzed. The design of this study was randomized subjects, pretest-posttest control group (Ary, L. C. Jacobs, Razavieh, & Sorenson, 2006). In such a design, the subjects are randomly assigned to either experimental or control groups. The pretest is given to ensure their equivalence prior to the treatment, and the posttest(s) serve the purpose of assessing the effectiveness of the treatment.
Results

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics of the scores on the comprehension and vocabulary tests. As is evident, the trend in the mean scores reveals the superiority of the glossing groups over the no-glossing group. Within the former, those in the mixed gloss group outscored other participants. What follows is an investigation of whether these differences are statistically significant to have potential importance.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Participants' Scores on Assessment Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Gloss Condition</th>
<th>L1 (n = 20)</th>
<th>(n = 18)</th>
<th>bilingual (n = 20)</th>
<th>mixed (n = 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no gloss (n = 17)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ReadComp.</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>6.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.1</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>10.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.2</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>6.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. ReadComp = reading comprehension test; Voc.1 = immediate vocabulary recognition test; Voc.2 = delayed vocabulary recognition test.

Effect of glosses on vocabulary learning and retention

A mixed between-within subjects ANOVA was conducted with Gloss Condition as a five-level between-subjects variable and Time as a three-level within-subjects factor. The dependent variable involved the participants’ scores on pretest, immediate, and delayed vocabulary tests. As seen in Table 3, the results revealed significant differences for the main effect of Gloss Condition, $F(4, 90) = 25.46$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .53$, the main effect of Time, $F(2, 180) = 350.92$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .80$, and the interaction effect, $F(8, 180) = 9.51$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .30$. However, main effects for single variables may decline in their importance in the face of the interactions (Larson-Hall, 2010). The significant interaction suggested that the effectiveness of gloss type depended on the test time: pretest, immediate posttest, and delayed posttest. Nevertheless, this seemed to be related to the significant increase in the mean scores of the participants in experimental groups compared with that of the control group.
Table 3. Mixed ANOVA for Vocabulary Recognition Test Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>η²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss Condition</td>
<td>(4, 90)</td>
<td>539.09</td>
<td>134.77</td>
<td>25.46</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time (T)</td>
<td>(2, 180)</td>
<td>2531.69</td>
<td>1274.88</td>
<td>350.92</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.000***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T × G</td>
<td>(8,180)</td>
<td>274.41</td>
<td>34.55</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.000***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** p < .001.

To further examine the results, three separate one-way ANOVAs were run for each vocabulary test (see Table 4). The participants did not show any statistically significant differences in pretest scores, \( F (4, 90) = 0.35, p = .841, \) partial \( η^2 = .02. \) This was expected to ensure their comparability in terms of vocabulary knowledge prior to the exposure.

Table 4. One-Way ANOVAs for Vocabulary Recognition Test Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocabulary Test</th>
<th>subgroup</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>η²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretest</td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91.55</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>550.26</td>
<td>137.57</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>485.17</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayed</td>
<td>Between</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>261.80</td>
<td>65.45</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>548.94</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** p < .001.

The results of the second analysis revealed a significant difference in the participants’ mean scores on the immediate posttest, \( F (4, 90) = 25.52, p < .001, \) partial \( η^2 = .53. \) The effect size suggested that more than half of variance in scores can be attributed to the difference in gloss conditions. Post hoc Scheffé analyses indicated that, first, those consulting different gloss types statistically outperformed the participants without access to such glosses \( (p < .001) \). Second, among those having access to glosses, participants in the mixed gloss group could recognize vocabulary items best, supporting the effectiveness of this gloss type when compared with such verbal glosses as L1 \( (p = .013) \), L2 \( (p = .001) \), and bilingual glosses \( (p = .026) \). No significant differences were detected between L1 and L2 glosses or between either of them and bilingual glosses.
As Table 4 shows, statistically significant differences on the delayed vocabulary test revealed that glosses helped the participants to retain the vocabulary items after two weeks, \( F (4, 90) = 10.73, p < .001, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .32 \). Post hoc scheffé analyses disclosed the superiority of applying such verbal gloss types as L1 (\( p = .008 \)), bilingual (\( p = .011 \)), and mixed (\( p < .001 \)) over the no-gloss condition in helping the participants to recall the meaning of target words after two weeks. Those using L2 glosses, however, failed to sustain their higher performance, when compared with the no-gloss group, on the delayed post-test (\( p = .072 \)). Additionally, those with access to mixed glosses outscored the participants consulting L2 gloss type (\( p = .021 \)). Figure 2 portrays the plotting of lexical performance of each group across time.

Figure 2. Vocabulary Recognition Scores Across Time

As is clearly evident, the graph shows that the mean scores began with no outstanding difference on the pretest, increased with differential rates after the reading session, and dropped two weeks later. Further analyses were employed to ensure whether the decrease on the delayed posttest impacted the significant main effect for Time. First, repeated measures ANOVAs were applied for each group with Time as a within-subjects factor and word recognition scores as the dependent variables. The results indicated significant main effects for Time for each group (no gloss: \( F (2, 32) = 17.00, p < .001, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .52 \); L1 gloss: \( F (2, 38) = 73.85, p < .001, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .80 \); L2 gloss: \( F (2, 34) = 51.25, p < .001, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .75 \); bilingual gloss: \( F (2, 38) = 83.74, \)
Subsequently, three series of paired-samples $t$-tests for each group were computed. The results of the first and second sets of $t$-tests revealed, respectively, a significant growth for each group from pretest to immediate posttest and a significant loss from immediate to delayed posttests. As for the third set, significant increases in scores from pretest to delayed posttest were attested for each group (no gloss: $t (16) = -2.65, p < .017, \eta^2 = .32$; L1 gloss: $t (19) = -6.21, p < .001, \eta^2 = .68$; L2 gloss: $t (17) = -4.73, p < .001, \eta^2 = .58$; bilingual gloss: $t (19) = -6.55, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70$; and mixed gloss: $t (19) = -10.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .85$). Medium to large effect sizes suggested the general effectiveness of glossing in helping the participants in promoting incidental vocabulary learning and retention.

### Effect of glosses on reading comprehension

A one-way ANOVA was applied with Gloss Condition as a five-level independent variable and reading comprehension scores as the dependent variable. It was found out that the participants in the five gloss conditions comprehended the reading passage differently, $F (4, 90) = 7.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$ (Table 5). Post hoc Scheffé analyses revealed that those without access to glosses failed to comprehend the text when compared with the participants consulting L1 ($p = .005$), L2 ($p = .014$), bilingual ($p = .003$), and mixed glosses ($p < .001$). However, no significant difference was observed between either of the experimental groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. One-Way ANOVA for Reading Comprehension Test Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Between groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Within groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * $p < .001$. 
Attitudes towards computer-assisted reading

The response to the first item (*How often do you read an English text on a computer for learning purposes?*) revealed that about 75 percent of the participants never or rarely made use of computer-assisted reading for helping them in the process of learning English as a foreign language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>never</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>often</th>
<th>always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the second item (*How do you feel about reading on a computer?*), the participants expressed a positive attitude towards reading in a CALL environment (about 87 percent overall). In line with this, the tracker built into the glossed versions of the text assured us that in about 98.7 percent of cases both instances of the glossed words were consulted by the participants. Those participants showing a negative attitude appeared to be mostly from among the control group because they might have found the unglossed text difficult.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dislike it very much</th>
<th>don't like it very much</th>
<th>like it fairly well</th>
<th>like it very much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And finally, the responses to the last item (*Which gloss type do you personally prefer?*) indicated L1 glosses as the most favored gloss type and L2 glosses as the least preferred one. This item was responded to only by the experimental groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L1 (Farsi)</th>
<th>L2 (English)</th>
<th>L1+L2 (Farsi+English)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

Readers with access to glosses in this study had an advantage over those without them. The effectiveness of glossing has been shown in studies using multimedia glosses (e.g., Akbulut, 2007a; Al-Seghayer, 2001; Chun & Plass, 1996). This is also in line with studies focusing on verbal glosses (e.g., Chen, 2002; Cheng & Good, 2009; Grace, 2000; Hulstijn et al., 1996; G. Jacobs et al., 1994; Miyasako, 2002; Yoshii, 2006). It seemed that glosses helped the participants to notice unknown vocabulary items and, accordingly, recognize their meaning far better than the no-gloss group. Moreover, the fact that glosses appeared twice in the text served as reinforcement because frequency has been reported as a factor in promoting incidental vocabulary learning (Hulstijn et al.). In short, glosses helped the experimental groups pay more attention to the target words, invest a higher level of mental effort, and engage in a deeper cognitive processing. The benefits of glossing were not restricted to incidental vocabulary learning and remained significant for three of the experimental groups after two weeks. Cheng and Good found similar results related to the readers’ better retention of target words after two weeks. However, Miyasako showed that neither L1 nor L2 glosses (in both single and multiple-choice forms) failed to help retention eighteen days following exposure.

Except for mixed glosses, other gloss types did not statistically differ in terms of vocabulary learning. In fact, gloss language may not exert a strong influence on incidental vocabulary learning (Chen, 2002; G. Jacobs et al., 1994; Yoshii, 2006). Yoshii, for instance, attributed this to the slow nature of incidental learning. Nevertheless, the L1 text-only group in his study retained their scores over time. He concluded that an advantage of L1 glosses may appear in the long run. Yoshii’s findings on text-only glosses were replicated in this study. For one thing, our participants in L1 and L2 gloss groups displayed a statistically similar performance. For another, the L1 gloss group could retain their effectiveness after two weeks, whereas L2 glosses failed to affect retention. This might be related to the point underlined by Miyasako (2002) to the effect that L2 glosses are better for higher level learners and L1 glosses for lower level ones. Miyasako concluded that “the effectiveness of L2 glossing seems to have been diminished or replaced by L1 glossing for lower-English-ability students” (p. 13). Questionnaire results also revealed a strong preference for L1 glosses on the part of the participants in this study. This is not surprising considering that they were mostly at a lower level of English ability. In fact, it seems that lower level learners are able to make stronger links between L1 and concepts than between L2 and
concepts (Kroll & Stewart, 1994). Studies on the effectiveness of glosses should, thus, take account of proficiency level as an important mediating factor.

Interestingly enough, even L1 coupled with L2 definitions in bilingual glosses did not tend to make a difference when compared with L1 definition alone. More interestingly, as noted in Figure 2, the rise and fall of scores in both L1 and bilingual groups almost overlapped. This suggests that either only L1 definitions were attended to in bilingual glosses or maybe L2 definitions were not that effective in the face of L1 ones. In other words, the L1 side of the bilingual glosses may have stood out for the participants because it was easier to process and resulted in less distraction while reading an L2 text. In a similar vein, the majority of the participants in the study preferred L1, bilingual, and L2 glosses, respectively, regardless of the gloss type they consulted. A similar preference for L1 over L2 glosses was also documented in studies finding no difference between the two (G. Jacobs et al., 1994; Yoshii, 2006).

While L2 glosses were the least effective, and also least preferred, among the present sample of Iranian learners, mixed glosses appeared to be the best in terms of vocabulary learning and retention. Put another way, mixed glosses seemed to offer greater potential for cognitively engaging the readers in deeper levels of processing than other three gloss types. This may be explained in light of theories focusing on high mental effort (e.g., levels of processing, involvement load hypothesis). Admittedly, the participants reading the text with mixed glosses invested a higher mental effort in grappling with the target words. Technically speaking, they induced more involvement. Mixed gloss group also spent more time reading the text than did the other groups. While we know learning and retention are less correlated with the length of time spent on a piece of information held in primary memory than with the depth to which the information is initially processed (Craik & Lockhart, 1972), the quantitative analyses in the study suggested that the extra time had been well spent in encouraging deeper processing.

The superiority of mixed glosses may also be explained in light of the effectiveness of multiple exposures to vocabulary items through different contexts. The more meaningful these contexts are to the learners, the more effective the learning and retention (Parry, 1991, 1997). Although at least twelve such exposures might be needed for incidental learning to successfully occur
(Nation, 2001), several studies have revealed the possibility of learning through eight (Horst, Cobb & Meara, 1998), four (Rott & Williams, 2003), three (Baleghizadeh & Nasrollahy Shahry, 2011), and even two encounters (Hulstijn et al., 1996; Rott, 1999). Whether the richness of context or mere frequency is responsible for this type of learning is not clear as yet. However, Webb (2008) argued that the quality of the context is related to gaining knowledge of word meaning, whereas the number of encounters with the target words has a greater effect on knowledge of word form. This suggests that successful production of words incidentally learned is more demanding than recognition of them and requires many more encounters. At any rate, not only did mixed glosses in this study provide two contextualized instances of each target word in the same text, they also created a situation in which the readers actively noticed the very contexts. All in all, this helped them to promote incidental vocabulary learning, as shown by the statistical analyses.

As noted in the results section, while mixed glosses could retain their superiority over the no-gloss and L2 gloss groups, their difference with L1 and bilingual glosses did not reach statistical significance on the delayed posttest. Specifically, although the mixed gloss group experienced a greater loss from the immediate to the delayed posttest, their outstanding performance immediately following the reading session seemed to counterbalance such a negative effect. Juxtaposing the net vocabulary gains of different gloss groups from pretest to delayed posttest may help to shed some light on this issue. The effect size of the mean difference for mixed glosses was as large as .83, indicating a substantial gain in exposing learners to the reading passage enhanced with mixed annotations. This clearly reflects suggestions associated with involvement load hypothesis and other related models claiming that deeper engagement with new vocabulary items as induced by tasks might well increase the chances of their being learned (Laufer & Hulstijn, 2001; Schmitt, 2008).

In terms of comprehension, reading an L2 text enhanced with glosses led to better gains on the part of participants in the study. This is generally consonant with studies reporting the effectiveness of using multimedia glosses (Akbulut, 2008; Chun & Plass, 1996; Lomicka, 1998; Yanguas, 2009). It is also specifically consistent with studies involving verbal glosses (Aweiss, 1994; Davis, 1989; Stoehr, 1999). In contrast, the results contradict those found in Cheng and Good (2009), Johnson (1982), and Joyce (1997) who reported no effect on comprehension from
applying glosses. The positive effect of glosses obtained in this study could be explained in two ways. Firstly, text characteristics such as type (expository vs. narrative) and difficulty level appeared to make a difference. Reporting on a meta-analytic study into the effectiveness of glossing on comprehension, Abraham (2008) showed larger effect sizes when the text mode of expression was narrative rather than expository. As used in the present study, a simplified short story in which knowing glossed words was crucial to understanding the passage stands in contrast with, for example, the rather difficult expository texts utilized by Cheng and Good, Johnson, and Joyce. Furthermore, it seems that learners should be at a level of L2 proficiency proportionate to the text level (Taylor, 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Watanabe, 1997). Taylor commented in this regard, “Glosses have the potential of getting in the way of reading comprehension because of the important relationship between learner level and text level” (2010, p. 353). The second explanation is related to the frequency of glossed words (Hulstijn et al., 1996; Rott & Williams, 2003). Two encounters with the target words in important sentences aided the experimental groups to better grasp the main line of the text, resulting in a relatively higher recall of text ideas.

On the other hand, verbal gloss types in this study did not appear to produce differential effects on L2 reading comprehension. In fact, the L1 gloss group outscored the L2 gloss group; the difference does not reach the significance level, however. This is in marked contrast to studies reporting either the advantage of L1 over L2 glosses (e.g., Al-Jabri, 2009) or the other way round (Ko, 2005). Moreover, while those in the mixed gloss group spent more time on the reading session, their comprehension level did not statistically differ from that of the other gloss groups. Mixed glosses might have even distracted the readers from fully devoting attention to the global and specific text ideas and prevented them from performing as expected (see also Cheng & Good, 2009 and Taylor, 2010 for related discussions).

And finally, it is worth mentioning that the contradictory findings in terms of the effectiveness of glossing on comprehension suggest the multifaceted nature of the construct. In other words, many factors are at work when learners apply glosses while reading an L2 text, and most studies have failed to take account of all these factors at the same time. Moreover, unlike vocabulary learning, the long-term effects of glossing (e.g., L1 glosses) on reading comprehension have
been rarely explored (Taylor, 2006b). Scant evidence in this regard suggests itself as an area for further investigation.

**Limitations**

Several limitations must be acknowledged. First, small sample sizes in each group restricted the generalizability of the findings. Second, the special design of the study called for a rather lengthy text with which some learners might have felt frustrated. Future studies, testing mixed glosses, might focus on a smaller number of target words glossed in a text of shorter length. Third, the target words were selected on the basis of the researchers’ judgment of their being at a low level of frequency. Studies have reported that even expert judgment in this regard is a crude measure of word frequency (Alderson, 2007). Fourth, the participants’ proficiency level was reflected in their own perception of their English language ability; self-rating might not be a reliable indicator of proficiency level (Mochizuki, 1999). And finally, sophisticated qualitative sources of data collection, such as semi-structured interviews and/or think-aloud protocols to probe into the readers’ mind, were absent in this study.

**Conclusions and Implications**

Verbal glossing seems to make a difference when learners go about the task of L2 reading. Providing such learning aids can relieve the burden of continual dictionary searches and reduce interruptions to the flow of reading. A factor improving the chance of glossed words being taken in is the degree of mental effort. As the results indicated, multiple exposures to the target words might serve as reinforcement in this respect.

But, what is the use of verbal glosses alone? The study does not undermine the great effectiveness of applying multimedia glosses (verbal coupled with visual glosses) compared with verbal glosses alone. However, problems associated with the application of multimedia glosses need to be balanced against their advantages. For one thing, not all learners might benefit from multimedia glosses equally. Visualizers, for example, have an advantage over verbalizers when applying such glosses (Plass, Chun, Mayer, & Leutner, 2003). Also, teachers or materials developers might experience great difficulty in finding appropriate pictures or video clips
catering to the students’ needs. This is, of course, aside from the problem of the availability of such materials for abstract entities. In other words, pictures in this sense are most suitable for concrete words because abstract ones may yield diverse interpretations, hence distracting the learners’ attention. For instance, Yanguas’s (2009) participants in a picture gloss group “seemed to think that the pictures were not very helpful, even distracting” (p. 61). On the other hand, verbal glosses are easily accessible and much more flexible. The results of this study suggested that enhancing verbal glosses (e.g., by increasing frequency, providing glosses in context-rich sentences, and urging the readers to better notice such contexts, as in the case of mixed glosses) might maximize their potential for providing an in-depth experience, hence facilitating vocabulary learning and retention as well as reading comprehension.

Studies have indicated that gloss effectiveness might be influenced by such individual differences as learning styles (e.g., Akbulut, 2007b, Plass et al., 2003) and reading strategies (Ko, 2005). Plass et al., for instance, concluded that readers recalled propositions better if their preferred mode of annotation was presented. Moreover, proficiency seemed to play an important role, with L2 glosses being better for higher levels and L1 glosses more effective for lower level learners (Miyasako, 2002). Seen in this light, any CALL program in general and glossing programs in particular, in order to yield successful outcomes, should be tailored to students’ diverse needs and preferences.

As the questionnaire data confirmed, while the Iranian learners sampled in this study tend to greatly enjoy computer-assisted reading, they rarely have a chance to be exposed to such materials. Reading is an essential source of input, especially in EFL settings like Iran where naturalistic and authentic materials are of limited availability. It is unfortunate that these learners are often deprived of the facilitating effects of such an enjoyable yet productive and motivating environment. According to Parker (1997), two preventive factors in this regard include lack of time and the unavailability of computer labs. Apart from these common logistical problems, knowledge of available information technology resources is also lacking in a country like Iran. This is mainly related to the fact that the Iranian educational system has not adopted computers as tools for the students’ professional development (Bordbar, 2010). Persuading teachers and students to employ computers as a means of educational development, and not just as a recreational tool, should be of paramount importance.
Materials developers should also attempt to keep pace with CALL technological developments in order to provide students with an enhanced learning experience. In so doing, however, they should keep in mind that the primary purpose of glossing is to assist in understanding the text, and that learning vocabulary is just a by-product. Adopting texts with a clear and smooth structure could also help considerably in this regard. In addition, they should not forget the interactive aspect of hypertext glosses as opposed to traditional ones. Glosses are not supposed to impede reading speed or divert readers’ attention more than is considered normal. In other words, hints on the availability of the gloss are embedded in the text (e.g., coloring, bolding, underlining), but it is up to the readers to consult the glosses at any point they wish.

And last but not least, teachers should inform their learners that knowing words entails more than what is included in glosses. On the other hand, learners should be aware that recognizing the word meaning successfully is one thing and using that word in new contexts and situations is quite another (Webb, 2008). Put simply, focusing on glosses for facilitating incidental vocabulary learning does not obviate the need for attending to intentional means of learning vocabulary (Nation, 2001).

References


Akbulut, Y. (2007b). Variable predicting foreign language reading comprehension and


*Computer Assisted Language Learning, 24*(1), 39-58.
APPENDIXES

Appendix A. Target Words Used in the Study

abor
bizarre
commence
diabolic
flee
formidable
foster
gallows
horrendous
indignant
perish
perturbed
petrify
slay
zealous
Appendix B. Sample Screenshots of Verbal Glosses

L1 gloss

But this feeling was not strong enough to make me change my life. I continued to drink because it was too formidable for me to stop. Soon, I had forgotten what I had done. As the months passed, Plair got better. His empty eye socket still looked terrible, but at least he wasn’t in pain any more. Not surprisingly, he used to flee from me when he saw me, petrified that I would hurt him again. At first I was sad to see him run away—an animal which had once so loved me. Then I began to feel a little angry. There is something strange about the human heart. We humans seem to like hurting ourselves. Haven’t we all, a hundred times, done something stupid or evil just because we know that we should not do it?
L2 gloss

One day my wife and I needed to get something from the cellar underneath the house. The cat followed us down the steps and threw itself in front of me. I almost fell on my face and, mad with anger, I took hold of an axe and tried to slay the animal. But my wife caught my arm to stop me, and then suddenly I became very indignant. I turned and drove the axe deep into her head. She fell dead on the floor, without a sound.

Bilingual gloss

One night, I was drinking in my favorite bar when I suddenly noticed a large, black cat. I went up to it and touched it. It was very large— as large as Pluto had been. It also looked very like Pluto. Except for one thing, Pluto had been black all over, but this cat had a white mark on its front. I touched the cat and he immediately lay down against my leg and seemed very friendly towards me. This, I decided, was the cat that I wanted. I offered the barman some money to buy the cat from him, but he said that the cat didn’t belong to him. In fact, he had no idea where it had come from. So I took the cat home. My wife liked it, and it stayed with us from that day. But soon I do not know why— the cat started to make me indignant and, as time passed, I began to abhor it.
Mixed gloss (two different annotations)

The black Cat
Edgar Allan Poe

I know you will not believe this story. Only a madman could hope
that you would believe it- and I am not mad. But as I am going to
perish tomorrow, I would like to tell my story to the world today.
Perhaps some day, somebody calmer and less excitable than me,
will be able to explain it. I have always loved animals. I loved them
deeply, from the very first days of my life. When I was young, we
always had many animals in our house, and so I used to spend most
of my days playing with them.

But as I am going to perish tomorrow, I would like to tell
my story to the world today.

I then looked around for the cat, to slay it. It had brought too much
unhappiness into my life, and so it, too, must now perish. I looked
for it everywhere, but it had disappeared. I was free at last! That
night I had a deep sleep - I really do not know how I could sleep
well! Three days passed and still the cat did not appear. I was now
a happy man, happier than I had been for a long time. I wasn't
perturbed by what I had done. People had asked a few questions
and the police had visited my house, but they had found nothing.
Appendix C. Sample Screenshots of the Assessment Tasks

Biodata elicitation

[Image of biodata elicitation screenshot]

Reading comprehension test

[Image of reading comprehension test screenshot]

Vocabulary recognition test

[Image of vocabulary recognition test screenshot]
Questionnaire item
The relationship between modified output and working memory capacity

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Abstract

Prior work by Mackey et al (2001) and Trofimovich et al (2007) implicates the role of working memory (WM) in learning from interactional feedback. This study sought to determine whether there is a relationship between WM and phonological short-term memory (PSTM) on the one hand and modified output on the other. 44 L1 Persian EFL learners participated in a 15-minute task-based interaction, where they received interactional feedback in the form of elicitations (e.g., Lyster, 2004; Nassaji, 2007), and were given opportunities to modify their problematic utterances following the feedback. They also completed WM and PSTM tests. Regression analysis was applied to determine whether any significant relationships existed between, WM, PSTM, and the production of modified output following feedback in the form of elicitations. Results suggested that there is a positive significant correlation between PSTM and modified output following elliptical elicitations.

Keywords Foreign language learning; working memory; corrective feedback; modified output; interaction

Introduction

Corrective feedback is defined as a response generated implicitly or explicitly through various negotiation and modification strategies (e.g., recasts, elicitations, clarification requests) that occur in the course of interaction to deal with communication problems (Gass, 1997; Long, 1996; Pica, 1987, 1994). In interaction hypothesis, Long (1996) suggests that corrective feedback on erroneous utterances in a conversational interaction facilitates second language learning because it “connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways” (pp. 451-452). One way that corrective feedback promotes learning is by providing learners with opportunities to revise their erroneous utterances. This process is referred to as producing ‘modified output’ and has been shown to promote learning of second language forms (e.g., McDonough, 2005). A good body of empirical research in second language acquisition (SLA) suggests that individual learners benefit differentially from interactional feedback (e.g., Mackey, Adams, Satfford & Winke, 2010; Mackey & Goo 2007; Mackey & Philp, 1998; Mackey, Philp, Egi, Fujii &
Tatsumi, 2002; Nassaji, 2007). WM, as a central component of language aptitude (Miyake & Freidman, 1998; Sawyer & Ranta, 2001; Skehan, 2002), has been argued to be one of the potential sources of individual differences in benefiting from corrective feedback (Mackey et al., 2010; Mackey et al., 2002). WM is defined as “a limited capacity temporary storage system which underpins complex human thought” (Baddeley, 2007). Recent work by Mackey et al. (2010) suggests that there is a significant relationship between WM and the production of modified output following corrective feedback. In this study, Mackey et al. (2010) gave a variety of corrective feedback types in response to participants’ erroneous utterances. However, other research suggests that corrective feedback that elicits a response (rather than providing the correct form) is more likely to promote the production of modified output (e.g., Lyster & Saito, 2010). The current study focuses on the production of modified output following elicitation, seeking to explore whether there is a relationship between WM and modified output produced following elicitation.

**Literature Review**

Research suggests that corrective feedback plays a role in L2 learners’ interlanguage development (e.g., Lyster & Saito, 2010; Mackey et al., 2010; Mackey & Goo, 2007; Mackey et al., 2002; Nassaji, 2007; Russell & Spada, 2006). While corrective feedback is important in learning, learners seem to benefit differentially from corrective feedback and modified output.

A possible reason is WM. Recent studies suggest that individuals with different WM capacities may benefit differently from various kinds of oral corrective feedback (e.g., Mackey et al., 2010; Mackey et al., 2002; Robinson, 2002; Williams, 1999). More specifically, L2 learners with higher WM capacity benefit more from corrective feedback and produce more modified output than those with low WM capacity.

A good body of L1 research suggests that there are relationships between individuals’ WM capacity and constructs such as fluency of speech (Daneman, 1991), ability to
learn new words (Daneman & Green, 1986), L1 reading comprehension (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980; Waters & Caplan, 1996a), word naming and vocabulary learning (Atkins & Baddeley, 1998), and online parsing performance (Juffs, 2004). However, little is known about the role WM plays in the process of second language learning in general, and in interactional learning in particular. Some studies support the idea that WM plays an important role in the processing of verbal input and L2 learning (e.g., Harington & Sawyer, 1992; Mackey, et al., 2010; Mackey, et al., 2002; Miyake & Freidman, 1998; Robinson, 1995, 2002, 2005; Skehan, 1998).

Recent research of the role of WM in learning from corrective feedback suggests that WM may shape, explain, and predict the way that learners respond to corrective feedback (e.g., Mackey et al., 2010; Trofimovich, 2007). Research conducted by Payne and Whitney (2002) suggests that learners with high WM capacity benefit more from face to face interaction, whereas those with low WM capacity benefit more from computer mediated communication. WM also predicts both linguistic accuracy on written post-tests and the amount of target-like modified output (Sagara, 2007).

WM may also play a role in how learners respond to corrective feedback. In conversational interaction, a learner may produce modified output once he or she is provided with corrective feedback on his or her given utterance (e.g., Mackey et al., 2010, Mackey et al., 2002). Corrective feedback creates a context where L2 learners' focus of attention is directed to the erroneous utterance, providing an opportunity to reprocess and modify their original production (e.g., Izumi, 2002; McDonough, 2005; Swain, 1995). Research suggests that producing modified output promotes L2 learning (e.g., McDonough, 2005; Swain, 2005).

PSTM is a separate construct from WM. It involves processing and temporary storage of familiar and novel phonological information (e.g., Baddeley, 2007; Juffs & Harrington, 2011). PSTM is central to vocabulary (e.g., Baddeley, Gathercole & Papagno, 1998) and spoken language development (e.g., Adams & Gathercole, 1996). Research suggests that PSTM also plays an important role in L2 oral production skills.
(e.g., O’Brien, Segalowitz, Collentine, & Freed, 2006; O’Brien, Segalowitz, Freed & Collentine, 2007) and learning from interactional corrective feedback (e.g., Mackey et al., 2002). PSTM plays this role by maintaining the representation of phoneme sequences, while at the same time, the articulatory rehearsal system (inner speech) facilitates encoding of these sequences (Baddeley, 2003).

Elicitations (or prompts in Lyster’s 2004 terms) are defined as the oral corrective feedback that pushes the learner explicitly or implicitly to reformulate his erroneous utterance into a correct form (e.g., Lyster, 2004; Lyster & Mori, 2006; Nassaji, 2007). It plays an important role in L2 learning because it pushes learners to produce modified output ((Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Panova & Lyster, 2002; Lyster, 2004). Research suggests that elicitations are not only less ambiguous as corrective feedback than recasts (e.g., Lyster, 1998b, Panvoa & Lyster, 2002), but they also lead to more repairs (modified output) and finally L2 learning (e.g., McDonough, 2005; Swain, 1993, 1995).

Relatively little research has investigated the role of WM in the production of modified output. However, a recent study (Mackey, et al., 2010) has suggested that WM capacity may be related to the production of modified output following a range of corrective feedback types. The findings of that study point to the need for more study of the relationship between WM and modified output, focusing on specific types of feedback. Thus, this study was designed to determine whether a relationship exists between WM and PSTM on the one hand and modified output produced following different types of elicitations on the other.

Research Questions

This study was conducted to investigate the following two research questions:

(1) Is there any relationship between WM and modified output following different types of elicitations?

(2) Is there any relationship between PSTM and modified output following different types of elicitations?
Methodology

Participants

The participants were 41 L1 Persian EFL learners. They included 25 males and 16 females with the mean age of 16. They were EFL beginning learners in grade one of high school, selected randomly from two high schools in Iran. Scores from an in-house developed test of language proficiency was used to determine whether the global proficiency of the learners was uniform. The mean score of 19.3 of a possible 20 indicated that the learners were at the top of the scale for beginning learners. The standard deviation was .64 which signalled that the group of learners was quite homogeneous in terms of L2 proficiency. The participants had started learning English as a foreign language at the age of 10 with an average period of English learning of 3.3 years.

Research Design

Test Batteries

The materials included a WM measure, a phonological short term memory test, and an interaction task in this study. More specifically, the participants completed a reading span test, as a measure of WM capacity, and a non-word recognition task, as a measure of PSTM. They also participated in a teacher-learner interaction task.

Memory measures

Reading Span Test

Reading span tests (RST) were first introduced by Daneman and Carpenter (1980). It was used to measure WM capacity and give an index of processing and storage, the components of WM. In this test, the participants are asked to read sets of sentences and report on semantic acceptability of each sentence (processing assessment) and then recall the final word of each sentence when prompted (storage assessment). As a measure of WM capacity, this test has been used in several studies (e.g., Chun &
In this study, a Persian reading span test (cf., Daneman & Carpenter, 1980) was used to measure WM capacity. This was based on the prior research that indicates WM is language independent (Miyake & Freidman, 1998; Osaka & Osaka, 1992). Furthermore, measuring WM in L1 could help to avoid conflating WM and L2 proficiency. This test was developed by the researcher, an L1 Persian speaker, and piloted on 73 Persian EFL learners. The test was designed with 64 items. For each item, the participants were required to judge whether or not the sentence made sense and also remember the final word. After sets of 3, 4, 5, or 6 sentences, the participants were asked to recall the final words and write them down in correct order in their answer sheets.

Non-Word Recognition Task

A non-word recognition task, developed by the researcher, was used to measure phonological short term memory (e.g., Gathercole, Frankish, Pickering, & Peaker, 1999; Trofimovich, Ammar, & Gatbonton, 2007). PSTM accounts for temporary storage and processing of verbal information (e.g., Baddeley, 2000, 2007; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; N. Ellis, 2001). Research suggests that learning the sound structures of new words in L2 is mediated by this component (e.g., Gathercole & Baddeley, 1990a; Miyake & Freidman, 1998; Skehan, 1989; Valler & Papango, 2002).

This test consisted of some pairs of sequences of English non-words. Non-words were used to minimize the influence of vocabulary knowledge on PSTM and yield a relatively accurate estimate of it (Gathercole & Pickering, 2001). This was based on a word list from a prior study (Gathercole, Service, Hitch, Adams & Martin, 1999). In this test, the participants heard two consecutive sequences of pronounceable non-words and judged whether they were in the same or different order. The length of each sequence was gradually increased across the pairs within the range of 4 to 7 non-words. This test was conducted in full class, and the participants were required to listen to each pair of sequences to determine if the order of non-words in both
sequences was the same or different by checking the boxes next to each choice in
their answer sheet.

Teacher-Learner Interaction Task

Fifteen four-picture story tasks were used in this test. Each task consisted of four
pictures, sequentially telling a story. In this test, the targets were simple present and
past tenses, and the distracters were comparative forms, five each. The task was
conducted individually in the classroom in two consecutive rounds, treatment then
post test. All exchanges between the participants and the experimenter were recorded
by a voice recorder. In the treatment round, the researcher gave a prompt on each task
to the participant. This was a sentence given to him or her at the beginning of each
task (e.g., *These are what John does every day*). Since the prompt included either of
present, past or comparative form, it could obviously direct the participant to the kind
of structures he or she was required to make for each picture. Once an erroneous
utterance occurred, he or she was provided with a corrective feedback. This feedback
could be any sub-types of elicitations (Nassaji, 2007). In this study, three types of
elicitations and two combinations out of these three types were used as corrective
feedback in response to participants’ erroneous utterances. These elicitation subtypes,
along with, some examples from the data follow.

i) Unmarked elicitation: There is no reference made to the error here. It is mainly in
the form of simple clarification request such as “sorry” or “excuse me” and etc.

Participant: Mrs White brush her teeth.

    Experimenter: Sorry?

    Participant: Mrs White brushes her teeth.

ii) Marked elicitation: There is a reference made to the error in the form of interrogative here.

    Participant: The monkey drop downs the coconut to the farmer.

    Experimenter: drop downs?
iii) Elliptical elicitation: The experimenter repeats the utterance up to the error, and waits for the learner to supply the correct form.

Participant: The green car more expensive

Experimenter: The green car....

Participant: is....is....the green car is more expensive than the blue car

iv) Unmarked+elliptical: Two prompts were given consecutively here, first unmarked and then elliptical elicitation.

Participant: Mina comb her hair yesterday morning.

Experimenter: Sorry? Mina....

Participant: Combed her hair ..... 

v) Marked+Elliptical: Two prompts were given consecutively here, first marked and then elliptical elicitation.

Participant: The sofa is a comfortable than chair.

Experimenter: a comfortable? The sofa is.....

Participant: Na....Na the sofa....the sofa is more comfortable than the chair

As indicated above, once participants made an erroneous utterance, they were provided with one type of elicitation feedback, and had an opportunity to modify their original production. The interaction between the experimenter and each participant was carried out like this until the end of the tasks and each participant was provided with a corrective feedback on his/her erroneous utterances. Throughout the interaction treatment session, the participants were provided with only one corrective feedback on each of their erroneous utterance regardless of whether or not they produce modified output.
Research Procedure

First, all participants completed memory measures, RST and non-word recognition task tests, over a 45 minute-duration session with five minutes break in between. These tests were conducted in a laboratory in group. All participants followed the same order in completing the tests. They completed reading span, non-word recognition task and teacher learner interaction task in turn. Then each participant took part in a teacher-learner interaction task. This test was 15 minutes in duration, and conducted individually in the classroom. The order of the tasks was randomized.

Data Analysis

Memory measures

The participants’ raw scores on memory measures were calculated. To score the reading span test, one mark was allocated to correct judgement and one mark to their correct recall with the total of 54 each. To control the recency effect (recalling the recently read targets earlier), no marks were given to the last target of each set if it was recalled first (Turner & Engle, 1989; Waters & Caplan, 1996). This has proved to be a reliable method of scoring (Convey, Kane, Bunting, Hambrick, Wilhelm, Engle, 2005). Furthermore, to control any trades-off between WM components, a composite WM z-score, a standardized score which is created from the combination of processing and storage scores, was computed as an indicator of WM capacity (e.g., Alptekin & Ercetin, 2009; Lesser, 2007; Turner & Engle, 1989; Waters & Caplan, 1996). To score non-word recognition task, one mark was given to each correct answer with the total of 22 for this task. Finally, regression analysis, a statistical technique for estimating or predicting a value for the proportion of modified output as a dependent variable from working memory and phonological short-term memory as independent variables, was run to determine whether or not any of the memory measures could predict participants’ performance in modifying output. Table 1 indicates descriptive statistics for WM and PSTM measures.
**Table 1** Descriptive Statistics of WM and PSTM measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WM com.</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37.17</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSTM</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.17</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27.39</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46.95</td>
<td>4.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* N=41

**Teacher-Learner Interaction task: Opportunities for modified output**

Data on teacher-learner interaction tasks were transcribed by the researcher, first. They included all exchanges between the participants and the experimenter. During the interaction tasks, once the participants made an erroneous utterance, they were provided with a corrective feedback and given the opportunity to modify it. The corrective feedback (prompts) included any of the five subtypes of elicitation (unmarked, unmarked+elliptical, marked, marked+elliptical, elliptical). Then each participant’s verbal response to interactional feedback was categorized as +/- modified output. 25% of the interaction data was coded by an interrater, the second researcher. There were 92 and 97% agreement on decisions made on prompts and modified output respectively between the raters. Proportional score for each elicitation subtype was calculated by dividing each learner’s number of modified output responses to feedback by the total number of response opportunities available to that learner.

**Results**

Since prior research suggested there was a relationship between learner’s production of modified and WM capacity (Mackey et al., 2010), this study was designed to
explore whether there is a similar relationship between participants’ production of modified output following different types of elicitations and their WM and PSTM capacity.

Corrective Feedback and Modified Output

As indicated in Table 2, participants were provided with corrective feedback in all opportunities where they made an erroneous utterance. The corrective feedback included five elicitation subtypes. Around 85% of the instances of corrective feedback prompted the participants to modify their output. Of the instances of modified output produced by the participants, 82% were correct target-like forms (repair), and around 18% were non-target forms, but different from their original production.

Table 2 Distribution of Responses to Corrective Feedback

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Opportunities</th>
<th>-Modified Output</th>
<th>+Modified Output</th>
<th>+Repair</th>
<th>-Repair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>272 (100%)</td>
<td>43 (15.80%)</td>
<td>229 (84.19%)</td>
<td>188 (82.09%)</td>
<td>41 (17.90%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics of Modified output Following by Elicitation Subtypes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prompts</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Mean rate of Response (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>85.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked+Elliptical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>83.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked+Elliptical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>83.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliptical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>82.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total+Modified Output</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>84.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 shows descriptive statistics of modified output following elicitation subtypes. Furthermore, it indicates the mean proportion of the opportunities where corrective feedback led to modified output. As seen, the participants produced modified output in more than 82% of the total opportunities where they were provided with corrective feedback.

**Correlations between Memory Measures and Modified Output**

Table 4 indicates correlations between independent and dependent variables. Independent variables included WM composite, recall, processing, and PSTM; whereas dependent variables included modified output produced in opportunities where corrective feedback was provided to participants’ erroneous utterances. Corrective feedback included five types of elicitations. Of these elicitations, modified output following only unmarked and elliptical elicitations had significant correlations with memory measures.

**Table 4** Correlations between Memory Measures and Modified Output in Response to each Elicitation Subtype

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Unm.+Ell.</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Mark.+Ell.</th>
<th>Elliptical</th>
<th>Total MO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WM com.</td>
<td>-.311*</td>
<td>-.110</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>-.044</td>
<td>-.100</td>
<td>-.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.494</td>
<td>.788</td>
<td>.788</td>
<td>.535</td>
<td>.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recall</td>
<td>-.133</td>
<td>-.132</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td>-.222</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.407</td>
<td>.411</td>
<td>.624</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.859</td>
<td>.160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing</td>
<td>-.332*</td>
<td>-.051</td>
<td>.123</td>
<td>.111</td>
<td>-.117</td>
<td>-.143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.751</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>.495</td>
<td>.464</td>
<td>.373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSTM</td>
<td>-.072</td>
<td>-.282</td>
<td>-.143</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.324*</td>
<td>-.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.655</td>
<td>.074</td>
<td>.371</td>
<td>.839</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.768</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 4, there are two different kinds of significant correlations between memory measures and modified output. WM composite and WM processing have negative significant correlations with modified output following unmarked elicitation, whereas PSTM is positively correlated with modified output following elliptical elicitation. No significant correlations are found between memory measures and other elicitation subtypes.

**Memory measures and Modified Output**

Since there were significant correlations between modified output and WM composite, WM processing and PSTM, three regressions were run between these memory measures as predictors and modified output as a dependent variable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>Effect Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) WM com.</td>
<td>-.224</td>
<td>.110</td>
<td>-.311</td>
<td>-2.044</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) PSTM</td>
<td>.329</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.324</td>
<td>2.137</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.324</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. WM com. = Working Memory Composite, PSTM = Phonological Short Term memory, Sig. = Significance, df1 = 1, df2 = 39, Dependent variable for Model 1 & 2 was Unmarked elicitation, whereas it was elliptical elicitation for model 3.*
As shown in Table 5, the effect size of each regression model is small. WM composite and WM processing are able to explain 10 and 12% variation respectively in producing modified output following unmarked elicitation. As it was already mentioned, these memory measures had negative significant correlations with modified output. This suggests that participants with higher WM capacity would produce less modified output following unmarked elicitation than participants with lower WM capacity.

However, PSTM had a positive significant correlation with elliptical elicitation. It suggests that the participants with higher PSTM capacity produce more modified output than those with lower PSTM capacity. The effect size for this model is still small, .11. It suggests that PSTM predicts only 11% variation in producing modified output following elliptical elicitation. Thus, variables other than WM are influential in producing modified output.

Discussion

This study was conducted to explore whether there is a relationship between memory measures and production of modified output following one type of corrective feedback, elicitation. The first research question was concerned with whether there is a relationship between WM capacity and modified output produced following different types of elicitation. The results of the study indicated two significant negative correlations between WM measures and modified output. More specifically, of the five subtypes of elicitation, a negative significant correlation was found between modified output following only unmarked elicitation as a dependent variable, and WM composite and WM processing, as predictors. This suggests that participants with high WM capacity produce less modified output than those with low WM capacity. This may be due to the point that unmarked elicitation is very implicit, while other elicitation subtypes (e.g., marked, elliptical) are very explicit. Since explicit elicitations may discursively require a response, there was a very high rate of modified output (over 80%). WM may not play a role in response to explicit corrective feedback. This is consistent with the findings of recent study (Mackey, et al., 2010) in that a significant relationship was found between WM capacity and modified output following recasts, as implicit corrective feedback. However, they
found a positive correlation between WM capacity and modified output following recasts. They suggested that participants with high WM capacity benefit more from recasts and produce more modified output than the participants with low WM capacity. Contrary to Mackey et al.’s (2010) findings, the results of this study yielded a negative correlation, suggesting that WM capacity may not similarly be associated with modified output following implicit and explicit prompts. It seems that the role of WM capacity in processing corrective feedback may vary from one kind of prompts to another one. Mackey et al. (2010) suggest that in order to modify output following recasts, learners may need to be able to recall both their original utterance and the recast, and process these to find the difference. These may be quite different memory demands than those posed by elicitations. Further comparative research could explore the relationship between WM and modified output following different types of corrective feedback.

The significant correlation between WM composite and modified output following unmarked elicitation suggests that participants with low WM capacity produce more modified output and may therefore benefit more from unmarked elicitation than the participants with high WM capacity. This may be because learners with high WM capacity have sufficient memory resources to process the feedback given to them and at the same time recall what they have just produced in previous turn (their earlier utterance). With greater WM capacity, they may be more likely to remember their prior utterance and repeat it without modification, while those with low WM capacity cannot simply recall their prior utterance but instead must reprocess the language to describe picture prompt again. Modification of output may in these cases be related to variation in their interlanguage proficiency; the same learner may produce different utterances when trying to describe the same picture output. It is noteworthy that this relationship was only found with unmarked elicitations, the most implicit type of prompt used in this study. The implicit nature of elicitations may make their function as corrective feedback ambiguous. Learners may interpret an unmarked elicitation (e.g., ‘sorry?’) as a prompt to repeat themselves more loudly or clearly, as opposed to a prompt to examine their grammatical production. If so, learners with higher WM capacity may be better able to simply repeat their prior utterance, and less likely to produce modified output.
Of the two functions of WM, only processing had a significant correlation with unmarked elicitation (−.332). The same as WM composite, there was a negative correlation between this function and modified output following unmarked elicitation. This is consistent with Mackey et al.’s (2010) study where they found a significant correlation, though positive, between WM processing and the tendency to change original utterances following corrective feedback. This suggests that in interactions where the participants are provided with prompts, effects of processing capacity might be more salient than storage. Associated with the results of this study, and contrary to what Mackey et al. (2010) have found, it further proposes that the more the participants get involved in processing, the less they modify their earlier utterances. The discrepancy between the results of these two studies may be due to the type of corrective feedback the participants were provided with, discussed above.

The second research question focused on whether there is a relationship between PSTM and modified output following elicitations. The results suggested that there is a significant correlation between PSTM and modified output following elliptical elicitations. However, there were no significant correlations between PSTM and modified output following other types of elicitations. This suggests that participants with high PSTM scores produce more modified output following elliptical elicitation than the ones with low PSTM scores. This may be due to the point that, as research conducted by Mackey et al.’s (2002) suggested, those who have high PSTM scores notice interactional feedback more than the ones with low PSTM scores. If these learners were better able to recognize elliptical elicitations as corrective feedback, they may have also been more likely to produce modified output in response.

It seems that PSTM and WM correlates differentially with modified output following elicitations in this study. However, the relationship between PSTM and modified output following elliptical elicitation is similar to the relationship between WM and modified output following recasts in Mackey et al.’s (2010) findings. Further studies could investigate whether or not PSTM correlates significantly with modified output following recasts and other types of corrective feedback. Overall, the results of this study suggest that PSTM plays an important role in interactional learning, particularly in processing corrective feedback. However, it should be remembered that low effect sizes were found for the relationship between PSTM and modified output (.11). This
indicates that factors other than memory measures included in the current study play a role in learner tendencies to produce modified output following corrective feedback.

Conclusion

Limitations of the Study

The results of this study suggest that WM capacity and PSTM play a role in the production of modified output following unmarked and elliptical elicitation respectively. However, the strength of the relationship between memory measures and production of modified output was low; suggesting that factors other than WM measures promote the production of modified output was low, as well. These factors may include grammatical sensitivity, field independence, socio-psychological variables (Robinson, 2002; Skehan, 1998), type of instruction as well as awareness of form (see Mackey, et al., 2010). Furthermore, although the participants' L2 proficiency was controlled in this study by several assessments, there was evidence of ceiling effects on these assessments. It would be more helpful for future researchers to have a more sensitive proficiency test to see if proficiency level mediates the role of WM capacity in the production of modified output.

This study used a reading span test as a measure of WM capacity and non-word recognition task as a measure of PSTM. Future research could employ other WM tests such as math span test or listening span test, as well. This would help remove the effect of task-specific factors on the measurement of WM and consequently improve the construct validity of WM measure (Conway, Kane, Bunting, Hambrick, Wilhelm & Engle, 2005).

Finally, the results of this study indicated significant correlations with low effect sizes between memory measures and two types of elicitations, unmarked, as a more implicit and elliptical, as a more explicit elicitation. To learn more about the relationship between modified output following these prompts and WM capacity, further research should consider how WM may promote modified output following more or less explicit corrective feedback. It should also be noted that the rates of
production of modified output was universally high (higher than 80% for each type of feedback). While responses to feedback tend to be quite high for elicitations, this rate of modification is unusually high. It may indicate that the tasks were not challenging for the learners, allowing them to commit much of their attentional capacity to processing for grammar. The high rate of modified output production limited the power of the statistical tests. Future research could investigate the relationship between WM and modified output using tasks that are more challenging for the learner population.

The findings of this research indicate that there is a relationship between WM measures and modified output following elicitations. Of five subtypes of elicitations, only two were significantly correlated with memory measures. The findings suggest a limited role for WM capacity in the production of modified output following some types of elicitation, and the need to further unravel the connection between individual learner cognitive factors, corrective feedback, and modified output.

Overall, these findings could improve our understanding of the role of WM and PSTM in learning L2 from interactional feedback. As other research (McDonough, 2005) has provided a link between modified output and learning, this would suggest that working memory may mediate learner ability to benefit from interactional feedback.

Appendix A:

Sample test of the Reading Span Test

Three-sentence length set
استناد به لغطی و غیرقابل بیان بینه فرهاد در کلاس باعث شد سال گذشته همه به او بخندند.

پسرم لوله بخاری را کشید و با این کار از لوله در جای خود رفت.

حمیده یکی از جواهرات خود را که پارسال گم کرده بود، پشت کمد لباس‌ها یافت.

مادر با لبخند گفت، بسیار خوب آمدیارم که راه همه کارها به رو باشند.

هنوز بسیاری از دختران روستایی با زحمت و مشقت زیاد هر سال یک فرش دستی می‌باشند.
Appendix B: Sample test of the non-word recognition task: Five, six, and seven English-non word length sets

1-meb teeb dook cam jawn
-meb teeb cam dook jawn

2-teel nog gub pem chad
teel nog gub pem chad

3-mep teeg keb chim nup jit
-mep keb teeg chim nupjit

4-jick mip chool lod nug tep
jick mip chool lod nug tep

5-dook mip chon teep jal noog goot
-dook mip teep chon jal noog goot

6-kom chen meb lud tam dit loog
kom chen meb lud tam dit loog
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The Influence of L2 Motivation and L2 Anxiety on Adult Learners’ Socio-Affective Conditions and Language Production during Communicative Tasks

Glen Poupore

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Abstract
Through correlational analysis, this study examines the relationship between adult learners’ affect-related traits and their socio-affective and linguistic responses during task-based group work. The investigation was conducted with 38 Korean EFL learners at the intermediate level in a conversation course as part of a TESOL certificate program. The affect-related traits, measured through the use of questionnaires, were represented by the motivational constructs of L2 motivation (Gardner, 1985) and international posture (Yashima, 2002) and by the anxiety-based constructs of English-use anxiety (Gardner, 1985) and communication apprehension (McCroskey, 1978). In order to reflect recent theoretical developments in relation to affect which views L2 motivation and other affective variables as part of a complex and/or dynamic system (Dörnyei, 2009b; MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011), several interrelated socio-affective variables, as state-like conditions, were included as part of the investigation. These were measured dynamically based on pre, during, and post-task questionnaires and included task motivation, emotional state, perceived difficulty, and
perceived group work dynamic (i.e. the social climate that exists within the group). Based on audio/video recordings, transcription, and a group work dynamic measuring instrument, two further variables were also included in the investigation, namely group work dynamic contributions and language production. The findings indicated that learners with a high L2 motivation and/or international posture were more highly motivated, more emotionally comfortable, and had more positive perceptions of the social group dynamic during task performance. Results for the anxiety-related variables, meanwhile, revealed a negative relationship with task motivation, perceived task difficulty, perceived group work dynamic, group work dynamic contributions, and amount of language produced. The outcomes therefore suggest the need to promote EFL learner interest in global culture and to minimize learner anxiety with respect to English and its communicative use.

**Keywords** L2 motivation, L2 anxiety, task motivation, group work dynamic, task-based language teaching

**INTRODUCTION**

As part of a pedagogical paradigm dominated by communicative language teaching (CLT) and task-based language teaching (TBLT), L2 learners of English are increasingly asked to participate in interactive tasks. Acting to support this development have been empirical findings from the field of second language acquisition (SLA) which have shown that interaction generated through tasks helps to promote both the input and output conditions necessary for language acquisition (L2 acquisition) to take place (Ellis, 2003). Such research, however, has primarily operated within a cognitive and/or linguistic perspective to the neglect of more affective variables related to motivation and other emotional characteristics. Affective factors assume a level of significance as research points increasingly to their importance in both the general learning process and the language learning process in particular (Arnold, 1999). Stevick (1998), for instance, has suggested that there is a strong relationship between affect, learning, and memory, and essentially argues that emotional factors play a crucial role in the memory retention of language. Similarly, Schumann (1998), working within a neurobiological perspective, has shown how the
amygdala, a particular section of the temporal lobes in the human brain, acts as an evaluator of incoming stimuli which triggers emotional and motivational appraisals which in turn determine the response to the stimuli. In other words, affect functions in conjunction with an active cognitive condition. From a task-based perspective, moreover, Dörnyei and Tseng (2009) found evidence that motivational task appraisals such as one’s sense of satisfaction were positively related with learners’ noticing capacity, a cognitive process identified by Schmidt (2001) to be an important factor in L2 acquisition. Affective factors, therefore, can play a very important role in the process of language learning including performance in communicative tasks.

Also playing a significant role are social factors. While many cognitive-based scholars have highlighted the significance of various internal forces on language learning and learner affect, other scholars refer to the equally important role played by the social context. In reaction to the cognitive view that L2 acquisition is primarily an individual process operating within the mind of the learner, a group of theorists led by Firth and Wagner believe that L2 acquisition is a process of ‘social accomplishment’ (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007) and have called for a re-conceptualization of SLA, specifically one which would “attend to, explicate, and explore, in more equal measures and, where possible, in integrated ways, both the social and cognitive dimensions of S/FL use and acquisition” (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 287). Social and group influences on learner affect have also gained wider attention progressively within the field. According to Williams and Burden (1997), an individual’s motivation will be “subject to social and contextual influences… [such as] the whole culture and context and the social situation, as well as significant other people and the individual’s interactions with these people” (p. 120). Likewise, Ushioda (2003), arguing that motivation is a ‘socially mediated process’, suggests that “like learners’ capacity for autonomy, their motivation must be viewed as an intrinsic part of human nature, yet one which needs supportive interpersonal interactions and an optimal learning environment in order to grow in positive ways” (p. 90). In short, while a learner’s motivation is ultimately conditioned within the self, various social factors play a key role in determining the successful growth of such a motivation. One of these factors relates to the group dynamic or the group climate which exists in a particular classroom. Clement, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994), for instance, found that group cohesiveness not only contributed to learners’ overall motivation but also to
improved language scores. Other studies have also demonstrated how individual motivation and/or anxiety were conditioned partly by group-related factors (Dörnyei & Maldarez, 1997; Ushioda, 2003). Undoubtedly, the influence of social group dynamics will also be at play when learners participate in small group tasks, both in relation to linguistic behavior and to learner affect. Since there have been very few L2 studies which have examined the role of group work dynamic as a social variable during task-based performance, it is the aim of this study to attempt to fill this void.

The two affective variables which have been most extensively studied in language learning are L2 motivation and L2 anxiety. In regard to L2 motivation as a trait variable, i.e. as a rather stable and generalized motivation to learn the target language, it has been identified as a key individual difference variable contributing to L2 learning success. Dörnyei and Skehan (2003), for instance, in a review of research on individual differences, report significant correlations of L2 motivation with language achievement ranging between 0.20 and 0.60. L2 anxiety as a trait variable, on the other hand, which can be defined as a predisposition to “worry and [experience] negative emotional reactions… when learning or using a second language” (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 27), has been found to have a negative impact on L2 achievement in relation to grades (Horwitz, 1986), information processing and production of L2 output (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994a), and L2 fluency (Dewaele, 2002). MacIntyre (2002) also asserts that “the most dramatic social effect of anxiety is the reluctance to communicate” (p. 66).

Given their importance, therefore, both L2 anxiety and L2 motivation will represent the essential focus of this study in which the aim is to examine their influence on L2 learners during communicative task performance. More specifically, the study aims to identify how these traits are related to learners’ situated affective, social, and linguistic responses or conditions during group work tasks such as their task motivation, emotional state, perceptions of task difficulty, perceptions of the group work dynamic (i.e. the climate that exists within the group performing the task), group work dynamic contributions, and language production. This inclusion of many interacting socio-affective variables at both the trait and state level and at both the internal and external social levels in many ways reflects the view that L2 motivation functions as a complex and dynamic system, a theoretical perspective which is
increasingly being recognized within the field (Dörnyei, 2009b). Before proceeding to outline the specifics of the research study, therefore, it will first be important to briefly describe this new theoretical outlook and to then properly situate and define the constructs of L2 motivation and L2 anxiety, especially in terms of identifying their antecedents based on established theoretical and empirical frameworks.

BACKGROUND

L2 Motivation as a Dynamic and Complex System

As most psychological definitions of motivation indicate, there are at least two separate phases involved: (1) the initiation of motivation, and then (2) the maintenance of such a motivation. It is therefore a logical conclusion that motivation is bound to ebb and flow over time. Such temporal variations, furthermore, will exist not only during the length of time it requires to master an L2, but also within shorter term perspectives such as the duration of a language course or the duration of a single task. As Ushioda (1996) poignantly states in relation to L2 motivation, “within the context of institutionalized learning especially, the common experience would seem to be motivational flux rather than stability”. Consequently, in response to the absence of a temporally-based theory of L2 motivation, Dörnyei and Otto (1998) developed an extensive process-oriented model of L2 motivation based on preactional, actional, and postactional phases in which motivation is a “dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritized, operationalized and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out” (p. 65).

Such a perspective is also in line with Dörnyei’s (2009b) recent conceptualization of L2 motivation as a complex systems construct in which motivation is the result of various interacting elements acting together rather than in isolation and which function at various levels, including motivational, emotional, cognitive, and socio-contextual, in order to produce a system which is in a continual process of change and development. Important features of a complex system, therefore, are heterogeneity and interconnectedness of elements and dynamism and change within the system as a whole (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). In order to study L2 motivation,
therefore, whether as a trait or as a state at the task level, it becomes important to identify all of the elements within the system and to see how they dynamically interact together to influence motivational outcomes. Indeed, an important aspect of the present study is the measurement of task motivation in process in which learners’ motivational and affective responses are measured before, during, and after task completion. In addition, many socio-affective variables are incorporated into the study including L2 motivation as a trait; L2 anxiety as a trait; task motivation at the state level and based on the sub-variables of task enjoyment, effort, success expectation, and relevance; perceived difficulty; emotional state; and group work dynamic. At the same time, it is important to state that the aim of the present study is not to demonstrate evidence of motivation as a complex system and to show evidence of change within this system. What it does aim to do, however, is to show how the affective traits of L2 motivation and L2 anxiety may act as important influences on the many socio-affective and linguistic variables that are operating at different times when L2 learners perform communicative tasks. In this way, the study acknowledges the complexity of factors that are involved when attempting to better understand learner’s socio-affective conditions during interactive tasks.

**Gardner’s Socio-Educational Model**

L2 motivation theory and research has for the most part been dominated in the past by the study of integrative motivation in the context of the socio-educational (SE) model developed by social psychologist Robert Gardner (1985, 2005). The social-psychological school of L2 motivation and the SE model are based on extensive research using the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) which has identified three antecedents to L2 motivation, namely integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and instrumentality (see figure 1).
Integrativeness is the centerpiece of the model and is defined as “attitudes reflecting a genuine desire to meet, communicate with, take on characteristics of, and possibly identify with another [target language] group” (MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clement, 2009, p. 44). It consists of three interrelated concepts, namely integrative orientation (IO) which relates to one’s desire to interact with L2 members, general interest in foreign languages and low ethnocentrism (IFO), and favorable attitudes towards the L2 community (ALC). Attitudes toward the learning situation involves attitudes toward the language teacher (TEACH) and the L2 course (CLASS). Factors such as a skilled and enthusiastic teacher as well as the selection of interesting content and tasks, for instance, may contribute to a high level of motivation. Instrumentality (INST), meanwhile, is an orientation which reflects a more practical function such as wanting to study the target language in order to pass examinations and/or to obtain a well-paying job. The dashed line in the diagram from instrumentality to motivation, however, implies a less direct or less significant relationship. Nonetheless, these three antecedents combine together to influence learners’ overall motivation which is quantified by three dimensions: (1) motivational intensity, a reflection of how much effort one expends in learning the L2, (2) desire to learn the language (DESIRE), and (3) attitudes toward learning the language (ALL), i.e. how much enjoyment one feels when learning the language. In addition to motivation, the SE model also highlights
the important role of language anxiety. Although Gardner (2005) acknowledges that anxiety is a complex variable which may contain positive properties, he nonetheless concludes that it is “generally negatively related to achievement as well as to self-confidence with the language” (p. 8). As a result, the model includes two representatives of language anxiety which are distinguished by two broad situations: language class anxiety (CLASS) and language use anxiety (USE). Ultimately, however, the SE model revolves around the notion of integrativeness and its crucial role on L2 achievement.

The SE model and the concept of integrative motivation, however, have attracted criticisms. While it has been criticized for being unresponsive to recent developments in cognitive motivational psychology which has emphasized the importance of inner cognitive thoughts in relation to goals, past performances, and to one’s abilities and sense of enjoyment (Dörnyei, 2005), the more significant criticism relates to its applicability beyond the bilingual and bi-cultural (English and French) Canadian context in which the model has been applied (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). L2 learners within close proximity to the target language culture and who are in frequent contact with a specific cultural group of native speakers may well experience an integrative motivation but what about those learners in foreign language learning contexts? In addition to receiving minimal opportunities to interact with L2 members, the notion of identifying with a specific target language cultural group will be more ambiguous in such contexts. This is especially the case with the learning of English as an international language. As McClelland (2000), working in the EFL context of Japan, has argued, integrativeness must be redefined in a manner where the focus is on “integration with the global community rather than assimilation with native speakers” (p. 109). Indeed, in a qualitative study investigating the attitudes of 219 high school EFL learners in Indonesia, Lamb (2007) found that L2 motivation was essentially based on an international orientation in which English was viewed as a resource to become part of ‘world citizenry’.

**International Posture**

In response to these criticisms and in order to provide an ‘EFL’ alternative to the Gardnerian concept of integrativeness, Yashima (2002) developed the construct of
‘international posture’ which she defines as “interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and… openness or a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures” (p. 57). In this way, the notion of international posture broadens the cultural reference group beyond any specific community to one which is based on a more nondescript global culture of English users (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). In an application of the concept, Yashima and her colleagues (Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, & Shimizu, 2004) conducted a quantitative study with 297 high school EFL learners in Japan and found international posture to be positively related with quantity of motivation, as well as with L2 willingness to communicate (WTC) and frequency of self-initiated L2 communication. While the concept of international posture in many ways includes elements of integrativeness, it does provide a motivational construct which is more applicable to foreign language contexts. It should also be noted that based on the above cognitive and cultural criticisms, Dörnyei (2009a) has recently provided a fundamental reconceptualization and alternative to integrative motivation based on notions of self and identity through his theory of the ‘L2 motivational self-system’. Due to issues related to relevancy and space limitations, however, this theory will not be discussed here. While it is certain that Dörnyei’s theory offers much promise, it is important not to disregard the almost 50 years of empirical research which has consistently shown evidence in support of the SE model. Therefore, it might be prudent to follow the view of Ryan (2009), who in reference to MacIntyre, Mackinnon, and Clement (2009), advises “caution in abandoning the social psychological foundations of L2 motivation research in favour of currently fashionable concerns, which for the most part remain untested in the field” (p. 122).

**Trait Motivation and State Motivation**

Concerning the relationship between trait motivation and situated or state motivation, Boekaerts (1999, 2002), operating from a mainstream educational context, has developed a model of situation-specific or task motivation which highlights the important influence of a learner’s overall level of motivation. Based on her empirical findings, task motivation is a function of trait motivation and situational characteristics such as motivational appraisals towards the task (e.g. success expectation, task enjoyment, perceived utility, etc). In relation to L2 learning contexts,
only a select number of studies have examined how trait motivation influences state level and/or task motivation. In a study of secondary school English-speaking students studying French in Canada, Gliksman, Gardner, and Smythe (1982) found that individuals with high levels of integrative motivation participated more actively in class and enjoyed the classes more than those with lower levels. In addition to investigating the relationship between trait motivation and state motivation, Tremblay, Goldberg, and Gardner (1995) examined their relationship with the learning of vocabulary in pair work tasks performed by 88 university English speaking students learning Hebrew. Statistical measures showed that trait motivation produced significant effects for state motivation and that participants with high levels of trait motivation had significantly higher levels of state motivation than those with low trait motivation. It was also revealed that state motivation positively influences vocabulary learning. Two further studies with EFL secondary school students, one by Julkunen (1989) working in Finland and the other by Dörnyei (2002) working in Hungary, also demonstrated a positive relationship between trait motivation and task motivation. All of the above studies, however, contain two important limitations. Firstly, none were conducted based on the concept of international posture, and secondly, they did not include investigations of how trait-related affective variables may influence more socially conceived variables related to group work dynamic factors. An important aim of this study is, therefore; to explore how these neglected variables may form part of the motivational, emotional, social, and linguistic sphere of the L2 learner during communicative tasks.

L2 Anxiety

In terms of describing the notion of L2 anxiety, an important issue has been whether it represents a transfer of other general forms of anxiety or whether it represents a unique and/or independent variable specifically related to the context of language learning. Concerning the former, some studies have identified a generalized form of communication anxiety, also referred to as communication apprehension, as a variable associated with L2 anxiety (McCroskey, Fayer, & Richmond, 1985; Yashima, 2002). Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986), moreover, argue that in addition to communication apprehension, L2 anxiety may result from a fear of negative evaluation by others. At the same time, however, studies conducted and headed by
both Horwitz (for a review see Horwitz, 2001) and McIntyre (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994b) have consistently shown that L2 anxiety is distinct from more general forms of anxiety and represents a uniquely L2-related variable. Just as motivation can be distinguished along trait and state lines, furthermore, anxiety, according to MacIntyre (1999), also exists along these two temporal dimensions. L2 anxiety is thus a specific form of trait anxiety that is to some extent conditioned by general forms of anxiety in which L2 learners may or may not experience state anxiety during the ‘moment to moment’ experience of L2 learning and/or use.

As mentioned earlier, a consistent body of research has demonstrated the negative impact of L2 anxiety on both the process of language learning and its achievement. Particularly consequential is a reluctance to communicate. This has been demonstrated in studies conducted by MacIntyre and his associates (Baker & MacIntyre, 2000; Clement, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003) as part of their model of L2 willingness to communicate (WTC). Defined as an individual’s “readiness to enter discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2” (MacIntyre, Clement, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998, p. 542), L2 WTC has been shown to be conditioned by communicative self-confidence, a construct which combines both L2 communication anxiety and self-perceived competence. Yashima (2002), moreover, confirmed the applicability of communicative self-confidence and L2 WTC in the social context of Japan in which perceived competence and communication anxiety explained 46% of the variance of L2 WTC. Also particularly noteworthy were findings in relation to Yashima’s motivational concept of international posture which showed a direct and positive relationship with L2 WTC on the one hand and an indirect relationship with L2 WTC on the other through a positive relationship with motivation to learn an L2 (which in turn influenced L2 communicative confidence). The key point, therefore, is that L2 use anxiety, through the concept of communicative self-confidence, negatively influences learners’ willingness to communicate in the L2.

In terms of antecedents, we have already established that a general level of communication apprehension and a fear of being evaluated and judged may act as important factors. One must also consider socio-culturally related influences. A qualitative study by Yoo (2004), for instance, found that among Korean learners of
English with high L2 use anxiety, the most salient factors in their unwillingness to communicate with other Korean learners in pair and group work activities were related to Korean cultural values, specifically values related to a collectivist-Confucius ethos. Through in-depth interviews, Yoo discovered that the cultural ethos of ‘otherness’ contributed to the following negative thought processes in relation to speaking in English: a constant consciousness or awareness of the other’s thinking and feeling; an ever-present sense that one is being evaluated; a competition-comparing mode of thinking in relation to what others think of them; a high sensitivity to the social evaluation of their level of English; overly high expectations due to pressures to be perfect in the eyes of the other; and fears of losing face. Anxiety-based factors therefore act as an important influence on learners’ overall level of L2 achievement both in terms of their willingness to communicate in the target language and in terms of processing and producing it. In relation to a task-based context in which learners are asked to communicate meaningfully with other learners, investigating how learners’ trait-level L2 anxiety and communication apprehension are associated with their motivational, emotional, social, and linguistic responses assumes a level of significance.

METHOD

Research Setting and Participants

The classroom-based study was conducted with 38 Korean English teacher trainees in a conversation course as part of a TESOL certificate program run by a Korean university. Data were collected by the teacher-researcher over the course of one year during two 20-week semesters in which the same 15 tasks were administered to four different class groups (two groups per semester). There were 38 participants (27 females, 11 males) in which most had already graduated with degrees in various fields including education and English. The mean age of the participants was 30.6 (ranging from 23 to 48). Proficiency level varied from low intermediate to advanced (TOEIC scores ranging from 780 and 900) with most learners at the intermediate level. In relation to participation, promises of confidentiality and anonymity were communicated to the participants as well as the option of choosing to participate in the study or not (as well as choosing to end their participation once started).
Tasks
Based on a definition of task as an activity in which learners must communicate with an emphasis on meaning in order to achieve a clearly stated goal (Bygate, Skehan, & Swain, 2001), 15 tasks were designed for the conversation course and for the research study. The tasks consisted of various types including information gap/jigsaw, problem-solving, decision-making, prediction, and opinion exchange and contained a mixture of thematic content. All of the tasks were performed in groups of three or four with an average duration of about 23 minutes.

Research Instruments and Procedures
Task Motivation Questionnaires
With the purpose of measuring various socio-affective variables at the situated task-level, the participants completed three task motivation questionnaires for each of the 15 tasks: a pre, during, and post-task questionnaire. The pre and post-task questionnaires were adapted from Boekaerts (2002) ‘On-Line Motivation Questionnaire’ whose psychometric qualities have been well documented (see Cronbach, Boekaerts, & Voeten, 2003). The specific variables measured on each questionnaire are outlined in the following table (the number in parenthesis represents the number of questionnaire items):

TABLE 1
Socio-Affective Variables Measured on the Pre-task and Post-task Motivation Questionnaires

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Task Questionnaire</th>
<th>Post-Task Questionnaire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Sub-Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Motivation (10)</td>
<td>Task Attraction (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intended Effort (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Success Expectation (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perceived Relevance (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional State (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Difficulty (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Concerning the measurement of the emotional state variable, these were based on several elements including being at ease, in a good mood, nervous, worried, confident, annoyed, and stressed. It is important to note, furthermore, that the perceived group dynamic variable was not included in the original Boekaerts questionnaire and thus represents an addition to the post-task questionnaire in which two of the items were adapted from Clement, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994) and four developed by the present researcher. Each item for both the pre-task and post-task questionnaire was based on a five-point Likert scale.

The during-task questionnaire consisted of two separate graphs with one measuring current level of interest (i.e. motivation) in the task and the other measuring comfort level (i.e. emotional state) on a scale of one to five. The Y-axis on each graph represented the learners’ level of interest/comfort and the X-axis the different time points during the task which were signaled by the teacher-researcher at time intervals of roughly 5 minutes. In this way, the students had to insert a dot on each graph every 5 minutes in order to indicate their current level of interest and comfort.

Before administering the questionnaires with the specific tasks for the study, they were used with a pilot group as well as with the research participants for two ‘practice’ tasks. A Korean translation, moreover, was added to the English wording of some of the questionnaire items in order to ensure comprehension. Regarding the internal consistency reliability for the multi-item scales, Cronbach alpha coefficient scores indicated acceptable levels of reliability.

**Affect-Related Trait Questionnaires**

As part of the data collection process, questionnaires measuring various affect-related traits were administered in the opening weeks of the course program. Different traits and their multi-item scales, including distracter items, were included in the same questionnaire in which question items were randomized in order to account for the ordering effect. All question items were based on a 7-point Likert scale. The specific motivational traits chosen for investigation included Gardner’s (1985) quantification of L2 motivation and Yashima’s (2002) international posture. Two anxiety-based
variables were also included, namely English-use anxiety based on Gardner’s AMTB (1985) and L1 communication apprehension based on the scale developed by McCroskey (1978). Each of these variables and their sub-variables are outlined in table 2 below and includes the number of question items (listed in parenthesis), the internal consistency reliability coefficient score (Cronbach alpha), and an example question item:

**TABLE 2**
Measurement of Affect-Related Traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Sub-Variables</th>
<th>Cronbach Alpha</th>
<th>Example Question Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L2 Motivation (18)</td>
<td>Motivational Intensity (6)</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to Learn English (6)</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>I plan to continue studying English for as long as possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitudes towards Learning English (6)</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>I enjoy learning English very much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Posture (20)</td>
<td>Intercultural Friendship Orientation (6)</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>Studying English is important to me because I’d like to make friends with foreigners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intergroup Approach-Avoidance Tendency (7)</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>I want to make friend with international English-speaking people who are studying or working in Korea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in International Vocation (5)</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>If I had the chance, I would like to work in an international organization such as the United Nations (U.N.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>I often read and watch news about</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should also be noted that a Korean translation was added to some of the questionnaire items in order to account for the Korean context.

**Audio/Video Recordings and Transcription**

For each of the 15 tasks that were part of the study, two student work groups per class were audio/video recorded for the purpose of collecting data in relation to group work dynamic contributions and language production. Although this was done for each of the four class groups, only one class group containing 10 students was ultimately selected for transcription and observation. With two work group recordings for each task, a total of 30 work groups were observed in which both verbal and nonverbal language were transcribed. Concerning the presence of the audio/video recorders, these were inserted and used in the classroom from the beginning of the 20-week semester and five weeks prior to the performance of the research tasks in order to accustom the students to their presence.

In order to ensure consistency and to facilitate the representation of the verbal and nonverbal data in a written format, a set of transcription conventions were developed. Since nonverbal language was included in the process of transcription, a multi-step procedure was followed. The following list outlines the different procedural steps involved in the transcription of a single task work group:

- 1st viewing: transcribe verbal language including back channeling and laughter
Following completion of the transcription process, language production, in the form of total amount of words, was calculated for each group member and for the work group as a whole. After the calculation of language production, the subsequent step was to begin calculating totals for each group dynamic characteristic developed for the group work dynamic measuring instrument. A description of the instrument now follows.

**Group Work Dynamic Measuring Instrument**

In order to obtain a rich, detailed, and objective account of a group’s social dynamic during task performance, a group work dynamic measuring instrument was developed by the teacher researcher. The first step was to outline a list of characteristics and/or behaviors, both positive and negative and both verbal and nonverbal, which were thought to influence a group’s social climate. An initial source of ideas were obtained from the cooperative learning literature (Baloche, 1998; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1993) which outlined the various ways in which group members could either cooperatively or uncooperatively work together such as ‘encouraging others’, ‘giving suggestions’, and ‘putting others down’. Other ideas were also added to this initial list following a review of the literature on small group communication (Beebe & Masterson, 2003) and nonverbal communication (Richmond & McCroskey, 2000) After observing and transcribing some of the work groups, furthermore, additional characteristics were added by the teacher researcher through the process of watching the video recordings and reading the transcripts.

An initial list was thus finalized in which numerical ‘weights’ were then assigned to each group work dynamic characteristic based on both their power to influence group work climate and their frequency of occurrence. In order to introduce a degree of
objectivity to the instrument and to account for culture-related factors, interviews were conducted with two Korean English learners who were not part of the research study and with two English teachers, one native-speaking and the other Korean. The interviewees were asked to express their views on whether each characteristic was worthy of inclusion, whether it was culturally relevant, and whether the assigned numerical weighting was appropriate. Based on their feedback, various changes were made to the instrument, including the deletion of certain items and changes to the weighting of some characteristics. In order to provide some indication of the finalized instrument, the following lists some of the positive characteristics and their assigned weightings:

**Positive Verbal Characteristics:**
- Leadership direction = 3
- Back channeling = 0.25
- Providing help = 3
- Mild laughter = 1.25

**Positive Nonverbal Characteristics:**
- Smiling = 1
- Leaning towards another group member = 1
- Gestures of excitement = 0.75
- Speaker eye contact = 0.20 (for each utterance produced)

Following behavior identification on the transcripts, the totals for each group work dynamic characteristic were calculated using observational tally sheets which were then inserted into an Excel spreadsheet. In order to account for time differences between the work groups, results for each characteristic were adjusted to 15 minutes. All of the positive characteristics and all of the negative characteristics were each totaled together in which the latter was subtracted from the former in order to obtain a total group work dynamic score for the work group. Also calculated were each group member’s contribution to each characteristic as well as their overall group dynamic contribution. In order to introduce an element of inter-rater reliability, an outside observer, a Korean English teacher, was asked to observe 10 of the 30 work groups in which they would first rank each group member based on how much they contributed.
to the group work dynamic and then rate the level of group work dynamic for the work group as a whole based on a nine-point Likert scale. Comparisons between the researcher’s scores and the outside observer’s scores revealed high levels of inter-rater reliability (e.g. a 0.70 correlation in regard to the whole group scores).

**Data Analysis**

Correlational analysis through a Pearson product-moment coefficient was used to measure the degree of relationship between the trait variables and the situated variables measured on the task motivation questionnaires. It will be recalled that the task motivation questionnaires consisted of pre, during, and post-task questionnaires which measured task motivation, emotional state, perceived task difficulty, and perceived group dynamic. Grand totals for each of these situated variables, i.e. each variable’s total across the 15 tasks, was used to measure their correlation with the trait variables. In regard to group work dynamic contributions and language production, meanwhile, a Spearman rank order correlation was used to measure their degree of relationship with the trait variables due to the fact that these variables were based on only one of the four class groups (10 of the 38 participants). Data for group work dynamic contributions and language production was based on each participant’s average across the tasks.

Before presenting and discussing the results of the correlational analysis, it is important to keep in mind that any conclusions made concerning the relationship between the trait and situated task variables should be interpreted with caution given the limitations of the study, including the specific context in which the study was conducted and its small sample size. Much of the quantitative analysis, furthermore, was based on aggregated totals across the 15 tasks and while such an averaging method is convenient it nonetheless contains a limitation in the sense that it may be masking some other factors that may have influenced the results (e.g. each task is different and occurred at a different moment in time).
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Presentation of the findings will be divided into three sections: (1) the relationship between the motivational traits and the situated socio-affective variables; (2) the relationship between the anxiety-based traits and the situated socio-affective variables; and (3) the relationship of both motivational and anxiety-related traits with group work dynamic contributions and language production.

Motivational Traits and the Situated Socio-Affective Variables

Pearson product-moment correlations between the motivational traits of L2 motivation and international posture and the situated socio-affective variables are displayed below:

**TABLE 3**
Correlations between Motivational Traits and Situated Socio-Affective Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situated Task Variables</th>
<th>L2 Motivation</th>
<th>International Posture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Task Motivation</td>
<td>.53 (***)</td>
<td>.47 (***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Task Emotional State</td>
<td>.43 (***)</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Task Perceived Difficulty</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Task Motivation</td>
<td>.48 (***)</td>
<td>.55 (***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Task Emotional State</td>
<td>.46 (**)</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Task Perceived Difficulty</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Task Perceived Group Dynamic</td>
<td>.70 (**)</td>
<td>.42 (**)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During-Task Interest</td>
<td>.57 (**)</td>
<td>.33 (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During-Task Emotional State</td>
<td>.51 (**)</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=38. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The first observation that emerges from the above data is how both L2 motivation and international posture are significantly correlated with task motivation at all stages of the task, i.e. the pre, during, and post-task stage. This therefore implies that learners with high levels of L2 motivation and international posture at the trait level are more highly motivated during task performance than those with lower levels. In other words, they enjoy the tasks more, provide more effort, expect to succeed in the tasks more, and more highly perceive the tasks as being relevant. Additionally, both motivational traits were significantly correlated with perceived group dynamic thereby implying that learners with a high motivational disposition are more apt to feel a positive climate within the work group. The fact that international posture posted the same results as L2 motivation in relation to these variables further supports the notion that such a construct forms an important part of L2 learning motivation. Similar to Yashima’s findings (2002, Yashima et al., 2004), moreover, a significant relationship at the 0.01 level was found between L2 motivation and international posture with a correlation coefficient of .62.
While motivational dispositions had no bearing on perceptions of task difficulty, they did in regard to emotional state. L2 motivation was positively correlated with emotional state at all three stages thus indicating that learners with a high trait motivation will feel more comfortable throughout the task than will learners with a low trait motivation. Interestingly, no such relationship was found with international posture. Thus, L2 motivation and international posture can be seen as different with regard to emotional-based factors. Looking closely at the L2 motivation construct, one can argue that it contains emotional elements through the desire to learn a target language with a high degree of effort and enjoyment. This is different from wanting to become part of international English culture which is more related to issues of personal identity. This distinction may therefore explain how the motivational variables represented in Gardner’s quantification of L2 motivation carry over into how one feels on an emotional level during group work interaction in the target language.

**Anxiety-based Traits and the Situated Socio-Affective Variables**

Statistical correlations between the two anxiety-based traits represented in English-use anxiety and communication apprehension and the task-related socio-affective variables are outlined in the following table:

**TABLE 4**

Correlations between Anxiety-based Traits and Situated Socio-Affective Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situated Task Variables</th>
<th>English-use Anxiety</th>
<th>Communication Apprehension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Task Motivation</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.52 (**)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Firstly, the data indicates a strong negative relationship between the anxiety-based traits, particularly communication apprehension, and task motivation at each temporal juncture. Based on this observation, learners who possess a general fear of communication and/or who possess a high level of English-use anxiety experience lower levels of task motivation. Also notable is how English-use anxiety is positively related with perceived task difficulty at the pre-task stage. Just prior to commencing
the task, therefore, high anxiety learners tend to perceive tasks as being more difficult than those who are less anxious. The non-significant result between English-use anxiety and perceived difficulty at the post-task stage, however, suggests that during the task and by the end of the task concerns about task difficulty may be a non-factor. Also significant is the negative relationship between English-use anxiety and perceived group dynamic. Consequently, while less anxious learners may perceive the group dynamic to be positive, more anxious learners may view it as negative. Particularly absent from the data, meanwhile, is any degree of relationship between the anxiety-based traits and emotional state thereby implying that trait anxiety has no impact on one’s emotional state during L2 task performance. This finding may be explained by the fact that anxiety or apprehension represents just one type of emotion. It will be remembered that the conception of emotional state as measured on the task motivation questionnaires was more holistic and multifarious. Thus, one may have a tendency to be apprehensive in communicative situations but this does not mean that they will not be in a positive overall emotional condition at various moments throughout the task.

**Affect-Related Traits, Group Work Dynamic Contributions, and Language Production**

Unlike the previous analyses which were based on all 38 participants and the four class groups, the analysis here is based on only one of the class groups and the 10 students which were part of it. Due to the smaller sample size, therefore, Spearman’s rank order correlation was used to measure the degree of association between the highlighted variables, namely between learner’s affect-related traits and their group work dynamic contributions on the one hand and their language production on the other. These results are outlined in table 5:
TABLE 5
Correlations of Affect-related Traits with Group Dynamic Contributions and Language Production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affect-related Traits</th>
<th>Group Dynamic Contributions</th>
<th>Language Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L2 Motivation</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>-.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Posture</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-use Anxiety</td>
<td>-.79 (***)</td>
<td>-.64 (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Apprehension</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=10 ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)  
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The findings indicate that the only trait variable that significantly impacts group dynamic contributions and language production is English-use anxiety. This therefore suggests that those learners with high L2 anxiety produced less language and contributed less to creating a positive group work climate. While acknowledging that these results are based on a small number of participants, the findings nonetheless highlight the crucial role played by L2-use anxiety on both a linguistic and social level. Concerning the negative linguistic outcomes, this simply confirms what has been previously identified in the research literature. What is particularly interesting, however, is how learners with high L2 anxiety may negatively impact the social group dynamic. When it comes to performing in interactive tasks, therefore, L2-use anxiety
may not simply be an individualized and internal matter but one that has the potential to negatively influence the others with whom one is conducting the task with.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Before proceeding to summarize the study’s principle findings and implications, it is important to restate its limitations. Firstly is the small number of participants upon which the findings are based as well as the situated context in which the study was conducted, namely by a teacher researcher within a Korean cultural context with learners of varying backgrounds studying in a TESOL certificate program. One must consider, therefore, that such contextual influences may have influenced participant responses. Concerning both the trait and task motivation questionnaires, furthermore, it should be acknowledged that even though the importance of honesty was emphasized both orally and in writing, such instruments contain the potential for producing social desirability bias. In addition, while the participants reported that filling out the questionnaires became a routine part of the course, it is important to recognize their intrusive nature.

While respecting these limitations, the most significant conclusion of the study is that L2 learner dispositions in the form of motivation and anxiety can have a powerful effect on learners’ situated motivational, emotional, social, and linguistic responses during communicative task performance. Beginning first with the motivational trait variables, L2 motivation was particularly influential in impacting both learners’ task motivation and emotional state throughout the task. In this way, L2 motivation helps to create an optimal affective condition which can in turn generate an active cognition within the learner and thus better L2 learning opportunities on both a receptive and productive level. One can also assume a circular interaction between L2 motivation and positive affect at the task and classroom level whereby continued engagement with the latter may lead to higher levels in the former. Possession of a high L2 motivation, furthermore, may also have social benefits during task-based interaction based on its positive association with perceived group work dynamic. Indeed, as social factors are increasingly viewed as an important element in the language
learning process (Firth & Wagner, 2007), further research into this possible link would prove of educational value.

The motivational construct of international posture, meanwhile, although not related to emotional state, was also shown to be positively associated with task motivation at the pre, during, and post-task stages, as well as with perceived group dynamic. This finding consequently adds support to the notion that international posture functions as an important determinant not only on L2 motivation but also on motivational and social factors at the situated task level. In other words, L2 learners who strongly identify with a need to become part of and to interact with international culture and its members where shown in this study to be more highly task motivated and to possess a more positive perception of the group work climate. The pedagogical implication, therefore, is to foster an international perspective whereby educators and teachers work to enhance students’ interest in different cultures and international affairs and activities. An important element in such an educational program could also involve discussions of ethnocentricism and the encouragement of an open-minded disposition towards different cultures. Providing additional ideas is Dörnyei (2001) who outlines the following motivational strategies to help promote cross-cultural awareness and a more cosmopolitan outlook among L2 learners: emphasizing cultural similarities (and not just differences); outlining stereotypes and prejudices and discussing how valid these are; incorporating internet ‘chat rooms’ into the curriculum in which L2 learners interact with L2 native speakers or with other L2 learners in other countries; assigning research projects in which L2 learners collect and present information about countries where English is spoken or learned; and where feasible, organizing cultural exchange programs.

Providing an even broader impact on task motivated behavior were the findings in relation to anxiety-related traits in the form of English-use anxiety and communication apprehension. In short, those learners in possession of a fear-induced anxiety in relation to English and/or to communication were found to be less motivated during task performance, perceived tasks to be more difficult, perceived group work dynamic as being less positive, provided less group work dynamic contributions, and produced less language. The negative influence of anxiety-based attributes can thus be multifarious in a way where it not only affects learners
emotionally, but also motivationally, cognitively/linguistically, and socially. Among these negative outcomes, the social is particularly significant as it indicates that L2 anxiety and communication apprehension are not only an internal matter within the individual but also one which may negatively impact others within the communicative task group. Future research studies investigating this link would admittedly be of beneficial value. From an educational perspective, therefore, it becomes important for teachers to minimize the fears and anxieties of learners in relation to L2 spoken communication. Such a conclusion may even be more important in Korean and East Asian contexts where the cultural ethos of ‘otherness’ may help contribute to negative thought processes in regard to English communication.

As an important first step, teachers should attempt to identify highly anxious learners through observation, communication, and/or survey-based questionnaires. Following this, the teacher can proceed with a series of measures to reduce anxiety such as those recommended by Oxford (1999, p. 67):

- Reduce the competition present in the classroom
- Give students permission to use the language with less than perfect performance
- Provide activities that address varied learning styles and strategies in the classroom
- Help students to understand that language anxiety episodes can be transient and do not inevitably develop into a lasting problem
- Enable students to recognize symptoms of anxiety and identify anxiety-maintaining beliefs
- Help students practice positive self-talk and cognitive ‘reframing’ of negative or irrational ideas

Developing a positive classroom atmosphere in which learners feel comfortable with the teacher and which each other would also help to minimize anxieties such as establishing positive classroom and/or group norms, regularly incorporating humor into class lessons, and promoting acceptance and trust through icebreaker activities and out of class gatherings. In relation to the use of small group work tasks, teachers should ensure that class time is also spent on developing collaborative group work
skills which contribute to more efficient communication and to a better socio-emotional climate. Other considerations could include providing individual ‘planning’ or ‘thinking’ time before asking learners to enter into their groups.

Developing dispositions within English learners in which they are highly motivated to learn the language and in which they possess minimal anxieties in relation to speaking therefore becomes an important priority in the curricular goals of English education in Asia. This is especially critical given that English has become an important lingua franca in an increasingly interconnected world and in which CLT and TBLT are steadily becoming the norm with respect to the way English is taught in the language classroom.

From a theoretical perspective, the present study has also highlighted the importance of conceptualizing task motivation as a dynamic and complex system influenced by a multitude of factors. Task motivation and its associated sub-variables of task enjoyment, effort, success expectation, and relevance are also associated with other socio-affective states including perceived difficulty, emotional state, and group work dynamic. As the present investigation has demonstrated such variables are also determined by the affective traits of overall L2 motivation and L2 anxiety. A more complete and accurate description of task motivation as a complex system would also include other individual-based elements such as language aptitude as a cognitive trait, personality, and proficiency level in addition to task conditions and features as well as other socio-contextual factors including the culture in which the learning is taking place, the language school, the language program and its curriculum, the language class, the teacher, etc. Future research studies should therefore adopt a more qualitative approach focusing on individual cases or individual task groups and analyzing in detail how the many elements within task motivation are interacting together to determine motivational and linguistic outcomes.

NOTES

1 The words responses and conditions will be used synonymously throughout the paper and will refer to the learner’s state-like conditions in terms of affect, the social group dynamic, and the language produced in the task.
2 While L2 anxiety is most commonly conceptualized as negative or debilitating, it is worth stating that some research studies have shown evidence of a facilitative anxiety in which emotional tension can lead to increased alertness and improved oral production (see Oxford, 1999).

3 Cronbach alpha mean scores for each multi-item scale were as follows: task attraction .88, intended effort .75, success expectation .70, pre-task perceived difficulty .61, pre-task emotional state .92, task enjoyment .84, reported effort .80, result assessment .73, post-task emotional state .94, perceived group dynamic .79.

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A Comparative Study of Metadiscourse Resources in Introduction Section of Introductory and Scholarly Textbooks

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to compare interactive and interactional metadiscourse in the introduction sections of introductory and scholarly-level textbooks in the field of Applied Linguistics. The corpus used in this research consisted of 30 introduction sections of textbooks in English (15 written for introductory level and 15 for scholarly level students), using an analysis based on Hyland's (2005a) interpersonal taxonomy of metadiscourse. The results revealed slight differences in the introduction sections of the introductory and scholarly textbooks in terms of the distribution of interactive and interactional metadiscourse. As for the audiences and purposes of both textbook types, it is possible to deduce that the differences are partly due to their taking into account the readers' needs at each level in the areas of comprehension and argument support. Thus, writers were attempting to use a rich repertoire of appropriate metadiscourse features. The study concludes with a reflection on the need for further research and on the pivotal role of metadiscourse in academic texts.

Key words: Metadiscourse, Introduction section, Scholarly textbooks, Introductory textbooks

1. Introduction

Recent investigations of academic discourse have revealed important interpersonal aspects of academic and professional writing. Recognition of the social, persuasive and interactive nature of academic discourse in different genres, disciplines and languages illuminates the various ways in which writers create interaction in text and use interpersonal strategies (Hyland, 1999; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Hyland, 2005a). These strategies are known as metadiscourse. In fact, metadiscourse, as a unique feature of any language, has a profound importance for academic discourse in that it is believed to be an important feature of any communication, a means of persuasive writing, a facilitator of communication, and a main producer of effective discourse (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al., 1993; Hyland, 2005a). Moreover, metadiscourse is a crucial rhetorical device (Ifantidou, 2005) for writers that allows them to engage with and influence readers in ways that conform to the norms of a discipline and the values and ideology of a community, thus expressing textual and
interpersonal meaning in a way that is credible and convincing for the audience of that community (Hyland, 1999, p.5; 2005a, p.18).

Appreciating the fact that metadiscourse has a social nature and that it represents the social purposes of writers (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al., 1993; Hyland, 2005a), Toumi (2009, p.64) rightly states that it ‘embodies an important social meaning by revealing the authors’ personality and identity and by indicating how they expect their readers to respond to their propositions’. Doubtless, in line with the argument put forward by Faigley (1986) that discourse “can be understood only from the perspective of a society rather than a single individual” (p.535), and also Geertz’s (1983) view that knowledge and writing depend on the actions of members of local communities, it is reasonable to conclude that the concept of metadiscourse is related to specific social, cultural and instructional contexts. From this perspective, the social and community-based importance of metadiscourse becomes apparent.

It is important to know that a central aspect of metadiscourse is its context-dependency, which is the closeness between the norms and expectations of those who use it in particular settings. Hyland (2005a) emphasizes that this contextual specificity is particularly apparent in the distribution of metadiscourse across different genres, assisting writers and speakers to construct the contexts in which language is used because it represents writers’ social purpose. Accordingly, one of the many ways in which genres vary is in their use of metadiscourse. In this orientation, variations across different genres in terms of metadiscourse use are an intriguing issue.

To date, the bulk of research on metadiscourse has caught the eyes of investigators in different genres: for example, research articles (Myers, 1989; Muraunen, 1993; Salager-Meyer, 1994; Luuka, 1994; Valero-Garces, 1996; Maren, 1997, 1998; Swales, 1990; Hyland, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Mur Duenas, 2007; Faghih & Rahimpour, 2009); textbooks (Crismore, 1984; Hyland, 1990, 2000), dissertations (Bunton, 1999), student writings (Markkanen et al., 1993; Crismore et al., 1993); advertisements (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001); university textbooks (Hyland, 1999, 2000); and newspaper discourse (Le, 2004; Dafouz-Milne, 2008). Other groups of studies have compared two or more academic genres, for example Hyland’s (1999) study of research articles and textbooks, his (2002) study of textbooks, research
articles, and student reports, his (2004) investigation of masters and PhD dissertations, his (2002b) investigation of expert and non/less expert writers, his and Tse’s (2005) investigation of research articles and dissertations, and, more importantly, Kuhi and Behnam’s (2010) study of generic variations in the field of Applied Linguistics with a relatively wide coverage of such academic genres as research articles, handbooks, scholarly textbooks, and introductory textbooks.

Yet, despite this importance, surprisingly little is known about the ways metadiscourse is realized in the introduction sections of introductory and scholarly textbooks. This study was an attempt to address this gap. Its purpose was to investigate the distribution of interactive and interactional metadiscourse resources in the introduction sections of both introductory and scholarly textbooks.

Hence, the study addressed the following research questions:
1. Is there any significant difference between introductory textbooks and scholarly textbooks in the use of metadiscourse in their introduction sections?
2. Is there any significant difference between introductory textbooks and scholarly textbooks in their introduction sections in terms of the distribution of interactive metadiscourse?
3. Is there any significant difference between introductory and scholarly textbooks in their introduction sections in terms of the distribution of interactional metadiscourse?

Given the contrastive approach of this study, it was designed, first, to present any significant difference between introductory and scholarly textbooks in the use of metadiscourse in their introduction sections; second, to see whether there was any difference between introductory and scholarly textbooks in the distribution of interactive metadiscourse in their introductions; and third, to observe whether there was any difference between introductory and scholarly textbooks in terms of interactional metadiscourse in their introduction sections.

This study is a rewarding area of research since the concept of metadiscourse is important for examining the writers’ identity and making possible an analysis of the ways in which they have articulated the interaction between themselves and their readers.
Literature Review

Textbooks are perhaps the genre most commonly confronted by undergraduate students and they are characterized by an elaborate discursive style that obviously orders material and elucidates propositional connections; also by an interpersonal stance that spotlights an expert role for both information and readers. Thus authors are not only concerned with simply representing propositional facts; they must also attend to their readers’ expectations - what they are likely to find interesting, credible and intelligible (Hyland, 1999). Hence, metadiscourse is recognized as being a tactful means of supporting a writer’s argument and building a relationship with readers. It is also often regarded as a semantic device that authors can use and vary according to stylistic preferences in any genre and in textbooks as well.

The arena of academic writing is a domain where an orientation to the reader is crucial for achieving rhetorical objectives. Convincing an academic audience about the reliability of one’s argument means making linguistic choices which that audience will conventionally recognizes as persuasive. The means of ‘doing persuasion’, however, differ across genres. In the meantime, genre theories rely on the idea that texts are similar or different and can be classified as one genre or another. In order to systematize these classifications, various key linguistic and rhetorical features have been thoroughly characterized (Hyland, 2005a). Thus, it is now essential to focus on their typical rhetorical structures (Bhatia, 1999). Increasingly, however, writers have sought to explore how genres are distinguished by specific rhetorical features. One such feature is metadiscourse. In fact, this is a key dimension of genre analysis as it can help to show how language choices reflect the different purpose of the writers, the different assumptions they make about their audiences and the different kinds of interaction they create with them (Hyland, 2005a, p. 89).

It is widely acknowledged that genre realizes purpose in texts at the most overt level and this constitutes a central focus in various studies. In conjunction with an analysis of genre, metadiscourse analysis provides insights into another level of purpose, one which is concerned with the informational and persuasive goals of the writer and how the discourse is organized with the reader’s needs in mind.
Hyland (1999) maintains that textbooks, as a specific form of language use and social interaction, both represent particular processes of production and interpretation and link to the social practices of the institutions within which they are created. Ideally, they address multiple audiences because authors participate in at least two discourses: one pedagogic and constructed to engage with student consumers, and another professional, addressed to colleagues as material evaluators and users. While this duality of audience may surface in the text in the form of the author’s display of expert authority and disciplinary vision, writers speak principally to students and only indirectly to their peers (Bondi, 1999; Hyland, 2000).

From this standpoint, textbooks are audience-based and thus, considering their audience, they can be further divided into two levels - introductory and scholarly. According to Kuhi and Behnam (2010), where textbooks were addressed to undergraduate students, novice members, pre-service teachers, and similar categories, they were conventionally categorized as introductory, and where they were produced for postgraduate students, researchers, and similar audiences, they were classified as scholarly. It is widely accepted that metadiscourse features operate as persuasive mechanisms in texts and that this aspect of metadiscourse plays an important role particularly in the introduction sections of textbooks. Bearing in mind the significance of introduction sections in academic discourse, Bhatia (2004) came to appreciate that introduction discourse can be considered as one of the most adequate examples of persuasive writing in academic texts.

In his influential textbook Worlds of Written Discourse, Bhatia also affirms that introduction, like a number of other terms, has also been overly used in academic discourse in a variety of ways. However, in book introductions we find at least two major, though very different types: an introductory chapter of a book, which is considered an important part of the book itself in that its main communication purpose is to introduce the content of book, and the author's introduction to the book, which is generally positioned outside the book’s content. Its main function is to introduce the book by discussing its general purpose and intended scope, while often giving a good description of the contents, combining this with positive aspects of the work. In this sense, the main objective of introduction is to place the content of the book within the context of the field to which it belongs. The author will thus often
outline the work and advise readers on how to go approach it (Poynton, 1989). These introductions typically occur outside the content of the book and are sometimes exploited by publishers to promote it. It is these book introductions and their various manifestations that are focused on here. All textbook introductions in our research belonged to the second group.

2. Methods

2.1. Corpora
The corpus of the current study consisted of 30 introduction sections of introductory and scholarly textbooks (approximately 42497 words) written in English by Anglo-American academics in the field of applied linguistics. It included 15 sections written for introductory level and 15 for scholarly level texts. For detailed bibliographical information on corpora see appendix A.

2.2. Procedures
A descriptive study, it was based on Hyland’s (2005a) interpersonal model of metadiscourse. A quick glimpse at the development of different categorizations of metadiscourse revealed that nearly all studies of metadiscourse have adopted Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics as a source of theoretical support and insights. However, there is a division between those scholars who see metadiscourse as covering only the textual function (known as the narrow approach) and those who see it as covering both the interpersonal and textual function (known as the broad approach). Hyland (2005a) criticizes such strict textual/interpersonal dichotomy, asserting that all metadiscourse is interpersonal. In fact, he believes that the textual and interpersonal function don’t act independently of each other but occur simultaneously in the text. Hence, both elements are crucial for coherence and meaning. Another point of concern is that in earlier models, such as Vande Kopple’s (1985) and Crismore’s (1993) there is a functional overlap and a vagueness of categories, to overcome which problems Hyland promotes an interpersonal model of metadiscourse. This is not only an update of the taxonomies proposed by Vande Kopple (1985) and Crismore et al. (1993); it also gives greater comprehensibility and distinction to the varieties of metadiscourse features (Heng & Tan, 2010). As a result, his framework was adopted for coding data in this study. In his functional model, Hyland (2005a) makes a useful distinction between interactive and interactional
metadiscourse. Both have an interpersonal function, but the former is concerned with guiding the reader through the text with the aid of signposts like transition markers, sequencers, code glosses, and frame markers. Interactional metadiscourse, on the other hand, deals with the expression of opinions by the writers and their relationship and interaction with the readers (Hyland, 2005 a, p. 44). These are elaborated below in Table 1:

**Table 1. An interpersonal model of metadiscourse (Hyland 2005a)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>function</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interactive</strong></td>
<td>help to guide the reader through the text</td>
<td>Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitions</td>
<td>express relations between main clauses</td>
<td>in addition; but;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thus; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame markers</td>
<td>refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages</td>
<td>finally; to conclude;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>my purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endophoric markers</td>
<td>refer to information in other parts of the text</td>
<td>noted above; see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>states</td>
<td>Fig; in section2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidentials</td>
<td>refer to information from other text</td>
<td>according to X; Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code glosses</td>
<td>elaborate propositional meanings</td>
<td>namely; e.g.; such as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Interactional</strong></th>
<th>Involves the reader in the text</th>
<th>Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hedges</td>
<td>withhold commitment and open dialogue</td>
<td>might; perhaps; possible;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boosters</td>
<td>emphasize certainty or close dialogue</td>
<td>in fact; definitely; it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude markers</td>
<td>express writer’s attitude to proposition</td>
<td>unfortunately; I agree;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>surprisingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self mentions</td>
<td>explicit reference to author (s)</td>
<td>I; we; my; me; our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagement markers</td>
<td>explicitly build relationship with reader</td>
<td>consider; note; you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>can see that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of parameters were taken into account during the data selection and analysis:

First, since metadiscourse is a new topic, and also since genres change, evolve, and decay over time (Widdowson, 1998), the researcher tried to consider textbook introductions that appeared between 1995 and 2010. However, since finding appropriate textbooks from this period was too problematic (because many texts have a preface and acknowledgements rather than introductions and also because books do not have introductions at all), the researchers had to choose some texts written even 30 years ago.

Second, as the idiosyncrasy and particularity of an author’s style affect his or her writing, the researcher tried not to include the same writer more than once, though this was not always possible.

Third, all textbook introductions selected at both the levels of introductory and scholarly levels were scanned and converted into an MS Word format in order to obtain accurate word counts of the corpus. The researcher tried not to include footnotes, acknowledgements and endnotes.

Fourth, the criteria for assigning the book as an introductory or scholarly level text were based on information provided on the cover page, in the preface, and in the introduction section of the books (Kuhi & Behnam, 2010).

Fifth, the analysis of the corpus was not only based on the predetermined search items (Hyland, 2005a). Other possible realizations of metadiscourse occurring in the analyzed texts were also taken into account.

Sixth, in assigning metadiscourse function to textual items, the criteria of *internal* and *external* relations were taken into account. According to Hyland (2005a), only internal relations were assigned as metadiscourse. The two examples below, taken from the examined corpus, may illustrate different functions of ‘*and*’ which, in the first example, has a propositional function, while in the second example it is metadiscoursal.

1. These activities include teaching English at elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels, teacher training, language testing, curriculum and materials development, the use of computers and other technology in teaching.
2. Two utterances that say the same thing clearly do have some common intrinsic semantic features; and it is not at all clear either why these are not sufficient to guarantee that they say the same thing.(4a)

As is evident, the connectors in the first example link activities related to the world outside the text and therefore cannot be identified as metadiscourse items, while the specimen in the second example obviously announces a discourse goal that is internal and thus acts as metadiscourse.

Seventh, during the procedure of data analysis, we were aware of the fact that one linguistic realization may have more than one function due to the multifunctional nature of metadiscourse. The following example illustrates the difficulty of assigning a textual item to a specific metadiscourse category:

3. The main reason why Lg teachers need to be familiar with SLA research was stated in my earlier book (Ellis 1985a) as follows…. (3a)

The expression Ellis 1985a suggests a categorization as an evidential. However, thus stated, it encourages us to consider it as a keenly intelligent use of self mention by Ellis himself to refer to his own works as well. Such multi-functionality was prevalent in nearly all the textbook introductions and we had to decide about the dominance of one of these functions.

As a first step, in order to identify the metadiscourse features in context, and also their functional meaning, the texts were carefully scrutinized word by word with a rigorous consideration of their functional meaning. In other words, all cases were examined in context to ensure they were metadiscoursal devices. However, the recognition of metadiscourse features was difficult for two reasons. First, because of the multifunctional nature of metadiscourse, one item may be classified in two categories (the above-mentioned example). Second, it was not always clear whether one item was metadiscoursal or propositional due to the hazy nature of the metadiscourse. To treat these problems, all introduction sections of the textbooks were analyzed three times by the researchers at different time intervals in order to identify all metadiscourse items. An attempt was made to distinguish their propositional or metadiscoursal functions clearly. After determining both interactive and interactional metadiscourse resources, and classifying them into related categories.
of analysis, the frequency of these features was calculated per 1000 words in all textbooks.

3. Results and Discussion

Our findings suggest that the total frequency of overall metadiscourse resources (MDRs) in the introduction sections of introductory textbooks (106.90 per 1000 words) was slightly more than those of scholarly textbooks (94.76 per 1000 words) indicating that introductory textbooks (ITBs) and scholarly textbooks (STBs) manifest different rhetorical preferences. Table 2 gives us detailed insights into the frequency-based view of these findings:

Table 2. Distribution and percentages of MDRs in the introduction sections of introductory & scholarly level texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metadiscourse features</th>
<th>Introductory textbooks</th>
<th>Scholarly textbooks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Transitions</td>
<td>20.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frame markers</td>
<td>9.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Endophoric markers</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Evidentials</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Code glasses</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactional</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hedges</td>
<td>20.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boosters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Attitude markers</td>
<td>14.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Self mentions</td>
<td>7.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Engagement markers</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writers of ITBs employ relatively more MDRs than the writers of STBs, which can indicate that the latter group is less likely to be interested in explicitly organizing the text and orienting the readers. In other words, the main conclusions are largely left for the readers to infer, and less explicit guidance is provided to help them to understand the texts.

By and large, the results suggest that a kind of implicitness is the characteristic of scholarly rhetorical strategies. By contrast, introductory level writers are more interested in using overt MDRs through which they guide and persuade readers and make their own presence more explicit in the texts. The explicitness of introductory level writers leaves less room for readers’ own interpretations. The main concern sees to be with readers’ interest and with providing them with more information and guidance (Hyland, 1999).

Furthermore, it seems clear that the introduction sections of textbooks exhibited dramatically different writing genres of writing and that, like the research article genre, the introduction sections of both ITBs and STBs use relatively more interactional than interactive resources. Since this section is one of the most rhetorical and persuasive parts among the writings (Bhatia, 2004), we could see the prominent
role of MDRs in this study. This phenomenon also shows that the textbook writers were more concerned with and more aware of the persuasive aspects of their introduction sections, though this did not apply to textual content. In addition, the various distinctive aspects of metadiscourse at the two levels suggest clear differences of purpose and audience.

One reason may be that, as Hyland (2005a) further argues, textbooks extend competence into new areas of knowledge for students while simultaneously providing a coherently ordered view of the boundaries, values and practices of their discipline. It is worth noting that declaring coherent views involves using interactive devices more than interactional ones to provide learners with a comprehended situation. On the other hand, with textbooks that favored interactive metadiscourse, the genre of the introductory section of textbooks does not follow this move. To better illustrate these findings, the results are plotted in a more tangible way in Figure 1:

**Figure 1. Overall distribution of MDRs in the introduction section of ITB & STB**

![Figure 1](image)

The variations were also observed in categories and subcategories. The distribution of interactive features in ITB introductions was somehow more common than in STB introductions, which is partly due to the former readers' needs to have a more coherent situation created. As for the interactive category, transitions were the mostly commonly used features for both levels (20.59 in ITBs & 16.83 in STBs), guiding the reading process by clarifying relationships and connections between propositions. This indicates the writers' interests in producing more cohesive texts, which, according to Hinds (1987), can be a sign of responsible rhetoric. In other words, a
writer provides statements and clues in the texts so that the reader can piece together the logic that binds the discourse together. Of course, ITB writers use rather more transitions than the other group. It can be argued that the former group consider their readers' level and are aware of their need to be guided to analyze the writer's line of reasoning and the rhetorical strategies employed.

Frame markers were the second most frequent preference (see Table 2) among textbook writers. As Hyland (2005a) says, items in this category provide framing information about elements of the discourse. Code glosses held third position in the ITB introductions but fourth in the STB ones, suggesting that ITB authors provide a stronger ground for relating a text to its context by taking readers’ needs, understanding, existing knowledge, relative status, and intertextual experiences into account (Hyland, 2007). Arguably, employing fewer code glosses in the introduction sections of STBs shows that the texts under analysis were seen as clear and straightforward by their expert audience and that their authors cared little about anticipating the needs of their readers.

Endophoric markers held fourth position in ITB introductions and last position in those of STBs, though with some noticeable variations. We share Hyland’s (2005a) view that it seems more necessary to include these items at the introductory rather than the scholarly level. Moreover, these rhetorical markers enable readers to understand the text’s macro structure and also encourage them to retain and build on newly-acquired knowledge.

The sharpest variation was seen in evidentials. Scholarly writers employed these (7 per 1000 words) more than introductory writers (2.38 per 1000 words) as was expected, since for scholarly level writers these items display their knowledge of the field and establish an ethos that validates a research tradition. These authors favored the rhetorical importance of evidentials and were aware of the fact that, without them, a study could be seriously questioned, if not immediately rejected.

In addition, in academic writing, evidentials refer to community-based literature and provide important support for arguments (Hyland, 2005a). For academic texts, claims are inseparable from their originators and a great deal of explicit intertextuality are
required from authors to organize propositional material in a way that is both coherent and appropriate. In our examined corpus, for instance, in Widdowson’s works you hardly find evidentials, and when you do, they refer to his own earlier work! In a similar fashion, the writers of both ITBs and STBs used slightly more interactional devices than interactive. As appears in Table 2, hedges were the mostly used features for both levels, confirming their crucial role in persuasive texts, where the writer prefers to achieve a balance between commitment to his/her ideas and respect for and dialogue with the reader. In other words, by means of this feature writers can anticipate possible opposition to their claims (by expressing statements with caution and modesty), while simultaneously enabling the reader to follow his/her stance without the impression of too much assertiveness. These results agree with other studies where hedges also hold a predominant position, irrespective of the genre and language analyzed. As Hyland (1996) claims, ‘hedges help to negotiate the perspective from which conclusions can be accepted’ (p.434). Likewise, in this study, the genre of introduction leaves room for readers themselves to come to conclusions based on persuasive negotiations occurring in the texts. Concerning a slightly higher frequency of hedging in the introduction sections of ITB, it may be suggested that the authors in this group displayed more caution, modesty and decency, as Leech (1983) wisely speculates, in order to bring about an effect of self-criticism. On the whole, both authorial groups overwhelmingly followed a tentative style in their writing by using high proportions of hedging elements. However, they intrude more into their texts to offer explicitly evaluative comments through the use of models.

Attitude markers held second place (15.24 per 1000 words in ITBs vs.13.99 in STBs). Given the relatively high number of attitude markers found in the corpus, it can be said that writers’ personal feelings prove to be a persuasive tool in the eyes of the reader. It seems the key to an effectively persuasive text is the artful combination of weakening expressions (hedges) and strengthening ones (boosters and/or attitude markers) with the final intention of producing a discourse that is neither too assertive nor too vague (Dafouz-Milne, 2008).

Self mentioning was also noticeably used by writers since self plays a crucial role in mediating the relationship between writers’ arguments and the expectations of their readers. In many cases, it is a key way in which professional academics are able to
promote a competent scholarly identity and gain credit for their research claims (Hyland, 2001b).

Boosters and engagement markers were the least used features in the interactional category (see Table 2). However, engagement markers were more frequent in the introduction sections of ITBs and twice as frequent in STB introductions. By leading readers to a particular interpretation, these metadiscoursal directives are the mark of self-assured writers who are in control of their readers. It can be argued, therefore, that writers of STBs relatively underuse engagement markers because they like to assume that it is the responsibility of the reader to make decisions and that it is polite to treat readers as intelligent human beings to whom nothing much needs to be explained or addressed (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Categorical distribution of MDRs in the introduction section of ITB & STB

As is apparent, the two groups are similar to each other in most categories, although there are some noticeable differences in some. Figure 3 depicts these similarities and differences:
The possible reasons for similarities between introductory and scholarly textbooks could be traced first in the inherent problems of Hyland's (2005a) model in which it was not possible to show clearly the context-based differences between these two genres since, as Hyland himself rightly maintains, ‘no taxonomy or description will ever be able to do more than partially represent a fuzzy reality’ (p.58). Second, the small size of the corpora used and the necessity to include more samples from different disciplines are likely to be other explanations. Third, the general characteristics of introductory sections that exhibit certain marks of uniformity across textbooks are also important.

Having a close look at the pattern, one may conclude that in introductory textbooks, transitions (20.59 per 1000 words) out of interactive resources and hedges (20.36 per 1000 words) out of interactional resources were the most frequently employed categories, while evidentials (2.38 per 1000 words) from interactive resources and boosters (5.27 per 1000 words) from interactional resources were the least frequently employed. In scholarly textbooks transitions (16.83) from interactive resources and hedges (16.05) from interactional resources had the highest frequencies, whereas endophoric markers (4.36 in interactive resources) and engagement markers (2.53 in interactional resources) had the lowest use frequencies. It is worth noting that Hyland (1999) states that differences in textual metadiscourse (interactive) point largely to variations in audience between the two genres. The findings for interpersonal
metadiscourse (interactional) also indicate something of their contrasting purposes. In this regard, Williams (1985) has observed that argumentative writing lends itself to the use of interpersonal metadiscourse. Additionally, Crismore and Farnworth (1990) have found a heavy use of interpersonal forms in persuasive texts of different discourse types.

4. Conclusion
To conclude, as regards similarities, we found that interactive and interactional metadiscourse devices are present in the introduction sections of both introductory and scholarly levels, though there are variations as to their distribution. These similarities could be traced in the general characteristics of introduction sections that exhibit certain uniformity.

Concerning differences, this study suggests that there is some room for internal variation across the two levels. In fact, regarding the audiences and purposes of introductory and scholarly textbooks, the differences are partly due to authors taking into account readers' needs at each level in order to facilitate comprehension, support arguments, and persuade them. In general, an understanding of rhetorical options that make texts work within and for specific contexts and audiences is very necessary (Hyland, 2005a). This study has major pedagogical implications and may provide insights for teachers, syllabus designers, textbook writers and translators. As Hyland rightly states, in spite of the significance of metadiscourse in language teaching, instructors have been busy teaching linguistic and grammatical rules, while ignoring the role of the rhetorical function and interpersonal strategies of speech and texts.

According to Hyland (2005a), teaching students to use metadiscourse effectively means helping them to develop a sense of audience and equipping them with the means to engage with that audience appropriately. Therefore, it seems necessary to devote special attention to teaching these resources to foreign language learners of English in their research or ESP courses.
We acknowledge that our research suffers from some limitations. One main one was the publication date of textbooks since finding those with introduction sections was too problematic (because many texts have a preface and acknowledgements rather than an introduction), the researcher inevitably picked books written as long as 40 years ago. In addition, due to the small-scale nature of the data, the results might be regarded with caution. Doubtless, further studies are needed to manifest the purposeful and audience-based nature of introductory sections in large corpora.

References


Oxford: Oxford University Press.

English written discourse’. *English for Specific Purposes*, 13(2) 149-171

Cambridge: CUP.

research Articles’. *Language Studies Working Papers*, 1


*College Composition and Communication*, 36, 82-93.

17(3), 397- 401.


**Appendix A: Sources of textbooks**

**Introductory textbooks**


6. Alan Maley and Alan Daff, Drama Techniques (2005)

7. Jerry G. Gebhard, Teaching English as a Foreign or second language (2001)


**Scholarly textbooks**


4. Sandra Fotos & Hossein Nassaj, Form-focused Instruction and Teacher Education. (2007)


7. Marion Williams & Robert Burden, Psychology for language Teachers (2005)


11. Widdowson, Teaching as communicative syllabus design (1978)

12. John Munby, Communicative syllabus design (1978)


Appendix B:

1. The frequencies of introductory textbook introductions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FM</th>
<th>END</th>
<th>EVI</th>
<th>CG</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AM</th>
<th>SM</th>
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<td>14.57</td>
<td>19.17</td>
<td>1.53</td>
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<td>18.22</td>
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<td>22.69</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>11.72</td>
<td>21.92</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>14.27</td>
<td>8.15</td>
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2. The frequencies of scholarly textbook introductions

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EFL Learners Studying Abroad:

Challenges and Strategies

Jerry G. Gebhard, Ed.D.
Professor Emeritus, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Professor, Pusan National University

Bio Data:

During his 42 year career, Gebhard has taught as an EFL teacher and teacher educator in Thailand, Japan, China, Korea, and the US. He directed and taught in the Graduate Program in Composition & TESOL at Indiana University of Pennsylvania and has published extensively in the fields of Second Language Teacher Education, Cross-Cultural Communication, and EFL/ESL teaching.

Abstract

This article focuses on research into the lives of students who were educated within Asian EFL learning contexts and studying at a US university. The purpose of the study was to understand the kinds of challenges that these students faced and the adaptation strategies they used when faced with them. Qualitative data were collected and analyzed using on-going interviews with and written narratives by students from China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan and Thailand. Findings show that students were challenged by academics, social interaction, and emotional reactions to their new life and used three different kinds of strategies: coping, observing and imitating, and reflecting and doing. These findings go beyond previously recognized coping strategies by documenting other types of strategies - observing and imitating.
and reflecting and doing. This article concludes with implications these findings have for researchers and for stakeholders in students’ success.

Keywords: preparation for overseas study, qualitative research, academic challenges overseas, social challenges overseas, emotional challenges overseas, culture adjustment strategies

Introduction

Asian EFL students face a variety of adaptation challenges when studying in the United States, including overlapping linguistic, academic, sociocultural, and psychological challenges. When they arrive, some have had the opportunity to study in a program within home countries that systematically prepared them for their overseas long-term study by providing them with ideas about how to meet these challenges (McIntyre, 2007). However, many students simply arrive in the U.S. without such specific preparation. Such is the case for students from China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Thailand who participated in the research reported in this article.

The goals of this qualitative study were to identify the kinds of challenges that these students faced, as well as to discover the kinds of strategies they used to face them. The ensuing goal was to use the findings on challenges and strategies to provide suggestions for teachers preparing students to study abroad.

Background

Challenges

Researchers have provided an understanding of the kinds of challenges Asian students have while adapting to university life in the United States, and one of the most discussed challenges is academic language. Researchers have reported that students often have difficulty comprehending the various accents of professors, test constructions, articulating their knowledge in essay exams, reading text books in a timely fashion (Lin & Yi, 1997), taking lecture notes (Huang, 2006), giving oral
presentations, asking the professor questions, and interacting in seminar discussions (Coward, 2003; Gebhard, 2010; Han, 2007; Kao & Gansneder, 1995; Liu, 2001).

Coward (2003), for example, studied interaction between Americans and students from China, Korea, and Taiwan during graduate seminar discussions and concludes that these students were continuously trying to understand what was going on in class, when they could talk, and what role they should adopt. Likewise, Han (2007) discovered that students across an American university’s graduate programs had trouble participating in whole class seminar discussions because of anxiety and insufficient content knowledge. In a different kind of study, Lee & Carrasquillo (2006) analyzed the perceptions of professors on the linguistic/cultural characteristics that contribute to the academic difficulties of Korean college students in the United States. They found that professors tended to identify Korean students as viewing the professor as having absolute authority, having trouble openly expressing critical thoughts, having difficulty answering negative questions, and being uncomfortable with speaking in class.

Another challenge for many students is a lack of familiarity with America’s intricate social rules for interacting (Barratt & Huba, 1994; Ingman, 2003; Lee, Kang, & Yum, 2005; Rose-Redwood, 2010; Swagler & Ellis, 2003). For example, Americans tend to use a lot of compliments during conversation. However, Japanese tend not to do this, possibly believing that too many compliments diminishes the value of a compliment when it is made (Wolfson, 1986). Similarly, many Americans tend to use direct communication to turn down invitations, complain, or ask for clarification. However, some Asians, depending on the cultural context, will use more indirect ways (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2004). For example, some Chinese might turn down an invitation to a party by accepting the invitation with hesitancy, indicating that they likely won’t be able to attend (Wang, Brislin, Wang, Williams & Chao, 2000; Yum, 2000).

Such culturally-based rules for interacting also include nonverbal behavior, such as how people greet, sit, shake hands, walk through a crowd, enter a classroom late, and
stand, among many other examples. For example, M.J. Bennett (1998) points out that during conversations, European Americans tend to use eye contact to cue turns. The speaker ends a turn by glancing at the listener’s eyes. This signals a new speaker can take a turn. However, in some Asian cultures speakers avert eyes and use a period of silence to indicate a new speaker can take a turn.

Other research focuses on Asian students’ psychological stress and challenges, including dealing with high levels of anxiety, depression, and other emotional problems (Chen, 1999; Constantine, Kindaichi, Okazaki, Gainor & Baden, 2005; Dao, Lee & Chang, 2007; Heggies & Jackson, 2003; Lin & Yi, 1997; Nilsson, Butler, Shhouse & Joshi, 2008).

From a theoretical perspective, Adler (1975), Begley (2006), J.M. Bennett (1998), Gebhard (2010), Oberg (1960) and Storti (2001) discuss the process through which these psychological challenges can evolve. In relation to students, they often arrive feeling stimulated or euphoric and are often playful, curious, and interested. However, cultural differences have an impact. Doing everyday things that were easy for them to do in their home countries are no longer easy, and because of academic, social, and sometimes financial problems, some students experience culture shock, feeling a variety of symptoms -- confusion, disorientation, isolation, frustration, anger, loneliness, inadequacy, depression. They might also view the host culture with suspicion, reject cultural differences, and criticize the local society. However, most students, with the support of others and their own inner strength and experience, start to adapt, and as they do so, they gain confidence and become more emotionally stable. By the end of their stay, some students are even sad to leave and greatly appreciate their life in America.

Although this process is useful in terms of a theoretical understanding of the cultural adjustment of students, not all students move through the process in the same way. Some may adapt quickly while others never fully adapt at all. Some feel well adapted, and then regress to feeling culture shock after having had a series of new problems (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2004; Gebhard, 2010; Purnell, 2000).
**Strategies Used to Face Challenges**

Compared to research published on problems Asian students encounter when they study at an American university, there is a deficiency of literature on the breadth of strategies that these students use when trying to adapt to university life and culture. Most studies are limited to *coping strategies*, here defined as ways of behaving to deal with stress related to the multitude of problems and interactive challenges of studying in a culturally different academic and social environment. One of the most discussed coping strategies related to Asian international students is establishing a support network of friends, and researchers point out that these support networks usually consist of co-nationals or friends from similar cultural backgrounds (Choe, 1996; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Hayes & Lin, 1994).

Community resources are also a part of students’ support. Choe (1996), for instance, points out that some Korean students use the Korean church as a way to cope with adaptation problems. Others use the international office, trusted academic advisors, and the international students club (Al-Mubarak, 2000). However, Asian students tend to shy away from mental health services because there is a sense of stigma or shame associated with going there (Constantine et al., 2005; Mori, 2000).

When international students have limited English proficiency and lack experience and familiarity with American interactive behavior, some find it difficult to make friends and establish a social network with Americans (Constantine, et al, 2005). Often these students withdraw into the expatriate community, and this action appears to hinder adaptation when the purpose is to avoid interaction with Americans (Gebhard, 2010; Storti, 2001). Such withdrawal and the benefits of international student interaction with Americans have been discussed by a variety of researchers (Gebhard, 2010; Surdam & Collins, 1984; Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2002; Yang, Teraoka, Eichenfield, & Audas, 1994; Rose-Redwood, 2010). For example, Toyokawa & Toyokawa (2002) researched the association between Japanese students’ engagement in extracurricular activities and their adaptation. They discovered that when students engage in activities with Americans, they have more satisfaction with life and the United States and more involvement with academics. Japanese students who did not engage in such activities were less satisfied with their lives and academics.
Research Design & Methodology: Qualitative Inquiry

The 46 student-participants in this study were selected over a ten-year period from 1998 to 2008, based on their willingness to participate in the study, their EFL backgrounds, and their coming from Northeast or Southeast Asian countries. One reason the study took place over a decade was because of my time constraints due to teaching, administrative and other duties at the university and within the larger academic community. Another reason, as discussed below in more detail, was because I wanted to provide an on-going project that offers chances for graduate students to gain first-hand qualitative research experience.

All 46 research participants signed a consent form agreeing to participate in the study and with the knowledge that their names would not be used, that they could withdraw from the study at any time, and that, if so, all documents concerning them would be destroyed. However, none decided to pull out of the study.

As Table 1 shows, 21 undergraduate and 25 graduate students participated in this study. Fifteen undergraduates, representing 15 majors, were enrolled in degree programs, while 6 of the students were at the university temporarily as exchange students. The 25 graduate students embody a less diverse population of students, with 12 who studied in the MA TESOL program and 3 in the Ph.D. program in English Composition & TESOL. This less varied population is partly due to fewer graduate than undergraduate programs at the university, but was mostly because these students were easily accessible and willing to share their cultural adaptation experiences.
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<th>Number of students by nationality</th>
<th>Number of undergraduate students &amp; majors</th>
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<tr>
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The study made use of qualitative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2005; Lincoln, 1995; Richards, 2003, Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). As such, the methodological focus was on collecting, analyzing, and interpreting knowledge about the lives of Asian international students within their university setting in order to attain a holistic and emic understanding of the challenges they faced and the strategies they used to face them.

To attain such an understanding, I used on-going interviews, student-written narratives, and observation field notes. Verbal descriptions were collected through on-going interviews (Richards, 2003; Rubin & Rubin, 2004; Spradely, 1979) many of which were audio taped and transcribed. Interviews were done in places students most commonly frequented, inside and outside the university, such as classrooms, dormitories, cafeterias, supermarkets, malls and parks. As I mentioned earlier, to provide graduate students with chances to gain research experience, I hired international research assistants to work with me (from China, Ghana, Grenada, Kenya, Korea, Poland, Senegal, Taiwan, and Thailand). I trained them to interview other international students and to transcribe and analyze interview content. Some of these assistants worked on the project for years and were invaluable. They were able to elicit deeply moving narratives from students about their cultural adaptation experiences. Although I also developed close trusting relationships with some students and gained privileged access to stories about their lives, as insiders, some of the international student researchers were able to gain access to the experiences, thoughts, and feelings of international students that were not so available to me.

The research assistants and I attempted to approach on-going interviews by taking on what Agar (1996) calls a one-down position, in which we accepted each student we interviewed as having unique knowledge and experience. We also approached each interview by first asking open-ended questions, what Spradely (1979) calls grand-tour questions, such as "What kinds of interaction have you had with Americans?" or "Tell me a true story about experiences in the United States". We then listened to the recorded interviews and wrote down more focused follow-up questions based on the previous interview, such as the descriptive question (Rubin & Rubin, 2004) "What do
you do when the professor asks you to participate during in-class discussions with Americans?” and *clarification* questions (Spradely, 1979) such as, “You told me about your experience at your professor’s office. But, I’m not sure I fully understood. Would you mind telling me again?” We also discussed the reliability of what a student-interviewee said in response to a question, and, when questionable, we designed follow-up questions to check reliability by asking the participant to answer the same question but worded in a different way, such as “What is it like to share a dorm room with an American?” – this after the interviewee had previously expressed her distain for her roommate.

One issue that consistently came up during discussions between the research assistants and me was the inability of some student-participants to express themselves clearly in English, for example those who had only recently arrived at the university. As the student-participant and interviewer usually spoke different native languages, we talked about the need for interviewers to paraphrase what student-interviewees said to check understanding and to create follow-up questions to ask the student during another interview.

In addition to on-going verbal interviews, I also asked some of the students to write down narratives about their experiences. I emphasized that I was only interested in factual accounts of their lives related to adjustment to the US and their university lives. I also told them they could write about any aspect of cultural adjustment, such as problems, successes, interesting or awful experiences, and accomplishments, and tell their true story in their own way. After reading the narratives, I often talked with the students individually about what they had written, not only to check my understanding but also to check the reliability of the story.

I also kept observation field notes (Emmerson, Fritz & Shaw, 1995) in a small notebook I constantly carried with me. I wrote down descriptions of interactions between the international students and Americans, as well as pieces of conversations between international students about their lives. Such notes helped me to gain a more
comprehensive understanding of the students’ lives and to formulate questions I could ask them during informal interviews.

I analyzed the interviews and written narratives inductively. Unlike experimental research, in which researchers search out evidence to prove or disprove a hypothesis, I let the findings emerge from the analysis of the descriptive data (Lincoln, 1995). To facilitate this process, I listened to the recorded interviews many times and also studied transcripts. I placed written narratives in sight so that I could easily read and reread them, and wrote notes on them as I read. As more and more interviews were conducted and narratives written, I was gradually able to categorize the kinds of challenges students faced and strategies they used to meet them.

Findings and Discussion

Kinds of Adaptation Challenges

There were three overlapping kinds of challenges that the Asian students in this study faced, including challenges found in academic contexts, social interaction, and handling emotions. Examples of challenges are listed in Table 2.

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<td>Grasping complex concepts in textbooks</td>
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<td>Understanding lecture content</td>
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<td>Understanding professors’ questions</td>
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<td><strong>Social Interaction Challenges</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Institutional Challenges</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Making an appointment with a professor</td>
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<td>Interacting with a doctor at a clinic</td>
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<td>Following hospital procedures for a blood test</td>
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<td>Predicting exam content</td>
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<tr>
<td>Classroom Interaction</td>
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<td>Answering professors’ &amp; classmates’ questions</td>
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<td>Interacting in small groups, turn taking</td>
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<td>Talking in front of the class</td>
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<td>Asking the professor questions during class</td>
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<td>Paraphrasing or summarizing readings</td>
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<td>Answering essay questions in exams</td>
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<td>Coping with depression</td>
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<td>Getting over eating disorders</td>
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<td>Getting over sleep disorders</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not showing emotional drain to professors and classmates</td>
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<td>Talking with police after a car accident</td>
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<td>Opening a checking account at a bank</td>
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<td>Filing a complaint about an apartment neighbor</td>
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<td>Applying for a state driver’s license</td>
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<td>Challenges Related to Socializing</td>
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<td>Turning down a party invitation</td>
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<td>Interacting with dorm roommates</td>
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<td>Resolving a conflict with a roommate</td>
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<td>Knowing when and how long to take a shower during a home stay</td>
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<td>Understanding what to do at an American dinner table</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowing how to take a phone message</td>
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Seminars, where students were expected to answer the professor’s questions and discuss topics, challenged many of the students in this study. A student from Taiwan expressed her frustration with participation in this way:

There was one class which made me extremely nervous. I guess that is because it only had 15 students, we were expected to talk, and all my classmates were native speakers. I prepared for each class, and I wanted to answer the teacher’s questions, but I did not really get a chance. Every time I got some ideas, I tended to rehearse my lines in my mind first to make sure I used the correct words and sentence structures. Whenever I was ready and brave enough to raise my hand, I found the cruel fact that the subject of discussion had moved to the next one. I felt even more frustrated when I did have something to share, but I did not share it with anyone else but myself (Written narrative #21).

Likewise, a student from Japan expressed her frustration in this way:

When I first attended classes, I suffered from not knowing how to join in the class. I was amazed that students asked the professor questions and gave their own opinions so freely. I was overwhelmed. All I could do is sit in silence, listening and watching. Even thinking about asking a question made me nervous (Written narrative #12).

In addition to academic language problems, some students were disappointed and anxious about their inability to socially interact with Americans when they first arrived. For example, a student from China reported, "My new American roommate started talking really fast. I couldn’t understand anything she said after ‘Hi. I’m Nancy.’ It was like I have never heard English before!" (Interview #26). Another example shows the social realities of a Thai student sharing a room with a young American. Her roommate and her friends came into their room and played loud music, talked, and ate snacks. This upset the Thai student. As she put this: “One girl sits on my bed with her shoes on. In Thailand, you know, we take shoes off in our room. I know that in America this is not the custom. But, it makes me feel uncomfortable. I also get so embarrassed! My roommate, she takes off all her clothes in front of me. Thai people, we are shy." (Interview #8; also, Gebhard, 2006).
In addition to academic and social adjustment challenges, students expressed how emotionally challenging adapting to another culture can be. They said that everyday things, such as paying bills, using the telephone, installing cable television, and finding a cell phone plan were no longer easy. This was partly due to using English, rather than their native language, but it was also because the rules about how to do such sociopragmatic things were no longer the same. As Storti (2001) states, "You expect to have to learn how to do new things overseas and even new ways of doing familiar things, but you may be surprised to discover that you have to learn to do things you normally do without thinking" (pp. 12-13).

For some students, constant effort to do everyday things became emotionally exhausting. This often resulted in feelings of depression, homesickness, and isolation and other symptoms of culture shock. Thinking about her initial university experiences, a student from Taiwan expressed her emotional turmoil (and showed symptoms of culture shock) in this way: "I don’t know how I can deal with my problems. I feel angry one minute, sad few minutes later, and sleepy few minutes later! I can’t sleep at night, and I now criticize everything and everyone, especially professors" (Written narrative #32). An American student’s observations of her Malaysia boyfriend, Roger, also illustrate the intensity of culture shock and the emotional toll it has on some students. They got along “wonderfully from the start” and became close friends. They frequented movies, and did aerobics, went cycling, running, swimming, and dancing together. Roger cooked his favorite Malaysian dishes and talked about taking her to see Kuala Lumpur and Malacca, the historical coastal town where he was raised. However, Roger’s mood and behavior began to change. As his American friend put it: “Roger started to complain about the snow, a freezing apartment, and a grueling semester of classes. Suddenly everyone was immature and incompetent, and everything about the U.S. and the university was inadequate. He reminisced about Malaysia and glorified his homeland, while simultaneously criticizing everything in his hometown” (Written narrative #33; also Gebhard, 2010).

It is important to point out that not all Asian students in this study had severe emotional reactions to cultural differences and new challenges, and, as the student from Malaysia eventually did, most students who became emotionally overwhelmed
were able to work through their problems. As everyday tasks became easier with experience, emotional reactions subsided and life became less complex. However, how successful students were at getting beyond emotional problems and overcoming challenging adaptation problems depended, at least in part, on the strategies they used, as I discuss in the next section.

4.2 Students Facing Challenges: Strategies

The students in this study used a variety of coping strategies. Some students coped by using reminders of their home culture (Weaver, 2000). Some put photos of family and friends on their wall or computer screen saver, listened to their favorite CDs in their native language, and used Facebook, Skype, email, and other technology to connect with family and friends. Some met other students with similar cultural backgrounds to have meals, celebrate holidays, and take short trips. Such familiarity provided temporary relief from the ambiguity and disorientation they felt when faced with the complexity of American culture. In addition, some students used humor to help them cope by laughing at their own cultural blunders. For example, after miscommunication with an American, a Japanese student whispered in an amused voice to her friend in Japanese, “Toki doki watashi wa baka desu ne! (Sometimes I’m an idiot!) (Field note #15). Her friend laughed in agreement. As Kohls explains, they had "the ability to laugh things off (as) the ultimate weapon against despair" (1996:107).

One of the most frequently used coping strategies for these students was gaining confidence in others who could help them work through their adjustment challenges. They joined international student organizations, went to writing and learning centers, talked to professors during office hours, met with the foreign student advisor, joined study groups, and formed friendships with other international students. For example, a Japanese student had become frustrated with her life at the university, especially her inability to communicate effectively in English and to form friendships with Americans. For support, she formed friendships with other international students, and, by doing this, she gained in her ability to communicate in English. As she put it, “I didn’t feel any difficulties to speak English with them because I was not embarrassed with my poor English. They understood what I felt and how difficult it was for me. I developed my English ability with them, and I became much better at communicating
in English through them.” She further learned to socialize with Americans through other international students:

Not only language skill, I learned how to socialize with people. My friendships with international students opened up my world. For example, I went to lots of parties where I met lots of people. My friendships reached beyond international students. I was communicating more and more with Americans. Before I felt embarrassed about communicating with them, but I found that I was (now) enjoying my interactions with them (Interview #56).

The next narrative was written by a student from Taiwan about her academic adjustment problems and how she worked through them with the help of a study group. Her classes were small with about 15 students in each one. As she was studying in an international MBA program, there was a mixture of American and international students in each class. During the first few weeks she could hardly speak at all. Her professors had whole-class discussions, and sometimes they put students in small groups. She commented, “Most students spoke a lot. But, I just sat looking down at my notebook. Before each class, I told myself, just say something; it’s not difficult. But, it didn’t work well. I couldn’t speak, even though I really wanted to. I felt so upset.”

She also explained her problems with reading: “To be honest it was (the) first time in my life to have more than one textbook in class. Each professor assigned several chapters from several different books for us to read before each class. I struggled to complete all reading before each class.” Likewise, she struggled with writing assignments: “We had to write bi-weekly papers in my basic introduction to business course. I spent many hours writing the first paper. But, I got my paper back from the professor with (a) low grade and (a) note to go to (the) writing center for help. I couldn’t believe it! I already went there! It made me very upset. I even cried on my way to my apartment.” She went on to say: “I was feeling very bad, but one night, I felt calm. I knew I had to be strong and try my best. After all, I came here to learn and improve my ability. I decided to find help.”
This student from Taiwan then reached out to an American classmate who had a study group with two other Americans. She invited the student from Taiwan and another international student to join them. They met three times a week, read in silence, and talked about what they read. The student from Taiwan discovered much through this experience: “I realized that American students don’t always understand the reading, and I was partly shocked and partly happy when I could explain meaning of complex reading to (the) American students.” She also learned that she needed to read differently: “I stopped trying to understand every word. Instead, I paid attention to main idea(s) and how the author support(ed) or defend(ed) these ideas. I soon discovered I can read faster and understand more this way.” In addition she got help with her writing: “I gave my (writing) assignments to two members of the study group. The American helped a lot to fix my poor grammar, but, I got some very useful suggestions from the international student, and I learned I can give thoughtful suggestions, too.” At the end of the semester, she concluded: “I discovered when I need to be strong, I can be strong. I also learned that (a) study group can be valuable, especially when members are cooperative and understanding” (Written narrative #33).

Some students also found support through host family members, church groups, community centers, and neighbors. For example, another graduate student from Taiwan decided to live outside the Taiwanese community so she could more fully experience American life. However, she encountered many challenges - some that overwhelmed her. Nonetheless, she used a variety of coping strategies. To begin, she decided to spend time analyzing her weaknesses and strengths and creating strategies to reduce some of the stress. When she felt anxious, she meditated to calm down. She also talked to classmates who had similar problems and were willing to share their feelings. She also wrote never-mailed letters to tell her best friend her deep feelings. She also found a host-family who helped her to build her American life. As she put it:

The most fortunate thing is my wonderful host family. The mother who "adopted" me is very thoughtful and supportive. I feel free to tell her about my feelings, and I think she understands me from both what I say and what I don't say, which is really beyond my expectations. We watch movies, cook, do gardening, go shopping, and celebrate holidays together. Because of time, experience, and
support from friends, and especially my host family, I have become very happy (Written narrative #53).

In addition to using coping strategies, some students would observe and imitate Americans as a way to adapt to their new culture. Students reported using this strategy to understand how Americans greet each other, enter a classroom late, sit in class, interrupt each other, take a turn in a group discussion, walk in a crowd, cross the street, eat, toast each other, open Christmas presents, laugh at comedy shows and movies, and open a conversation with a total stranger. Some students took their observations further by imitating the behavior they observed. For example, a Thai student, who kept physically bumping into students when scheduled classes ended and crowds formed on pathways, decided to observe how students walked through crowds. Further, he decided to pick students and to follow them as they walked. Here’s what he discovered: “I tried to do everything in the same way – Use the same pace, move my arms (in) the same way. When the person walked fast, I walked fast, if slow, I walked slow. I learned (that) my Thai way of walking was not (the) same…It’s hard to explain. It is like we have (a) different kind of walking dance or something (Interview #51).

In addition to using coping strategies and observing and imitating, some students in the study used doing and reflecting as a strategy to help them adapt. After experiencing interaction with Americans, such as with classmates during a group discussion, a meeting with a professor, an encounter with a stranger in the street, or an awkward conversation with a roommate, they would take time to reflect on what happened, how they felt about the interactive experience, and what they might do differently next time. This is what an overwhelmed Japanese student did when she was "amazed that students asked the professor questions and gave their own opinions so freely." She was overwhelmed, nervous, and all she could do was "sit in silence, listening and watching" (Written narrative #12). But she decided to reflect on her fears and on the classroom interaction that was expected. Then she designed a plan to ask the professor a question:

I recalled my experience in class in Japan. I could not remember ever asking a question to the teacher in class. But, this place is not the same. So, I decided to solve my problem with my fear of talking in class. I pushed myself to raise my
hand. This was very very hard for me to do. When I did raise my hand, (and) the first time, I was so nervous that I don’t even know what I said! The professor pointed at me, and I started to talk. After I finished, I was extremely tired even though it took less than 10 seconds. My feelings were mixed. I felt nervous, shy, embarrassed, and anxious. Then, after class I thought about what I did, and I felt happy. After talking in class several times, I realized that the more I spoke, the more confidence I would gain (Written narrative #12).

Reflecting and doing is also evident for a Korean student who worked in the student cafeteria kitchen to gain some experience working with Americans. She explained that most Korean students would not want to work in such a noisy place doing such a demeaning job. But she wanted to have a variety of experiences with using English and to understand something about American culture. However, she started to have communication problems.

The manager yelled out for me to do something. It was hard to hear because of (the) noisy sound of (the) dish washer, and his tough English, demanding voice, and stern facial expression, made me so scared I could not understand him. So, I asked him to say (it) again, but I still couldn’t understand. I just pretended to understand with nodding, but I couldn’t figure out what I had to do and hesitated. I felt very embarrassed, frustrated. He frowned and scared me with his eye contact… He finally showed me what I had to do. I felt sorry, depressed, because of my poor English ability. Despite her depression, she thought about this problem and decided to change her behavior:

I imagined lots of things, like whether he was really angry at me or not, whether he judged my English ability, and whether I should quit this job. After I calmed down, I remembered I worked there to have experience with Americans. Not all experience is easy. But I can learn. Next time, if I don’t understand, I will ask him to show me what to do!” (Interview #8).
Conclusion and Implications

This study adds a renewed understanding of cultural adaptation by focusing on the lives of 46 Asian international students with EFL learning backgrounds who were studying at an American university. It reconfirms that Asian students who move to the United States to study are faced with a number of challenges related to academia, social interaction, and emotions, and it adds additional student voices to the literature on the lives of these students through their spoken and written narratives. In addition, the study further adds to the growing literature on the use of coping strategies (Al-Mubarak, 2000; Choe, 1996; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Kohls, 1996; Rose-Redwood, 2010; Surdam & Collins, 1984; Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2002; Weaver, 2000; Yang, Teraoka, Eichenfield, & Audas, 1994). Study findings show that when faced with academic, social interactive and emotional challenges students cope through the use of reminders of their home culture, humor, and finding help through the use of trusted professors, international student advisors, international student organizations, churches, and other international students.

However, unlike other studies I have reviewed, this study has revealed additional adaptation strategies, including the use of observing & imitating behavior, such as observing and emulating the way Americans eat, greet, walk, take turns in a discussion, laugh, and more; also doing & reflecting by, for example, thinking about American classroom behavior, then trying to do something new, such as asking the professor a question during class and reflecting on this action. Such strategies expand our knowledge about how students adapt.

Implications for Researchers

“Every problem worthy of extended intellectual effort demands a special set of methods. A new problem cannot be assumed to be resonant to a research design guided by a paradigm developed for research on a previous problem” (Birdwhistell, cited in McDermott, 1980, p.2). With these words in mind, factors contributing to the design of the present study included an aspiration to understand, through students’
own words, the adaptation challenges that they face and the strategies they use when faced with them. This naturally led to the use of on-going interviews and written narratives. Another factor that influenced the design was a strong interest in providing graduate students with an on-going project where they could gain experience with qualitative inquiry that included training in informal ethnographic interview preparation, reliability/bias checking, and analysis (Agar, 1980; Spradely, 1979; Richards, 2003). These factors created a decade-long study and a commitment to collecting reliable accounts of students’ lives.

Although this graduate assistant research aspect of the methodological design took much time and effort to prepare and introduce to the assistants, and involved certain risks (bias, inexperience) related to the collection of reliable data, the experience of doing the study together was mutually rewarding. Graduate assistants gained constructive experience that they could apply to their own future research, not to mention the benefits of self-reflection on their own cultural adaptation and the knowledge that they were able to access information within their specific international student contexts that was not available to me. I gained a deeper appreciation for qualitative inquiry (especially where this concerns the reliability of data and the complexity of data collection and analysis), and for the language and communication talents of some of the international research assistants. As such, I highly recommend that professors/teachers in EFL research degree programs design their own unique ongoing research projects that can include their students.

When implemented, this design afforded me, with the valuable support of graduate assistants, chances to arrange on-going interviews with 46 students (in all, 73 usable/reliable interviews) and 29 written narratives. Such an approach reaped rich personal narratives about problems each student was having and wanted to discuss, such as comprehending professors and classmates, talking to police after a car accident, and understanding the behavior of American roommates. Likewise, strategies students used to face their distinctive problems emerged from their narratives. It was also possible to categorize these student-specific problems into challenges with academic comprehension and classroom interaction, with institutions and socializing with Americans, and emotional challenges related to culture shock; also to categorize strategies into coping, observing & doing, and doing & reflecting.
However, the way that data was collected through open-ended questions and writing freely about adaptation experiences did not lend itself to identifying specific quantifiable problems and strategies across the student sample. In this regard, it could be useful for researchers to pursue a more focused large-scale study through the use of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews that would focus on identifying specific adaptation problems and strategies that common to students across degree programs or within specific programs.

**Implications for Stakeholders**

In addition to implications for researchers, the study has implications for stakeholders, in other words for those people who have invested their time and money in sending students abroad to study. These include parents, scholarship program sponsors, and overseas preparation program administrators and teachers. Scholarship sponsors, such as the American J. William Fulbright Foundation, have in-country and arrival preparation programs for students they sponsor to study. Such programs offer advice about academics, social adjustment, and emotional problems related to culture shock, as well as advice on ways to make the adjustment process easier. However, many government or sponsored programs in Asia provide financial support but only limited preparation support, expecting selected students to be ready. Whether or not parents or other family members are financially supporting the student or a scholarship program, I highly recommend that they send their children to institutes that prepare their students to study abroad. Directly related to my study, I encourage parents, scholarship sponsors, teachers involved in students’ success, and overseas preparation program administrators to consider these questions:

- Does the preparation program curriculum equip students with the kind of knowledge and experience to face the sorts of adaptation challenges that students have been shown to face?
- Are preparation courses based on the realities of academic challenges, such as comprehending authentic lectures, taking lecture notes, comprehending academic texts, interacting with the professor and classmates in small classes in culturally acceptable ways, using the library and the Internet to research topics in English, writing an academic report or research paper, understanding what plagiarism is,
how not to accidentally plagiarize, and taking an in-class multiple choice and short answer exam?

- Does the curriculum also include content that addresses socio-cultural aspects of interacting with Americans, such as exposing students to the kinds of interaction with American classmates, roommates, and professors they might face on a daily basis, and the kinds of institutional interaction the student might encounter inside and outside the university, such as registering for classes, making appointments with professors, going to the health center, opening a bank account, using the postal system, selecting and buying a cell phone plan, and using 911 services in case of an emergency?

- Does the preparation program provide knowledge about the cultural adaptation process and how to identify the emotional symptoms of culture shock?

- Does the program provide concrete strategies that students can use to face problems they have with academics? Does it let them know they can make appointments with professors, visit learning centers and writing centers, join or form study groups, or take classes at the university intensive language institute? Likewise, does the program provide strategies for behaviorally adapting to the university, such as observing how other students interact and trying to match their behavior (eating, walking, ordering food in a restaurant, entering a class late, asking a question in class…)?

Does it provide exercises in using reflective strategies as a way to understand the kinds of social values and interaction they might encounter and be surprised by, such as American directness, independent decision making, and face-to-face confrontation? Does it provide strategies that students can use when faced with emotional turmoil due to culture shock, such as meditating, writing letters, keeping a personal journal, talking with close friends about feelings, seeking help at the counseling center or international student office?
References


relationships between Asian international and U.S. college students: A descriptive
Towards a lingua franca pedagogical model in the Hong Kong classroom: A sociolinguistic enquiry

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Abstract

This paper seeks to evaluate the appropriateness of employing an English as a lingua franca (ELF) pedagogical model in the Hong Kong classroom from a sociolinguistic perspective. Notwithstanding the potential advantages of the ELF multilingual model
over the traditional monolingual/monolithic native-speaker (NS) target in most ESL/EFL contexts, it is argued that implementing this pronunciation alternative could be premature without a detailed exploration of the sociolinguistic situation in Asia’s self-styled World City. By examining the socio-political, socioeconomic and sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong, the paper identifies two key areas which determine whether an ELF pronunciation model is suitable in the local context, namely the local sociolinguistic situation and the issue of social acceptability. The first section of the paper seeks to explore the comparability of the English-using situations in Hong Kong to the outer and expanding circle respectively so as to evaluate the suitability of applying the ELF empirical research findings to the local context. In the second section, the paper discusses the local acceptability of Hong Kong English (HKE) vis-à-vis the exonormative pedagogical model in relation to the status of a NS standard in Hong Kong’s service-led economy and the issue of cultural identity. In order to bridge the gap between education policy and sociolinguistic reality in the local context, the paper concludes by posing questions that, it is hoped, will inspire a rich and engaging research agenda.

Keywords: World Englishes (WE), English as a lingua franca (ELF), ELF multilingual pronunciation model, native-speaker norm, language attitudes, Hong Kong English (HKE)

Introduction

One of the consequences of the emergence of English as a global lingua franca is increasing scholarly interest in the issue of accent in international or intranational communication worldwide (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; Deterding, Brown & Low, 2005; Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006; Deterding, Wong & Kirkpatrick, 2008). As pronunciation variations occur among English varieties, and in most cases regional dialects, one of the main controversies in applied linguistics has been the choice of a suitable pronunciation model in English-language classrooms in multilingual settings. While the traditional practice, under the well-established Second Language Acquisition (SLA) paradigm, has been to apply a native exonormative norm, e.g. Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American (GA), to all sociolinguistic contexts (i.e. English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) (Kirkpatrick, 2007a), the long-standing
criticisms of this monolingual and monolithic native-speaker model are that it ignores the multilingual character of many ESL/EFL contexts (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986; Kachru, 1996; Lee, 2005) and takes little account of local culture and identity (Philipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998). Having observed the emergence of new Englishes in many outer circle (i.e. ESL) countries, World Englishes (WE) scholars advocate the codification and subsequent adaptation of a nativised endonormative model in the ESL classroom on the grounds of its high attainability and appropriateness for local communicative purposes (Baumgardner, 2006).

Notwithstanding landmark WE research to describe and legitimise newly emerging varieties in the ESL countries over the past three decades, one of the limitations of this impressive body of work is that it has tended to overlook the sociolinguistic reality in the expanding circle (i.e. EFL contexts) (Jenkins, 2006a). Pennycook (2007) states that the WE framework places nationalism as the key emphasis because of the extensive use of English within the outer circle countries not only as a tool for intra-ethnic communication, but also as a cultural and identity marker. Although the nature of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been a matter of debate since it became a focus of research, many researchers have stressed the dynamicity and fluidity of ELF and its function as a shared communicative resource in international settings (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey, 2011). In this respect, the ELF approach differs from the WE paradigm in that it centres on the verbal communication among non-native speakers of English (NNSs) with different first languages (L1s) (whether or not they are from the expanding or outer circle) rather than with native speakers (NSs) since they have become the minority in the rapidly globalising world (Jenkins, 2006a).

A major contribution to the development of an ELF pronunciation model is Jenkins’s (2000) innovative lingua franca core (LFC), the aim of which is to offer a teachable and learnable pronunciation alternative based on the frequency of miscommunication and communication breakdown in genuine interactional speech data from educated NNSs of different L1s. In this pioneering research project, the main emphasis is on the segmental phonological features which impede international intelligibility whereas suprasegmentals (i.e. weak forms, word stress, ‘stress-timing’, pitch movement and
other features of connected speech) are claimed to be either ‘non-manageable’ in ELT classrooms or less important to intelligibility in ELF communication. By de-emphasising the teaching of suprasegmentals, Jenkins argues that the core features indicate which kind of pronunciation has the potential to cause ELF errors and should be the pedagogical focus for production in the classroom while students’ other local phonological features should be encouraged to be retained (ibid.). According to Seidlhofer (2003), the underlying purpose is to ‘provide a basis which students can learn from, fine-tuning subsequently (usually after leaving school) to any native or non-native varieties and registers that are relevant for their individual requirements’ (p.23). Given the focus of ELF research on the expanding circle countries, it is understandable that scholars have sought to apply the ELF multilingual endonormative model to classrooms in continental Europe (Seidlhofer, 2010) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Kirkpatrick, 2010), which are ‘typical’ ELF situations (i.e. mainly involving NNS-NNS communication).

In essence, the notion of a standard is more a matter of grammar than pronunciation due largely to accent variations among (and even within) English varieties and, therefore, the choice of a suitable pronunciation model for specific sociolinguistic contexts has been most controversial in English Language Teaching (ELT) (Trudgill, 1999; Ferguson 2006). In Kirkpatrick’s (2007b) proposal to adopt the ELF multilingual model in the Hong Kong classroom, the justification is the discrepancy between the apparently unattainable and irrelevant idealised exonormative norm and the teachers’ local accent as a role model in the educational context. Kirkpatrick suggests that the key step is a codification process which targets the features of the educated Hong Kong English (HKE) pronunciation with reference to the LFC. By establishing a more appropriate and attainable set of endonormative linguistic benchmarks, the possible advantages of the ELF approach include legitimising local teachers’ own models of English, enhancing their self-confidence and self-esteem, thus promoting cultural identity in an increasingly multilingual setting (Kirkpatrick, 2007a).
It is important to stress that this proposal of an ELF model as well as the codification process is not an attempt to regard the ELF multilingual model as a monolithic norm which, in a sense, has no difference from the NS model (see Dewey & Jenkins, 2010). Kirkpatrick (2003) expressly notes that the lingua franca model is never a ‘single standard, devoid of cultural influences’ and ‘it is inevitable and desirable that speakers will transfer some of the pragmatic norms of their L1 to lingua franca English’ (p.88). In this respect, the adoption of an ELF pronunciation model, as can also be seen as part of the ELF approach, also emphasises the need to develop learners’ accommodation skills and raise their awareness of diverse varieties of English around the world (Walker, 2010; Jenkins 2007). While the term ‘approach’ might represent a broader meaning, a ‘model’ suggests a point of reference for pronunciation teaching. The benchmarking of the local teachers’ pronunciation model, as proposed by Kirkpatrick (2007a, 2007b), is nevertheless an important step to legitimise an endonormative pedagogical model for the classroom, given that competent local teachers are the role model of the students in most (or even all) ELT contexts. In a practical sense, it seeks to cease penalising learners’ L1-influenced pronunciation which does not impede international intelligibility, i.e. being intelligible to the majority of NNSs in lingua franca interactions (see Jenkins’s LFC).

In its narrower sense, the ELF phonological model might refer to the pronunciation of local multilingual teachers who are also successful English users in international communication. Putting forward this model to the entire (local) school setting, we might then interpret a pronunciation model as a ‘package’ of input which develops students’ own English pronunciation throughout their learning process at school. More precisely, this ‘package’ involves the various accents students are exposed to in their daily school life such as accents in the audio teaching materials, in listening tasks in the school-based or public examination and, most importantly, those of the English (and sometimes subject) teachers. On top of this, all of the above ingredients in the curriculum, as well as the language-using contexts represented in the teaching materials, are to be informed by empirical ELF research findings.
However, one fundamental question associated with adopting the ELF pronunciation model in the Hong Kong context, and this applies equally to other ESL/EFL contexts, is whether it harmonises with the local sociolinguistic context. This paper aims to evaluate the appropriateness of the ELF pronunciation model in the Hong Kong classroom from two perspectives, namely the local sociolinguistic situation and the issue of acceptability. Based on these two components, it is divided into two major sections. The first section sets out to explore the comparability of the English-using situation in Hong Kong to the outer and expanding circle respectively so as to evaluate the suitability of applying the ELF approach, as well as the ELF empirical research findings, to the local context. More specifically, it highlights the dearth of research on the actual use and functions of English (particularly spoken English) in key domains in Hong Kong. Without the requisite census data and empirical evidence of English use in Hong Kong society, the argument is that there might be a danger of prematurely applying the ELF approach, as well as the research findings, to an inappropriate (or unknown) context.

In the second section, the paper discusses the interrelationship among the local acceptability of HKE vis-à-vis the exonormative pedagogical model, the status of a NS ‘standard’ in Hong Kong’s service-led economy and the issue of local identity. Despite the generally negative perception of a localised form of English by students (e.g. Bolton & Kwok, 1990; Luk, 1998, 2010; Li, 2009a), teachers (e.g. Tsui & Bunton, 2000; Andrews, 2002) and policy makers (e.g. Bunton & Tsui, 2002) derived from previous attitude studies, it recommends that research should be conducted to explore the acceptance of an endonormative model from a range of perspectives and seek to explain people’s cultural identity, the intelligibility of particular accents and their exposure to accent variation for the case of Hong Kong. Furthermore, it questions whether accent contributes to proficiency in English and hence economic success in Hong Kong people’s perception. The purpose of the paper is therefore an attempt to bridge the gap between sociolinguistic reality and pedagogical recommendations, in this case the ELF model, by thoroughly exploring the ‘two realities’ (i.e. the sociolinguistic and educational reality) so as to provide the foundation for a suitable and feasible pronunciation model.
English in Hong Kong – An ESL or EFL context?

The role of (spoken) English in Hong Kong

A key question concerning the validity of the ELF approach stems from the different sociolinguistic origins of the WE and ELF paradigms, in that the target language groups are in the outer circle and expanding circle respectively. While Kachru (2005, p.90) categorises Hong Kong as an EFL context (also see Li, 2009b), other scholars find it more appropriate to identify it as an ESL context (e.g. Tsui & Bunton, 2000; Bolton, 2003; McArthur, 2001; Jenkins, 2009a). A crucial indicator of this ESL/EFL distinction is the role of English in the Hong Kong community. Unlike Singapore, India, Nigeria and other ‘typical’ examples of ESL countries, English is generally not used in intra-ethnic communication since the overwhelming majority of Hong Kong people speak Cantonese. In a seminal study of the functions and status of English in Hong Kong, Luke and Richards (1982) characterised the sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong as ‘diglossia without bilingualism’ (p.51) where English is described as ‘an auxiliary language’ (p.58). Since the early 1980s, a recurring theme in the literature has been, in support of Luke and Richards’s position, that English use in Hong Kong is limited (e.g. Tay, 1991; Johnson, 1994; Li, 1999; Pang, 2003; Poon, 2010). From an educational perspective, Li (2009b) also argues that English in Hong Kong is learnt primarily in the classroom as a foreign language with little support from the wider society. If the logical deduction is founded on the ‘clear-cut’ differentiation among the three circles (the inner, outer and expanding circles), the above comments, if evidently proved accurate, seem to be pushing Hong Kong towards the expanding circle, a norm-dependent (or exonormative) setting.

However, a major limitation of this position is its overreliance on expert opinion rather than empirical evidence. While the perception of the limited role of English in Hong Kong seems to be supported by census data which indicates that more than 90% of the population use Cantonese as their mother tongue, this obscures the fact that a steadily increasing proportion of the population has claimed to be able to speak English (from 9.7% in 1961 to 44.7% in 2006) (Evans, 2009). This expansion of
English users in Hong Kong, largely due to compulsory schooling since the 1970s, has probably led to a significant increase in the use of English (especially written English) in the last two decades (ibid.). In the new millennium, evidence of a wide range of English-written discourses such as e-mails, letters, faxes, reports, legal documents and minutes has also been found in both the public and private sectors (Evans & Green, 2003). A recent study by Evans (2010) found that English, rather than Chinese, is the main medium of written communication in white-collar employment. Apart from the use of written English at the workplace, studies have also revealed that English plays a significant role in Hong Kong people’s daily lives, particularly in the multimedia world such as using email, social networking and SMS (Bacon-Shone & Bolton, 2008). The dominant use of written English in the key domains such as the civil service, legislature, judiciary and education system (mainly in tertiary education and some secondary schools), in addition to the business workplace, is perhaps one of the persuasive arguments against Hong Kong being an EFL context.

As for the functions of spoken English, regardless of the general conception of its limited role in intra-ethnic communication, Evans’ (2010) study revealed that there is a high tendency for English to be used in formal situations such as meetings, employment interviews, presentations, seminars and conferences, given that Hong Kong has long been an international city of business and finance (also see Evans, 2011). These studies cast doubt on the belief that Hong Kong lacks a societal basis for the emergence of a new English. Moreover, there is still a dearth of empirical research to capture the complete sociolinguistic picture in the Hong Kong context. Until this essential groundwork is conducted, the positioning of Hong Kong as an ESL or EFL context remains uncertain.

Positioning the ELF paradigm in Hong Kong

As the principal limitation of WE research on Hong Kong is its irrelevant focus on English as an intranational spoken language, it is perhaps more pertinent to shift the
attention to the ELF paradigm. In the past decade, the focus of much of this research has been on the functions and status of English in Europe. The role of English as the *de facto* lingua franca has exerted a significant impact on the domains of business, the media, the internet, advertising, popular youth culture and entertainment and, particularly, the curricula in the tertiary education sector (Seidlhofer, 2010). Among the 23 recognised official languages across the 27 member states of the European Union, ELF has emerged as the most common and appropriate working language (ibid.). In addition, the scope of ELF research has been extended to a comparable context, namely among the 10 nations in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Kirkpatrick, 2010). While English, rather than French and Malay, has assumed the role as a working language in the ASEAN countries (ibid.), one distinction with the continental European context is that ELF in ASEAN consists of countries in both the outer and the expanding circles.

Notwithstanding the intuitive role of English as an international lingua franca in Hong Kong’s business and financial sectors, a fundamental question needs to be asked: Is the situation in Hong Kong comparable to the NNS-dominant context in Europe and ASEAN? Drawing a parallel to the quintessential ELF contexts, ELF in Hong Kong might imply that Hong Kong people’s use of English is mainly with NNSs from the expanding (e.g. the continental Europe and Indonesia) and outer circle (e.g. India and Singapore). If it is agreed that ‘the classroom is a rehearsal for the outside world’ (Prodromou, 2007, p.52), the application of the ELF model in a local classroom would (or should) mean a lack of or little NS-NNS communication in most English-speaking contexts in Hong Kong. Indeed, the absence of NSs in the empirical data has already been challenged as it somehow ignores millions, more specifically 380 million in Crystal’s (2003) estimation, of inner circle users as well as other L1 users worldwide and hence risks ‘sending the student stuttering on to the world stage, with limited resources’ (Prodromou, 2007, p. 52). Even though Jenkins (2009b) clarifies that ELF databases usually include both outer circle and inner circle speakers (e.g. 10% in Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English, VOICE) as long as the numbers ‘do not distort the data with a surplus of ENL forms or (unwittingly) act as norm-providers’ (p.201), the argument of de-emphasising the teaching of suprasegmental features in fact relies on evidence of NNS-NNS communication
breakdowns (Jenkins, 2000). Admittedly, as the suprasegmental features might contribute more than the segmental ones to intelligibility for the NS listener (ibid., p.135), it should be emphasised that participants, in a particular context (i.e. whether they are NSs or NNSs), play an irreplaceable role when intelligibility is the ultimate goal.

In the case of Hong Kong, support for a nativised pronunciation model is provided by groundbreaking phonological research (e.g. Setter, 2006, 2008; Deterding, Wong & Kirkpatrick, 2008; Hung, 2000, 2009; Setter, Wong & Chan, 2010; Sewell & Chan, 2010) and, more importantly, the relatively high international intelligibility of the HKE pronunciation (Kirkpatrick, Deterding & Wong, 2008). However, an underlying limitation of the previous studies seems to be the lack of empirical evidence to bridge the gap between the intelligibility evidence and the sociolinguistic reality in the Hong Kong context. Even though the conclusion of high intelligibility is drawn from the shared linguistic repertoire, namely the syllable-timed rhythm, among most NNS varieties in the ELF context (Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006; Deterding, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2010), there seems to be a conspicuous gap between the marginalisation of NSs in communication in NNS-dominating circumstances and the real role of NS accents in the Hong Kong context. If the ELF approach is to be implemented, ground work on which accents people encounter is one of the prerequisites. Provided Jenkins’s (2000) recommendation that the learning of the native English accent should be an optional one and placed last in her ‘five stages of pronunciation learning’, the arrangement might have to be reprioritised depending on the role of both the NS and NNS participants in the community (p.209-210). Nonetheless, this has a significant effect on the contentious issue of intelligibility as participants in empirical studies should be well defined in terms of various forms of linguistic interaction (i.e. NS-NS, NS-NNS or NNS-NNS interaction) with reference to their role of importance in a specific context. Assuming the speakers from the inner circle have an influential impact on a society, research might also have to take account of the perceived intelligibility and attitudes from the NSs’ perspective (e.g. Lindemann, 2003, 2005).
Another factor militating against the adoption of the ELF approach is the difficulty of defining the expert ELF users for codification (Ferguson, 2009). According to House (2003), the ‘yardstick’ for measuring performance in the ELF model is ‘an “expert in ELF use”, a stable multilingual speaker under comparable socio-cultural and historical conditions of language use, and with comparable goals for interaction’ (p.573). However, identification of this competence is not easily achieved, especially if the ELF form is an unstable one (Ferguson, 2009). Scholars such as Kachru (1985) and Bamgbose (1998) have described the variation within a particular variety in terms of acrolect (the educated variety), mesolect (the semi-educated variety) and basilect (the bazaar variety). Under this classification, the pronunciation of the local teachers should be closest to the educated one. Nevertheless, clearly defined criteria for an educated accent derived from empirical data seem to be lacking to initiate the codification process in Hong Kong. A recent study by Sewell and Chan (2010) formulating an implicational (or hierarchical) scale based on the variation of consonantal features in HKE has helped to prioritise certain phonological features for pedagogical purposes. Even so, Ferguson (2009) tends to be more sceptical, arguing that it would be ‘premature’ at this stage of instability to ‘assert the existence of a systematic ELF variety with a linguistic identity of its own’ (p.122). The suggestion is therefore that ‘a prestige variety of English of wide currency, internationally as well as in the inner circle, will be the best, most flexible bet’ for the learners because of the unpredictable future needs in international communication (Ferguson, 2006, p.177; also see McKay, 2002, p. 72).

**English in Hong Kong – implications for future research**

Whereas the sociolinguistic reality in Hong Kong does not fully accord with the WE paradigm, the adoption of the ELF multilingual approach seems equally questionable. A possible explanation is the lack of investigation of the actual use of (spoken) English in diverse local contexts. Indeed, the heart of the discussion on the ELF pronunciation model is the potential discrepancy between the accents promoted in the classroom and the accents students are likely to be exposed to in their everyday and professional lives. The emphasis is no longer only on the extent to which spoken English is used but also which varieties of accents, NS or NNS, people encounter and
speak in both their workplace (or school) and everyday life. This need to investigate the uncertain functionality of English in the expanding circle has also been highlighted in Matsuda and Friedrich’s (2011) curriculum blueprint for English as an international language, in that ‘the goal of the course and the needs of students’ is held to be the main essential criterion for selecting ‘the dominant instruction model’ (p.337).

In spite of scholarly scepticism over the societal basis for the use of English in Hong Kong, the use of spoken English in certain professional domains might be quite important. As Evans’s (2010) findings have underlined the importance of spoken English in formal business contexts, more research regarding workplace English could follow in different occupational domains. In a knowledge-based economy, international business transactions in Hong Kong might often involve both NNSs (e.g. from the Southeast Asia and Europe) and NSs (e.g. from America, Britain and Australia) given Hong Kong’s long-established role as an internationally oriented business centre. Furthermore, service encounters might also entail communication with people of different nationalities. Until recent years, the role of spoken English might even be extended to the communication of Hong Kong people with children at home (because of some parents’ desire to increase their children’s exposure to English), Filipina or Indonesian domestic helpers, returnees who studied or resided in English-speaking countries, international students and lecturers (in educational contexts), mainland visitors, friends and relatives on the internet.

In the educational context, since 1998 there has been a division between Chinese-as-the-medium-of-instruction (CMI) and English-as-the-medium-of-instruction (EMI) secondary schools, although this distinction has been blurred due to the recently introduced ‘fine-tuning’ medium of instruction (MOI) policy (Kan, Lai, Kirkpatrick & Law, 2011). Under the former language policy, a reasonable assumption could be that a student who studied in an EMI secondary school for seven years and subsequently a university (also EMI) for another three years is to a great extent exposed to the local (or other NNS) English accent. Indeed, at least a quarter of the local students have been studying in EMI schools and it is generally perceived that these students
comprise the majority of the 18% of students who progress to tertiary education each year. Following the recently implemented ‘fine-tuning’ MOI policy, schools are given the autonomy to opt to teach some or all non-language subjects in English at junior secondary levels based on the capability of their teachers and students. Students might thereafter have more opportunities to be exposed to the local accent. Quite predictably, as language proficiency of the subject teachers might vary, one likely consequence is that they will encounter the ‘broader’ (i.e. less educated) HKE accent rather than an educated one.

The above assumption does not point to an answer but, on the contrary, poses questions for investigation of the educational reality as compared to the sociolinguistic one. More specifically, this implies investigations into daily classroom practices in ELT from various perspectives such as the curriculum, teaching materials, assessment and teacher qualifications. If the teaching model is a reflection or, if feasible, reproduction of the local sociolinguistic reality, there seems to be a pressing need to investigate diverse spoken discourses in Hong Kong in both receptive (listening) and productive (speaking) modes. A possible disadvantage of over-emphasising the NS model, while neglecting the sociolinguistic reality, is the students’ failure to cope with communication with, or simply understand the speech of, other NNSs after graduation. One example is illustrated in Evans and Morrison’s (2011) longitudinal study in which it was found that university students in Hong Kong find it more difficult to listen to lectures conducted by international scholars than by local academics. On the other hand round, marginalising the NS accents might also undermine graduates’ ability to communicate with NSs, if this is an important requirement in the workplace.

Irrespective of the actual English-speaking context in Hong Kong, implementation of an ELF endonormative model should also consider people’s preference for particular accents. The next section draws on previous attitude research on the local accent, discusses the hypothesis accounting for the perceived negative attitudes and, crucially, makes a case for more up-to-date empirical studies from multiple perspectives.
The acceptance of an ELF multilingual model in Hong Kong

The importance of social acceptability

Scholars from both WE and ELF perspectives have highlighted the necessary conditions of codification and acceptance for legitimising an endonormative model. Bamgbose (1998) rightly notes that the ‘acceptability factor’, among all factors, ‘is the ultimate test of admission of an innovation’, in other words, a legitimate norm (p. 4). Ferguson (2006) likewise offers comparable criteria for the adoption of the ELF pedagogic model, namely intelligibility, identity, practicality, acceptability and standardization (p.163). As a result, numerous studies have sought to elicit attitudes towards various NNS accents vis-à-vis NS accents. The underlying aim of these studies is to explain and resolve the unsettled ‘ambivalence between recognition and acceptance’ of NNS norms (Bamgbose, 1998).

Jenkins’s (2007) publication is one of the few substantial monographs to discuss the issue of attitude and identity in ELF. Drawing on a comprehensive overview of the literature on language attitudes followed by existing research on teachers’ and students’ attitudes towards ELF, her conclusion seems to accord with many attitudinal studies on L2 varieties (e.g. Flowerdew, Li & Miller, 1998; Timmis, 2002; Sifakis & Sougari, 2005; Li, 2009a), namely, that the majority of NNSs, particularly teachers and students, are still mainly guided by NS norms even though most respondents agreed that international intelligibility should be the principal criterion. While Jenkins (2009b) attributes the generally negative attitude to the unfamiliarity and stereotyping of NNS accents, McKay (2002) addresses the notion of ‘social inequality’, rather than ‘linguistic inequality’, leading to the prestige of certain varieties of ‘standard’ English and resulting in the reluctance to adopt an endonormative pronunciation model in the classroom (p.55). In both WE and ELF settings, an ambivalent sociopsychological attitude between status (i.e. admiration for the NS norm) and solidarity (i.e. expression of identity) is often described (Bamgbose, 1998; Jenkins, 2009b).
Again, instead of a general description of the acceptability of NNS accents, the discussion should focus on the target context. This section examines Hong Kong people’s attitudes towards the HKE vis-à-vis NS pronunciation model based on the sociohistorical, sociocultural and socioeconomic background. First, it addresses the high status of, and high demand for, English in Hong Kong’s service-led economy. Second, it seeks to explain how this demand for high English proficiency is associated with a NS ‘standard’ in the educational context. Third, it proposes a hypothesis which accounts for Hong Kong people’s preference for a pronunciation model with respect to their local identity and, crucially, economic success. Finally, it accentuates the complexity of this issue of social acceptability in Hong Kong and highlights the need for a meticulous study to test for the proposed hypothesis.

The status of English in the Hong Kong economy

One of the prominently emerging phenomena worldwide is the role of English as ‘a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige’ in both intranational and international contexts (Pennycook, 2003, p.86). Notwithstanding critical linguists’ notion of ‘English linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 1992) and ‘cultural hegemony’ as a result of discourses of colonialism (Pennycook, 1998), Hong Kong seems to be less a case of ‘passive victim’ than ‘active agents of pragmatism’ as, according to Li (2002), little evidence has shown the intention of the British government to impose their culture and lifestyle on the local people (also see Bolton, 2004). Alternatively, the demand for English has stemmed from Hong Kong people’s pragmatic attitude towards the language (Pennington & Yue, 1994; Hyland, 1997; Flowerdew, Li & Miller, 1998; Sweeting & Vickers, 2005). While the small proportion of ‘proficient’ English speakers in the colonial era enjoyed significant advantages of access to well-paid and stable civil service positions, English has become a prerequisite for a prosperous career and, hence, maintaining the position of Hong Kong as a flourishing business and financial centre in the era of globalisation. With the significant socioeconomic and political changes since the handover in 1997, despite some concerns about the status of English being challenged by Putonghua (the national language of China) (e.g. Morrison & Lui, 2000; Poon, 2004), research findings have shown that English still possesses the highest perceived instrumental value among all other languages.
(e.g. Lai, 2001, 2007, 2011). It is perhaps reasonable to predict that English will continue to predominate and function as a vehicle for educational and occupational advancement (Li, 1999). Having shifted from a manufacturing centre to a service-led economy in the past thirty years, Hong Kong has gradually offered a much wider range of white-collar jobs which place highly sophisticated demands on professionals’ language skills. Fostered by the mass media, which regularly reinforces the value of English as an indispensable economic asset, the overriding status of English in Hong Kong is unlikely to be eroded in the short term.

The demand for ‘standard’ English in Hong Kong education

In the educational context, a salient reflection of this positive instrumental value of English has been the widespread perception that English standards are declining (Li, 2002, 2009b). Since the imposition of the mother-tongue language policy in 1998, there has been considerable concern among principals, teachers, students, educators and the general public that this socially divisive policy might deprive students of the opportunity to learn English effectively. Nevertheless, irrespective of the credibility of this perception, which Bolton (2003) terms the ‘falling standards myth’, a ‘complaint tradition’ in Hong Kong can indeed be traced back to the 1850s (Evans, 2009). This long-standing social demand for high levels of English proficiency indicates that English education should be carefully framed to accord with stakeholders’ viewpoints.

One significant insight from the above debate is the stakeholders’ (e.g. students, teachers, educators, parents, policy makers, and the professionals who contribute to the real use and long-term development of English in Hong Kong) perception of the notion of ‘standard’, most of which generally refers to the ‘native-like’ or ‘near-native’ proficiency. Highlighting language proficiency as the ‘single most important tool for effective business communication’ (Au, 1998, p.179), Au’s recommendation, from the business perspective, was that English education should be entrusted to teachers who have native-like proficiency and, ideally, are native English speakers as the role models (p.181). As far as education policy is concerned, Andrews (2002)
recalls his personal communication in 2000 with the Chief Executive of the Curriculum Development Institute (CDI), who said that learners should be exposed to the standard native varieties such as British English, American English and Australian English, even though a target variety of English was not specified in the curriculum. As for the acknowledgement of a HKE model, although both teachers and policy makers recognise some features of HKE, they are reluctant to regard it as the teaching model either due to the absence of a clear definition or the uncomfortable feeling that it is a flawed model (ibid.).

A preference for the monolingual NS model is still prominent in the educational context despite the lack of explicit requirement for adopting an exonormative pronunciation model in the syllabus. One ‘clue’ is identified in the level 5 descriptors of the Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers (LPAT) (a prerequisite qualification for primary and secondary school English teachers in Hong Kong) which penalise teachers for their L1 accent even if it does not impede intelligibility (Bunton & Tsui, 2002). Quite contradictory to the view that an internationally intelligible local accent is acceptable (Coniam & Falvey, 2002), LPAT in fact measures candidates’ performance against the RP/GA form of pronunciation, stress and intonation (Luk & Lin, 2006). HKE is perceived as a deficient model as revealed in the ‘Speak Better English Campaign’ which is jointly run by Hong Kong Education City and Oxford University Press offering a comparison between the phonetic system of Cantonese and English (ibid.). Publications such as ‘common spoken errors in Hong Kong’ (Boyle & Boyle, 1991) aiming to correct HKE errors are also widely used. Even though most local teachers have attained certain English qualifications, they are believed to lack confidence in their own mastery of the language and constantly rely on the materials produced in the inner circle such as dictionaries and grammar books and NS teachers (Tsui & Bunton, 2000). This sense of insecurity about their own language proficiency can be seen in school-based listening exercises and examinations in which most audio recordings are conducted by native English teachers (NETs) or are simply adaptations of NS-based teaching materials.
Indeed, the underlying reasons for the preference for the NS norm may be less a case of pedagogical considerations than psychological reservations. One proposed argument is that the prestigious status of ‘standard English’ based on social factors is ‘stubborn and recalcitrant to top-down planning’ by the government (Ferguson, 2006, p.171). This conservative mindset of adhering to the traditionally perceived ‘ideal model’ not only applies to language planning, but also language teachers’ practice as they are more familiar with theories of fossilisation and interlanguage which they have been conveying to their students from generation to generation by penalising their L1-influenced ‘errors’ (Fiedler, 2010). In this sense, the case of Hong Kong is not dissimilar from that of Europe as the ‘conservative factions’, mostly the policy makers, tend to support ‘native-speakerism’ and ‘prescriptivism’ and keep ELT ‘free from world Englishes ideologies’ (Modiano, 2009, p.221). While the above discussion has revealed an implicit propensity towards a native model from the educators’ and policy makers’ perspective, it is also important to review previous empirical attitudinal studies which elicit local people’s attitudes towards the HKE accent vis-à-vis accents of other English varieties.

**Local acceptability of the HKE pronunciation**

Bolton and Kwok’s (1990) landmark study was one of the first to investigate Hong Kong people’s attitudes towards the local accent. Notwithstanding the participants’ difficulties in recognising most accents of English (except the local accent), it was reported that the British accent had the highest status followed by the ‘Hong Kong bilingual accent’ (p.169). In her follow-up investigation, Luk (1998) also confirmed that students are well aware of the local accent but that they prefer their English teachers to have an RP rather than a HKE accent. Yet, quite contrary to learners’ admiration for a local teacher with a NS accent, a surprising finding was that Hong Kong students appreciate non-NETs more than NETs because they are more attuned to the local teachers’ accent and methods of teaching (Cheung & Braine, 2007). In a recent attitude study (Luk, 2010), professional English teachers were asked to differentiate between the HKE accent and pronunciation errors. The findings have revealed ‘a strong adherence to the exonormative norms’ particularly regarding the segmental features of HKE but a ‘more tolerant attitude’ was found with respect to
suprasegmental features (p.40). This negative attitude, however, is not apparently due to any ‘obstruction to intelligibility’ but rather a ‘strong sense of subjectivation’ because of the participants’ ‘institutional roles and obligation as educators’ (p.39) (also see Van den Doel, 2007).

With respect to the relationship among NNSs’ views on accent, intelligibility and identity, Li (2009a) conducted a considerable large-scale empirical study by employing a questionnaire survey and focus group interviews. Although Li’s finding that 81% of the respondents prefer a NS-based accent seems unsurprising, an important discovery is that some participants expressed a concern about the local English accent being a ‘source of intelligibility problems’, even though it enacts one’s Chinese identity (p.108). In order to further explore this complex issue of social acceptability, the next section puts forward a hypothetical explanation which takes into consideration how accents can serve as an identity carrier and a useful tool for economic success in Hong Kong.

The complexity of social acceptability: Local identity versus economic success

The notion of ethnic identity is the central argument from the WE perspective. Previous research has demonstrated NNSs’ preference for the localised accent in the outer circle countries (e.g. India, Singapore and Nigeria) owing to a strong reaction against their former coloniser (Kachru, 1986). Attributed to a feeling of identity and solidarity among ethnic groups of NNSs, Kachru and Nelson (1996) raise a pertinent question that ‘[i]f a typical American has no wish to speak like or be labeled as a British user of English, why should a Nigerian, an Indian, or a Singaporean user feel any differently?’ (p.86). Regarding the expanding circle countries, Jenkins (2000, Ch. 7) deploys a similar argument that the majority of ELF speakers would like to preserve some features of their L1 accent when they speak English. In some cases, a more complex scenario could even be that learners may wish to sound like a NS in NS-NNS communication but to speak ELF for NNS-NNS communication (Ferguson, 2009). It is also interesting to observe whether NNSs would be more conscious about their pronunciation ‘correctness’ speaking with NSs than with other NNSs to express
their cultural identity. Even if the preservation of identity is a desirable aim, the tension between linguistic identity and economic pragmatism is more a political decision than merely an educational one in many Asian countries (e.g. Malaysia and Singapore) (Gill, 2002).

In light of previous research on attitudes, identity and the status of English in the Hong Kong context, it is likely that pragmatism will outweigh group solidarity in the choice of a pronunciation model. As a centre of finance and business, a bold hypothesis for the case of Hong Kong could be formulated by drawing a parallel between the high status of English and the seeming prestige of the NS accent. Chan’s (2002) elaboration on the relationship between language and identity is one of the few substantial articles to apply Bourdieu’s (1986) classification of capital into the socioeconomic situation in post-colonial Hong Kong. Taking into account both the individual and collective (societal) level, Chan (2002) accentuates the superior status of the English language as it has been transformed into both ‘cultural’ capital (i.e. various kinds of legitimate knowledge acquired mostly through education) and ‘symbolic’ capital (i.e. the more intangible aspects of prestige and honour) and, in turn, converted into ‘economic’ capital (i.e. material wealth), implying both personal pride and future success. Relating the high instrumental value of English to the perceived prestigious status of the NS ‘standard’ accent, if the general public regards RP or GA pronunciation as the only form of ‘good English’, it would possibly make the proposal of the ELF pronunciation model undesirable. As a result, the ELF model, if (mis)interpreted as a reduced form of English (Ferguson, 2009), may be perceived to be providing learners with a ‘broken weapon’ and hence ‘reduced linguistic capital’ (Prodromou, 2008, p.250). Despite the increasing recognition of the WE paradigm, the social and cultural capital in the sociopolitical situation in Hong Kong might be far more important than any human rights ideology (Luk & Lin, 2006).

One stereotypical description of the ethnic identity among people in post-colonial countries is a ‘love-hate relationship’ towards the ‘standard’ accent, i.e. admiring the native pronunciation but being unwilling to sound like a native speaker (Bamgbose, 1998). However, the ‘love-hate complex’ in Hong Kong is untypical in the sense that
students acknowledge the extraordinary validity of having high English proficiency but at the same time are generally reluctant to learn it due largely to the considerable learning difficulties it entails, given the presumed lack of societal usage (Li, 2002). The notion of ‘standard English’ (and furthermore a NS-like proficiency) has apparently become the benchmark for communicative competence and is seeded in the psyche of Hong Kongers, ‘a psyche which transcends boundaries across generations and socio-economic classes’ (p.51). Since the colonial era, as Hong Kong has been lauded for its flourishing economy and blend of Chinese and Western culture, Hong Kong people have subsequently established a sense of separate identity from the mainland Chinese (Fung, 2004, p.401). This identity, according to Mathews (1997), represents Chineseness plus: affluence, cosmopolitanism and capitalism; English, education and colonialism; democracy, human rights and the rule of law. In Hong Kong’s postcolonial period, Fung (2004) stresses that the present question is whether the local identity is ‘prioritised over the national’ or ‘the national will engulf the local’ in the long term (p.402). Nevertheless, previous identity studies have illustrated an ingroup-outgroup identity distinction between Hongkongers and mainland Chinese in that local people tend to possess a negative perception (or even negative stereotype) of the mainlanders because of their (rude) behaviour in Hong Kong (e.g. Chau, Chiu & Foo, 1998; Lam, Chiu, Lau, Chan & Tim, 2006). If this divergence between the local and mainland Chinese identity continues or becomes amplified, Hongkongers may want to, in some ways, preserve and assert their own local identity especially in the presence of people of other ethnicity as well as mainlanders. More specifically, the use of languages is perhaps an inevitable resource to fulfil this need.

Although Gu (2011) suggests that English plays a less important role in communication among Hong Kong and mainland Chinese, its role in lingua franca contexts (whether or not involving mainland Chinese) is nevertheless irreplaceable. In any case, if Hongkongers wish to project a distinct local identity, rather than a mainland Chinese image, whenever they use English, they might prefer a linguistic form which to a certain extent differs from that used by their mainland counterparts. In spoken English, Hong Kong people might find that accents, ‘being powerful linguistic and identity markers’, have somehow ‘provided a form of social and cultural symbol’ to ‘distinguish themselves from their fellow Mainlanders’ (Luk &
Lin, 2006, p.15). This accent, while it could be a less preferred distinct HKE accent, mostly refers to a standard prestigious one from the inner circle. Indeed, this assumption should also take into account the perspective of accommodation theory in which the counterparts in a conversation are also considered. Irrespective of their ability to choose their accent, local people’s preferred pronunciation in communication with NSs and NNSs might vary from context to context. However, despite the above explanation for the plausible psychological reservation of adopting the HKE pronunciation as the pedagogical model, any hypothesis without grounded findings is still invalid. The need for comprehensive attitudinal research is discussed in the next section.

Social acceptability – directions for future research

Two key questions concerning the issue of acceptance are the unrepresentative picture that emerges from previous attitude research and the absence of credible explanations derived from empirical evidence. In fact, the notion of psychological reservations is more an intuitive thought than a finding derived from a meticulous study. The first limitation is the narrow scope of teachers’ and students’ perceptions of the HKE accent vis-à-vis the native accents, not to mention the relatively small scale of most of the previous studies. Although these stakeholders undoubtedly play an important role in legitimising the pronunciation model in the classroom, the full spectrum of the sociolinguistic reality has yet been fully considered. As mentioned earlier, if the educational reality reflects learners’ future societal environment, attitude studies should also incorporate perspectives from stakeholders such as policy makers, publishers and the professionals who contribute to the real use and long-term development of English in Hong Kong. Preliminary studies to extract thoughts from policy makers (e.g. Bunton & Tsui, 2002) and employers (e.g. Au, 1998) were either lacking in depth or excessively narrow in scope. While Li’s (2009a) project targeted undergraduate and postgraduate students and a number of working adults (18 respondents) to avoid judgments being imposed by their language teachers, the participants were restricted to the educational field. In addition to investigating the use of spoken English in the Hong Kong context, a multi-perspective approach would no doubt provide a more holistic profile of how the HKE accent, and the appropriate
pronunciation model, is perceived. In some cases, even teachers might work without any clear idea of which model is the target (Young & Walsh, 2010).

The second limitation of research on acceptability is the oversimplification of a complex issue. While Li (2009, p.109) highlights the complexity of the NNSs’ attitudes and the need to take account of speaker identity, intelligibility and ownership of the English language, he did not take a step further, as he acknowledged, to offer a convincing explanation. In other words, an explanation for any given attitude is far more crucial than simply the ‘performance data’ and ‘experimental studies’ (ibid., p.84) as they have profound implications for both educational practitioners and policy makers. Apart from the above factors, attitudes towards a particular accent might also be closely associated with the instrumental value (e.g. business success) of the local vis-à-vis the ‘prestigious’ NS accent and their awareness of language variations and varieties. Notwithstanding the core principle of both ELF (e.g. Jenkins, 2009b) and WE scholars (e.g. Baumgardner, 2006) of incorporating awareness raising content in curricula, assessment, teaching materials and teacher education courses, few scholars have explored the extent to which these elements are actually included. Above all, the assessment criteria in examinations are the most powerful source to initiate a backwash effect, as teachers and learners tend to be ‘reluctant to embrace any curriculum change’ if the targets are not set by ‘the major examination boards’ (Jenkins, 2006b, p.42). To further complicate the investigation, there seems to be little mention of the phonological variation of the HKE accent (see Sewell & Chan, 2010) in previous studies for levels of accents are hardly differentiated or defined. This ambiguity causes difficulties in both the selection of an appropriate audio sample in experimental studies and the interpretation of participants’ conception of the HKE accent, let alone a well-described ‘educated’ local accent as an endonormative model. This challenge has highlighted the paramount need for description and codification of the HKE pronunciation (Bamgbose, 1998; Kirkpatrick, 2007b).

The preceding discussion has underscored the complexity of the acceptability issue which involves multiple interrelated factors. Although previous studies did not fully capture the issue of acceptance, they have indeed created the basis for future large-scale research in which triangulation of both data collection methods and observers is
most appropriate. By approaching this complex matter from diverse perspectives, the desirable outcome is that the jigsaw puzzle of acceptance can be solved so as to bring about changes in attitudes, if necessary, towards the ideologies in the WE and ELF paradigm.

Conclusion

Prompted by the growing demand for highly proficient English speakers worldwide, ELF advocates have proposed to adopt a multilingual endonormative model (Kirkpatrick, 2007a) to replace the deep-rooted ‘hypothetical’ and ‘monolithic’ NS exonormative norm (Jenkins, 2006a, p.160). From a sociolinguistic perspective, this paper has proposed a future research agenda by posing essential questions that need to be addressed before employing the ELF multilingual model in the Hong Kong classroom, namely (1) Is the role of (spoken) English in Hong Kong comparable to those reflected in ELF research findings? (2) What are the factors contributing to the social acceptability of an endonormative vis-à-vis exonormative pronunciation model in the local context? It has argued that the implementation of this approach could be premature and problematic if it fails to take account of the sociolinguistic reality in major local domains as revealed by grounded research. On the one hand, whether the ELF paradigm, as well as the empirical findings, fit perfectly into the local use of (spoken) English is a matter for investigation whereas, on the other hand, the question of acceptability of local people towards the HKE pronunciation, being the pedagogical model, is still unresolved. While it has been suggested that codification (Kirkpatrick, 2007b) and language awareness raising (Jenkins, 2009b) are the ultimate sources to foster recognition and trigger attitudinal changes, there is a need to uncover the underlying beliefs of the local people with respect to the socioeconomic context in Hong Kong.

The implication is to remind one of the educational ideology that language education in the classroom (in this case the recommendation of the ELF pronunciation model) should be an authentic reflection of the societal needs. The questions raised in this paper therefore point to the need for a detailed exploration of the sociolinguistic
reality as compared to the educational reality in Hong Kong in order to form the basis for future curriculum planning. Notwithstanding the accusation that policy tends to be informed by ideology rather than logic (Seidlhofer, 2010), the imposition of a new model without fully understanding the local sociolinguistic situation may equally risk pursuing another ‘ideological myth’ at the other end. In recent years, the Hong Kong education system has entered a new phase in which the New Senior Secondary curriculum and ‘fine-tuning’ MOI policy have been progressively implemented. With this momentous change in education policy, an exploration of the latest school practices would undoubtedly offer valuable insights into how this ‘bridge between two realities’ can be better established.

References


Language Education and Acquisition in Multilingual Societies of the Hong Kong Institute of Education.


Using the L1 in L2 teaching and learning. What role does teacher identity play?

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This article examines language teachers’ attitudes towards use of the first language (L1) in second language (L2) learning and teaching from the perspective of teacher identity. Drawing on a theory of identity as both experiential and relational, in-depth interviews are used to explore the perspectives of six pre-service English language teachers in Hong Kong who had recent experiences of medium of instruction (MOI) policies and their implementation within Hong Kong secondary schools during an eight-week teaching practicum. The results suggest that MOI issues presented significant challenges to the participants as they struggled with multiple identities at the institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal levels. Implications for language teacher education, the formation and implementation of policies towards use of the L1 in L2 teaching and learning, and future research are discussed.

Key words: The L1 in L2 learning, teacher identity, discourse analysis
Introduction

Research into the role of the first language (L1) in second language (L2) teaching and learning presents a complex picture. In summarizing the arguments suggesting that the L1 is a hindrance to L2 learning, Wigglesworth (2002) cites the perceived role of the L1 in inhibiting thinking in the L2, its use as a crutch for learners whose interlanguage becomes fossilized, and its role in diverting classroom time from the target language. However, these negative sentiments need to be weighed against a series of supposed benefits around use of the L1 in L2 learning and teaching, including reducing learner anxiety, raising awareness of the similarities and differences between the L1 and L2, promoting identities of competence amongst learners, and affirming the value of the learners’ L1 as their primary means communication and cultural expression (Auerbach, 1993; Cummins, 2007; Schweers, 1999; Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009). This divergence of opinion is reflected in Wigglesworth’s (2002) assessment of the state of research and practice:

While there is a role for the use of the first language in the classroom it is absolutely critical that it is constrained within very clearly delimited guidelines, that it is used judiciously and carefully, and most importantly that it is used only with full awareness of the learning functions it plays in the classroom. (p. 28)

The current study explores debate about the use of L1 in the L2 classroom from a practitioner focus by exploring one group of Hong Kong pre-service L2 teachers’ judgements about the use of the L1 within their classrooms. A contribution of this study is to consider how such judgements shape, and are shaped by, teacher identity. Although identity has been seen as an issue of growing importance in understanding second and foreign language teaching and learning contexts (Riley, 2006), its role in teachers’ judgements concerning use of the L1 in L2 classrooms has not been fully explored in the literature. This is a significant omission, given that, as Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) suggest:
In order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers; and in order to understand teachers, we need to have a clearer sense of who they are: the professional, cultural, political, and individual identities. (p. 22)

While previous research has identified the importance of identity in language learning and use from the viewpoint of the learner (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010), this study seeks to heighten understanding of the link between identity, language use, and language teaching and learning by considering the perspectives of language teachers. The paper begins by exploring the rationale underpinning use of the target language and the L1 in the L2 classroom, including both policy and practice within the Hong Kong context. Next, a framework is outlined for investigating teacher identity construction. Data is then presented demonstrating how six Hong Kong pre-service English language teachers’ perceptions about the role of the L1 within their second language classrooms shaped, and were shaped by, their developing teacher identities. Finally, the results of the study are discussed in terms of this theoretical framework of identity construction and implications for language teacher education, MOI policy making within schools, and future research are considered.

L1 in the L2 classroom

The endorsement of a ‘target language only’ policy in the L2 classroom is often based on the belief that students should be afforded maximum exposure to the target language and that use of the L1 threatens the attainment of this goal (Macdonald, 1993). However, Cummins (2005) argues that a separation of the L1 and L2 reflects a “two solitudes” (p. 588) approach that is underpinned by three assumptions about language teaching and learning: that the target language should be used exclusively for instructional purposes, that translation between L1 and L2 should be discouraged, and that the two languages must be kept rigidly separated.

Cummins (2005) questions these assumptions, pointing to empirical research which suggests that the L1 can represent an important resource in L2 language acquisition. For instance, Anton and DiCamilla (1998) refer to the L1 as a psychological tool that aids language acquisition by assisting learners to construct collaborative dialogue as
they undertake meaning-based language tasks. According to Macaro (2005), the avoidance by teachers of the L1 in L2 classrooms can lead to input modifications that could prove detrimental to language learning. These modifications include repeating, speaking more slowly, and substituting simple words for complex words. Macaro (2005) suggests that, while these effects may have a teaching function, they can also lead to "the teacher hogging the discourse space and, used unsparingly, leads to ‘the dumbing down’ of the classroom discourse” (p. 73).

Another issue addressed in the literature concerns the conditions under which L1 could be used in the L2 classroom, the extent to which it should be used, and for what purpose. Cook (2001) proposes that language teachers should consider four factors in their use of the L1: Can something be done more efficiently through the L1? Will use of the L1 assist L2 learning? Do students feel more comfortable if some topics or functions are dealt with through the L1? Will use of both languages help students in their use of the L2 beyond the classroom? Although Cook (2001) maintains that “it is clearly useful to employ large quantities of the L2, everything else being equal” (p. 413), he argues that the L1 could be used to provide instructions and explanations, establish interlinked L1 and L2 knowledge in students’ minds, and for students to carry out learning tasks through collaborative dialogue with fellow students. Turnbull (2001), however, tempers this enthusiasm for use of the L1, arguing that relying too extensively on the L1 could deprive students of target language input. According to Turnbull (2001), teachers should strive for a “judicious and principled use of L1” (p. 535).

Recent research has also investigated use of the L1 in the L2 classroom from the perspective of stakeholders, including language teachers and their learners. Brooks-Lewis (2009) investigated the perceptions of tertiary level language learners and found overwhelming support for inclusion of the L1 in foreign language teaching and learning. Song and Andrews (2009) examined the medium of instruction (MOI) beliefs of four English language teachers at a tertiary institution in the People’s Republic of China, noting that both teachers’ attitudes towards the MOI and contextual factors, such as the L2 abilities of teachers and students and time pressures, may work together to affect teachers’ MOI-related classroom behavior.
L1 in the L2 classroom: The Hong Kong experience

While evidence presented in the preceding section suggests the need to reconsider attempts to exclude the L1 from L2 classrooms, language-in-education policy in Hong Kong appears to endorse, either explicitly or implicitly, a ‘target language only’ position. For example, it is recommended that English language teachers in Hong Kong “should teach English through English and encourage learners to interact with one another in English” (Curriculum Development Council, cited in Swain, Kirkpatrick, & Cummins, 2011, p. 1). More implicitly, a series of “good practices” that have been identified as being used within some Hong Kong schools and which are thought to enhance students’ English language proficiency, including maximizing student opportunities to engage in meaningful use of the language inside and outside the classroom and ensuring students are provided with necessary scaffolding to perform activities in English, make no mention of a possible role for the L1 (Education Commission, 2005, pp. 64-65).

Despite language policies that either explicitly or implicitly endorse exclusive use of the target language, classroom research suggests that some teachers and their students do alternate between the L1 and L2 within the foreign language classroom (Pan & Pan, 2010). In the case of Hong Kong, Lin (2005) suggests that switching between Cantonese and English within L2 classrooms is an example of “teachers’ and students’ local, pragmatic, coping tactics” (p. 46). Carless (2008) discovered that teachers in Hong Kong often encountered difficulties in stopping use of mother tongue, and encouraging students to use English, within group work tasks in the L2 classroom.

The possibility of a mismatch between Hong Kong language-in-education policy, with its emphasis on a target-language-only approach, and the reality of language use in the classroom, underscores the importance of accounting for the role individual stakeholders, including local school authorities, teachers, students, and parents, can play in the implementation of language policies in schools (Lin & Man, 2009; Menken & Garcia, 2010). This study contributes to the understanding of language
policy in schools from the perspective of the individual by using the analytical lens of teacher identity to explore the experiences of six pre-service English language teachers and their English language department heads during an eight-week teaching practicum in different Hong Kong secondary schools. The following section describes the theoretical framework of teacher identity that was used to analyze these stakeholders’ beliefs and experiences regarding use of the L1 in L2 classrooms.

**Teacher identity in discourse and practice**

Danielewicz (2001) defines identity as “our understanding of who we are and who we think other people are” (p. 10). According to Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005), a comprehensive understanding of teaching and teachers requires attention to both “identity-in-discourse” and “identity-in-practice” (p. 39). Identity-in-practice describes an action-orientated approach to understanding identity, underlining the need to investigate identity formation as a social matter, which is operationalized through concrete practices and tasks. For example, the research by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) emphasizes the role of participation with others in socially valued activities within communities of practice. Wenger (1998) conceptualizes community in terms of three dimensions: the mutual engagement of participants in practices, the negotiation of a joint enterprise, and the development of a shared repertoire. Within a community, identity construction occurs as “an experience” in terms of different modes of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment (p. 173). Through engagement individuals establish and maintain joint enterprises and negotiate meanings. Engagement allows us to invest in what we do and in our relations with other people, gaining “a lived sense of who we are” (Wenger, 1998, p. 192). Imagination refers to creating images of the world and our place within it across time and space by extrapolating beyond our own experience. Alignment coordinates an individual’s activities within broader structures and enterprises, allowing the identity of a larger group to become part of the identity of the individual participants (Wenger, 1998, pp. 173-174).
The other aspect of a comprehensive understanding of teacher identity construction is discourse (Varghese et al., 2005). Discourse, which refers to the “beliefs, attitudes, and values that exist within particular social and cultural practices” (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 11), plays a central role in poststructuralist theory, in which identity construction is thought to occur as individuals identify with particular subject positions within discourses (Davies, 1994; Howarth, 2000; Weedon, 1997). In this view, language and identity are mutually constitutive; while language presents to the individual historically specific ways of giving meaning to social reality, “it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed” (Weedon, 1997, p. 21). From a poststructuralist perspective, such construction is a process of struggle because “the individual is always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity” (Weedon, 1997, p. 32).

This approach to discourse has empirical implications for the investigation of teacher identity formation. In particular, exploring the power different discourses have to shape the development of teacher identities requires attention to the role of language. However, Wenger’s (1998) framework has been criticized for its failure to develop a coherent theory of language in use (Creese, 2005). To address this limitation, this paper draws upon Fairclough’s (2003) model of identity formation, which argues that “what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves, the texturing of identity” (p. 164). Fairclough (2003) examines the commitments an author makes in terms of both modality and evaluation. Modality refers to what individuals commit themselves to in terms of truth, obligation and necessity, and is displayed in the use of modal verbs, such as ‘should’ and ‘must’, and modal adverbs, including ‘probably’ and ‘possibly’. Evaluation describes what is believed to be desirable or undesirable and can be expressed in terms of what is considered good or bad, as well as useful and important.

While such evaluations can be expressed explicitly, through the use of terms such as ‘wonderful’ or ‘dreadful’, they can also be more deeply embedded in texts through, for example, invoking implicit value systems that are assumed to be shared between author and interpreter (Fairclough, 2003, p. 173). Finally, this paper examines the texturing of teacher identities in terms of ‘legitimation’, that is, the ways in which
individuals explain and justify their various commitments to truth (Fairclough, 2003, p.98). The strategies for legitimation Fairclough (2003) considers include authorization, which occurs when reference is made to tradition, laws, or institutional authority, and rationalization, which relies upon references to the utility of a particular course of action. Other means of legitimation are moral evaluation, or legitimation by reference to value systems, and mythopoesis in which legitimation is established through narrative (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98). Based on this theoretical framework, the collection and analysis of data was guided by the following research question:

What role does teacher identity play in shaping the judgements of one group of English language teachers in Hong Kong towards the use of the L1 within their classroom?

The study

Participants and settings

The principal participants in this study were three male and three female ethnic Chinese pre-service teachers, who were aged between 22 and 24 and reported Cantonese as their L1. At the time of the study, the six participants were completing the final year of a four-year Bachelor of Education degree, majoring in teaching English as a second language at a tertiary level educational institution in Hong Kong. The student teachers were invited to take part in the study as they had all had experience of language policy and its implementation within local Hong Kong secondary schools. Thus, all the student teachers completed their primary and secondary level education in local Hong Kong schools and were about to undertake an eight-week teaching placement (practicum) at various secondary schools. Sampling decisions also reflected the need to include participants who were willing and able to share their understandings and experiences of language policy and use in the classroom during their teaching practicum, as well as the desire to attain a gender balance. In addition, six English department heads located in each of the different schools in which the student teachers undertook their teaching practice also took part in this study. The names of participants used in this paper are pseudonyms.
The six student teachers undertook their teaching placement at different local secondary schools across Hong Kong. Following the handover of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China in 1997, the Hong Kong Government introduced a policy of mandatory mother tongue education which resulted in the adoption of Chinese as the medium of instruction (CMI) in 75% of government-funded schools at the junior secondary level. The remaining 25% of schools were permitted to adopt English as the medium of instruction (EMI) (Tsui, 2007). Two participants, Sarah and Christine, completed their eight-week teaching practice in an EMI school, while the remaining student teachers – Bernard, Jason, Norman, and Rebecca - undertook it in CMI schools. During their teaching practice, the participants taught a variety of secondary-level English language classes, ranging from secondary one (grade 7) to secondary four (grade 10). Schools in Hong Kong are also banded from one to three, with one being the highest, meaning that students are of a high level of academic ability and motivation. In this study the two EMI schools, attended by Sarah and Christine, were classified as band one. Bernard, Norman, and Rebecca completed their teaching practicums in band two schools, with Jason teaching in a band three school. Several student teachers reported that, although Cantonese was the L1 of the vast majority of their students, some classes contained a small number of students who had recently arrived in Hong Kong from Mainland China and who spoke either Putonghua or a regional Chinese dialect as their mother tongue. In the case of these students, the participants indicated that their proficiency in Cantonese was generally good.

Data collection and analysis

Data collection and analysis were underpinned by a concern for establishing the credibility of this qualitative study. Rallis and Rossman (2009) outline three strategies that can be useful in establishing this credibility. First, data should be collected over a significant period of time. In addition, triangulation should be sought through, for instance, the use of multiple data sources. Finally, credibility can be established by sharing descriptions and interpretations with participants to see if they agree. This section outlines how each of these strategies was addressed within the current study.
To account for the first strategy suggested by Rallis and Rossman (2009), collecting data over an extended period of time, three sets of semi-structured interviews, which were audiotaped and transcribed, were conducted with each of the pre-service teachers at intervals through their eight-week teaching practice. At the initial interview, prior to commencement of their teaching practice, student teachers were asked to describe their beliefs about language learning and teaching and their experiences of and attitudes towards the use of the L1 (Cantonese) in the English language classroom. A second interview was held with each student teacher at approximately week four of their eight-week teaching practicum. In this interview the student teachers were required to explain the policy of their practicum placement school regarding language use in the English classroom, whether they had difficulties in implementing this policy, and whether or not they were able to overcome such challenges. A final set of interviews, carried out after the completion of the practicum, asked the student teachers to reflect on their experiences of classroom language use during the teaching practice, if their beliefs about the use of the L1 in the English classroom had altered, and, if so, why.

In relation to the issue of triangulation through the use of different data sources, the second way in which Rallis and Rossman (2009) suggest credibility can be established in qualitative research was addressed by conducting interviews with the English department heads in each of the six practicum placement schools. Each department head was interviewed once about the language policy of their school, any challenges they and other English teachers might face in implementing that policy, and their own attitudes to the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom.

Analyses and interpretations of the data were attained in a recursive, iterative manner, as I moved between the data and related research literature on identity construction. As interview transcripts were reviewed multiple times, salient themes and tentative categories that appeared of potential relevance to answering the research question were constructed from the data rather than from any preconceived hypotheses. The identity categories that emerged reflected the language used by participants and included “follower”, “flexible teacher” and “decision making teacher”. The analysis of these categories is illustrated in the following comment offered by one student
teacher, Jason, as he reflects on his discussions with the school principal regarding a language policy which mandated the complete exclusion of the L1 from the English classroom:

‘He (the principal) said all the teachers must follow the policy, so that’s what I did, I was just a follower of the Hong Kong education policy’. (Jason)

Jason names the identity category “follower”, legitimizing his claim to this teacher identity by invoking the institutional authority vested in the Hong Kong Government’s education policy. His need to adopt this identity category is underscored through the use of a strongly modalized statement of necessity in which he refers to the principal’s directive that “all the teachers must follow the policy”. As different identity categories emerged from the interviews, more theoretical categories were constructed from both the data and the conceptual framework described above. Examples of these categories included “engagement, language, and identity” and “identity conflict”.

Hypotheses about the relationships between the students teachers’ perceptions of MOI policy, its realization in the classroom, and teacher identity construction were developed for each of the participants. These emerging understandings were tested against data collected from other participants in a form of “cross-case analysis” (Merriam, 1998, p. 195), and were confirmed, modified or discarded. Finally, participants were consulted for their interpretation of the findings and further refinements to the identity categories were made. By doing so, I was able to incorporate member checking within the processes of data collection and analysis, which is the third of the strategies for establishing the credibility of a qualitative study outlined by Rallis and Rossman (2009).

**Results**

*Classroom language policy*

One way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions is through the explicit introduction of identity categories. For example, in reflecting on how the language policies of their respective schools positioned them as teachers, participants
introduced identity categories such as “policy follower”. The comments from Jason and Sarah are representative of the views of the student teachers:

Extract One

The principal told me, when I first got here (the school), that the school policy is ‘absolutely no Cantonese in the English classroom’, at all, because he wants to give the students more chance to listen to and use English. In CMI (Chinese medium instruction) schools like this, he said that the English lesson is almost the only chance they get to listen and think and use English and if I don’t follow this rule I would be taking away the chance for students to learn more English. He said all the teachers must follow the policy, so that’s what I did, I was just a follower of the Hong Kong education policy. But it’s really difficult, in reality, in the classroom. (Jason)

Extract Two

Because, according to the government policy, this is officially an EMI (English medium instruction) school, I was told by the panel (department) head that they are strict about the rule – ‘no Cantonese should be used in teaching’ - and I must obey this rule because she said if I don’t follow the policy parents will complain that the school is not using English to teach their children. But this is not a ‘real’ EMI school, actually I have trouble sticking to the policy, I found out that they (students) sometimes don’t understand when I speak to them in English, so their proficiency is not what I expect in EMI so following the ‘no Cantonese’ policy is a burden to my teaching sometimes. (Sarah)

Jason and Sarah use the identity category “follower” to describe their initial encounters with the language policy of their respective schools. For these student teachers, the importance of taking on the identity of someone who follows language policy is underpinned by strong statements of necessity. Jason, for example, recalls the advice he was given that teachers “must follow the policy”. For Sarah, the language policy requirements of her school are strictly enforced, so that being a follower of the school’s language policy is presented not as an option but as a
necessity. Linguistically, this has the effect of seeming to reduce the agency available to any individual teacher - they are, as Jason puts it, “just a follower of the Hong Kong education policy”. This lack of negotiability is underscored by the adamant assertions that both pre-service teachers use when either reporting on the policy itself (“absolutely no Cantonese”) or in describing its implementation (“they are strict about the rule that no Cantonese should be used”). The requirement that limits teachers to the exclusive use of the L2 in the language classroom is legitimized through several means, including impersonal authority in which language use is presented as a school “rule” or “policy”. However, both Sarah and Jason do not restrict their descriptions of the force of impersonal authority to the organizational level of the school. Sarah, for instance, refers to her school as “officially an EMI school”, a discursive strategy that has the effect of situating her school’s language policy within the broader discourse of medium of instruction policy in Hong Kong. Jason engages in a similar process of extrapolation from his own experiences within individual schools to the broader issue of language policy in Hong Kong in his reference to “the Hong Kong education policy”.

Other means for the legitimization of school language policy included rationalization, where references were made to the utility of the language policy. Jason is told that by taking on the identity of “follower” his students will have the opportunity to listen to, think in, and use English. In this case an assumed value is invoked, namely that providing students with such opportunities is indeed a desirable goal for the language teacher. The force of this assumed value is underscored by Jason’s immediate qualification that failure to fulfill this policy will result in the teacher imposing a loss on students, specifically their opportunity for language learning (“taking away the chance for students to learn more English”). Linguistically, this statement has the effect of appealing to the value that taking learning opportunities away from students is not a desirable position for a teacher. Another means for the legitimization of the English only policy occurred through mythopoesis, or moral tales. Sarah recalls a cautionary tale which warns of the negative consequences if teachers fail to observe the language policy of this school: “parents will complain that the school is not using English to teach their children”.

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Despite these attempts at policy legitimization, extracts one and two also contain evidence of dissonance on the part of both pre-service teachers. For example, Sara’s strongly modalized statement that “this is not a ‘real’ EMI school” appears to challenge any attempt to legitimize language policy using the impersonal authority of the school itself. Evidence of the effects of this disquiet on the student teachers appear in their references to the “burden” (Sarah) created by the exclusive use of English within the classroom and the belief that being a follower of such a language policy is “really difficult, in reality, in the classroom” (Jason), where terms such as “burden” and “difficult” invoke a negative evaluation of both schools’ MOI policy. This strategy of calling into question the official language policy of their school has the effect of opening a gap between the policy as explained to the participants by school authorities, such as principals, and the reality of language use in the classroom, an issue explored in greater detail in the following section.

Five of the six English department heads who participated in this study and who taught in the band one and band two schools described above, argued that their school adhered to a strict ‘target language only’ policy within the English language classroom. A single department head, Grant, who worked in a band two CMI school, suggested a more flexible approach. Representative comments from department heads are shown in extracts three and four:

Extract Three

*Our school policy is that teachers must use English during the lesson...if they don't, if they use Cantonese, they'll be criticized by the principal and by parents.* (Jasmine)

Extract Four

*For teachers in this school using Cantonese (in English language lessons) is frequently necessary because of the low (language proficiency) level of our students. In fact, if we use English only then a lot of disciple problems occur, students would be off-task easily.* (Grant)
Both English department heads deploy strong modality to support their school’s differing approaches to use of the L1 within the English language classroom. In the case of Jasmine, this commitment to truth is underscored by the use of the term “must”, while Grant uses the equally emphatic description “necessary” to signal his support for the frequent use of Cantonese by English teachers. Both department heads also legitimize their respective positions by reference to mythopoesis, in which cautionary tales outline the negative consequences of not adopting the approach to use of the L1 in the English classroom which they endorse. According to Jasmine, use of the L1 will result in teachers being criticized, while Grant suggests that an ‘English only’ policy within his school would lead to classroom discipline problems.

Classroom language in practice

This section describes how the student teachers’ perceptions about the use of Cantonese in the English language classroom were shaped through their relations with both full-time English language teachers and students within their placement schools. For some of the pre-service teachers, it was through these relations that they initially learned of the scope that can exist within some Hong Kong schools for what was described as “flexibility” in the day-to-day implementation of language policy. Several participants reported that full-time teachers within their placement school had provided them with advice that appeared to contradict the dogmatic language policy pronouncements suggested in extracts one and two.

Extract Five

_I was told by the English teachers that the (language) policy is more flexible than what the principal told me...The principal told me stick to English in class but the teachers said ‘You can use Cantonese in the class otherwise students won’t understand everything you are teaching. We often switch between English and Cantonese. But be careful, don’t let them (school authorities) know we told you this otherwise we could be in trouble for breaking the policy’. So now I’m flexible; when I teach, I do switch between English and Cantonese. It helps, it means we can go through the work quicker, it helps in keeping up with the teaching schedule...but it’s sort of confusing, it_
feels sneaky, like I can only do this if the principal doesn’t find out or see me doing this. So, what about those visits when I’m observed by the department head or by (my university supervisor)? What can I do then? Should I negotiate with each of them about Cantonese and English use? It’s not clear when I can and can’t use Cantonese and how much; makes me feel frustrated. (Bernard)

Extract Six

Although this is an EMI school, I found out from the teachers that it’s not necessary to use only English in class. I was told we could use Cantonese to explain some things, or I might let the students discuss in Cantonese during their group work. It’s more practical, it helps the students learn some difficult vocabulary. In fact, I think this is what actually happens in classrooms in many other schools in Hong Kong, it’s common. But, I don’t know why they (the school) have to pretend about the ‘use English only’ rule. I think it’s for the parents; they (the school) want to protect their image of being an EMI school because in Hong Kong it’s more prestigious to be an EMI school. So, it’s like there are two policies, one inside the school and the other for outsiders. I think it’s silly and it could put the teachers in a difficult position, if there’s no clear policy, what should we say to the parents if they ask us ‘why do you speak in Cantonese in the English lessons?’ I’m confused about it. (Christine)

When compared to the adamant assertions participants provided in extracts one and two regarding the language policies of their placement schools, extracts three and four reveal a softening of this stance. Whereas the modality of extracts one and two presented the use of English only in language classrooms as a necessity, Bernard and Christine’s weakened commitment to truth regarding the implementation of this policy in the classroom is reflected in their use of terms such as “can”, “could”, and “might”, rather than “must”, to describe the “flexible” way in which language policy was interpreted in many classrooms. This apparent shift from rigid enforcement of English only to the flexible use of Cantonese and English in the classroom is, in part,
welcomed by the participants. Flexibility is positively evaluated because “it helps” and “it’s practical”, where what is helpful and practical is taken to be desirable. Legitimization for this conclusion occurs through rationalization, that is, an appeal to the utility that the pre-service teachers believed such flexibility offered. Specifically, it is argued that gains accrue to both learning (“it helps the students learn some difficult vocabulary”, Christine) and teaching (“it helps in keeping up with the teaching schedule”, Bernard).

For Bernard and Christine, these positive evaluations are offset by a series of apparent reservations about “flexibility” in language use. Linguistically, dissonance is displayed in descriptions of flexibility as “confusing”, “sneaky”, “silly”, and “difficult”, all of which represent explicit markers of participants’ negative evaluation of certain aspects of such flexibility. Furthermore, the use of a flexible approach to language policy in the classroom appears to underline an ‘us and them’ division between teachers and school authorities. This discursive division is reflected in Bernard and Christine’s use of the inclusive “we” to describe teacher’s use of the L1 in the English classroom (“we often switch between English and Cantonese”; “we could use Cantonese to explain some things”). In contrast to this inclusiveness, the pre-service teachers established an oppositional ‘other’ to describe their relations with school authorities: “don’t let them know….”; “I don’t know why they (the school) have to pretend…."

In addition to school authorities and their English language teaching colleagues, the pre-service teachers’ interpersonal relations with students also shaped their perceptions of the use of Cantonese in the English classroom. In terms of their professional and professional identity construction, participants argued that the use of the students’ mother tongue reflected a desire to be teachers who are “responsive to what students think”, as well as allowing these student teachers to become “closer” to students. Jason’s comments are representative of the views expressed by the participants:
Extract Seven

Students asked me ‘Please explain that in Chinese, we don’t understand’. As a teacher, I should be, and as a teacher I want to be responsive to what students want, so if I can speak in Cantonese it’s better for me and the students. (Jason)

In constructing his teacher identity, Jason refers to certain values and judgements about the nature of teachers and teaching, including the need for teachers to be responsive to student needs: “as a teacher I must be responsive to what students want”. This adamant statement of necessity is immediately followed by the term “so”, which has the effect of connecting Jason’s use of the L1 in the classroom to the achievement of the identity of a “responsive teacher”, with the lexical item “better” providing an explicit positive endorsement of this approach to language use: “so if I can speak in Cantonese it’s better for me and the students”.

Beliefs about L1 in the L2 classroom

Each student teacher was asked to describe their own position regarding the use of Cantonese in the English language classroom. Norman, Sarah, and Rebecca provided comments that were representative of the perspectives provided by the participants:

Extract Eight

My belief is that, ideally, schools in Hong Kong must have an official policy that lets individual teachers be decision makers about using Cantonese in English classes. For my own case, I believe that pair and group work are essential to language learning because they can help students use the language. I support students using Cantonese in these situations because it encourages them to participate more with their peers. Then, after the group work, I ask them to use English to write up the results or to make an oral presentation to class. (Norman)
**Extract Nine**

*I think that for most new teachers discipline is a big issue. Schools should let them (teachers) use some Cantonese in the English lesson, especially in lower band schools, like to explain how to complete a task and the procedures to follow. This would definitely help with this (discipline); students will be on-task more and more interested in the lesson.* (Sarah)

**Extract Ten**

*After doing my (teaching practicum) I believe that, for teachers, school policy ought to let language use in the classroom be decided by them (teachers), how much and how often to use Cantonese in English lessons. For students, they will certainly feel less anxious about using English in the class if they can discuss things, like difficult vocabulary and abstract ideas, first in Chinese and then in English later. If they feel not as anxious they’ll really enjoy the English lesson lots more. So therefore, if they’re happy in the lesson, I think they’ll improve their learning.* (Rebecca)

In these extracts, the student teachers employ terms such as “I believe that…” and “I think that…” to preface a series of uncompromising commitments to truth about the desirability, for both teachers and students, of using the L1 in the L2 classroom. These statements of belief function to endorse the use of the students’ L1 within the English language classrooms of Hong Kong in different contexts and for different purposes. Examples of settings in which Cantonese can function as a valuable tool for both learning and classroom management are thought to include pair and group work activities, providing explanations for task procedures, and clarifying the meaning of difficult vocabulary and abstract ideas. The strength of such commitments, signalled by terms such as “definitely” and “certainly”, is legitimized primarily through the use of rationalization, in which different types of utility gains are identified. For instance, Norman argues that the use of L1 can encourage students “to participate more”. According to Sarah, utility gains are represented in terms of improved discipline, while Rebecca identifies benefits in the form of reduced student anxiety. Given their
endorsement of the use of Cantonese in their classrooms, Norman and Rebecca position individual teachers as arbiters, as “decision makers” (Norman), about “how much and how often to use Cantonese in English lessons” (Rebecca). The use of the terms “must” and “has to” means that these statements carry a strong degree of obligation in terms of what action the participants believe Hong Kong schools are required to take in relation to the MOI issue.

The strategies deployed by participants to legitimize their support for the use of, as Sarah puts it, “some Cantonese” in the English classroom, contain implicit elements of moralization. For example, Sarah depicts her students as “on-task” and “more interested in the lesson” when some Cantonese is used, where it is assumed that students being on-task and interested are qualities that are desirable in the English language classroom. Her descriptions of student behaviour also appeal directly to a discourse of the classroom as a disciplined environment, in which students display a high level of interest in completing tasks assigned by the teacher. Rebecca’s linking of the use of Cantonese to reduced student anxiety and to enjoyment of the lesson is supported by an explicit appeal to a discourse of student happiness, which is, via the use of the expression “so therefore”, unambiguously linked to the outcome of improved language learning (“so therefore, if they’re happy in the lesson, I think they’ll improve their learning”). Norman’s strategy for the legitimization of his beliefs rests on an appeal to the authority of elements of contemporary educational discourse, in particular the endorsement of group and pair work, that were central to the Bachelor of Education program that the participants were undertaking.

Discussion

Using the L1: Engagement and identity

Engagement in practice is central to identity construction because identity is produced “as a lived experience of participation in specific communities” (Wenger, 1998, p. 151). Engagement allows individuals to explore, partly through interaction with other participants, how they can take part in activities and practices, what can and cannot be done. One of the communities the pre-service teachers participated in was their placement school, in which engagement in the practices of English language teaching
was defined in part through interaction with school authorities, such as the school principal. The effects these relations of interaction had on shaping the student teachers’ engagement with use of the L1 within the classroom, and on the formation of their teacher identities, were discursively revealed within extracts one and two, where adamant statements of belief recounted participants’ understandings of what “must” happen in relation to language use in the English classroom.

The determined stance some school authorities were thought to adopt against the use of Cantonese was an important part of the participants’ engagement in teaching because it underscored some of the competencies of English language teaching and teachers that were valued by school authorities. These competencies, which included using only English in the classroom, providing students with the maximum number of opportunities to listen to and speak in English, were reified in “school policy” (extract one) and enforced through relations of power that were displayed in cautionary tales warning of the consequences for any teacher who deviates from this MOI policy. For the student teachers, this form of engagement with school language policy suggested an identity of “follower”, which positioned them as “just following the (school) policy” (extract one).

The student teachers conceptualized engagement in practice not only through relations with school authorities, but also in terms of interactions with other English language teachers within their placement schools. Participation in a community of fellow English language teachers also shaped the participants’ identity construction through their ability to display certain competencies in relation to the use of the L1 in their individual classrooms. However, in contrast to the identity of MOI policy “follower” described above, the student teachers were encouraged by fellow English language teachers to be “flexible”, an identity position reflected in classroom practices that allowed for use of both English and Cantonese.

This duality of engagement in the use of the L1 – as “follower” and as “flexible”- was most explicitly captured in Christine’s depiction of the existence of “two language policies” (extract six), and hence two different modes of engagement in terms of classroom language use, within the placement schools. A further form of engagement with the use of learner’s L1 that shaped the construction of teacher
identities occurred through the participants’ relations with students within their placement schools. These relations underscored participants ongoing positioning as “students” and shaped their attitudes towards use of the L1 in the classroom as they recounted their own language learning experiences.

Using the L1: Imagination and identity

As a mode of belonging, imagination involves looking beyond the here and now of engagement in specific practices and activities by creating relations of identity across space and time. The student teachers recognition of their own experiences of L1 use in the L2 classroom in terms of “follower”, “flexible”, and “student” as reflecting broader patterns of language policy and use was therefore an important part of their ongoing work of identity construction. The identity “follower”, for instance, was connected by the student teachers to current Hong Kong educational policy, in particular the identification of schools as using either Chinese or English as the medium of instruction (extracts one and two). This identity connection appeared to limit student teachers to a deterministic path of identity formation in which the power relations underpinning such official policy positions meant that they “must” take up the identity of MOI policy “follower” (extracts one and two).

Other connections, however, worked to break down such determinism. For example, the identity “flexible” was connected by participants not with official government policy, but rather with the reality of “what actually happens in classrooms in many other schools in Hong Kong” (extract six). Linguistically, the freedom that this identity position afforded teachers was marked by a shift from unequivocal pronouncements about what “must” happen to more measured assessments of what “can” (extract five) be practiced in relation to the use of the L1 within the English language classroom. Connecting engagement in MOI policy and use in the classroom to broader enterprises was also achieved by participants reaching into the past, to their own recent experiences as students, shaping their teacher identity formation by allowing identification with the classroom language needs and wants of their current students.
The work of imagination allowed the student teachers to conceive of a future in which their engagement with use of the L1 in L2 learning and teaching was reflected in new and different identities, such as “decision maker” (extracts eight to ten). This was an imagined identity that implied very different forms of engagement with the use of the L1 for English language teaching and learning from that of both the “follower” and the “flexible” teacher. The identity positions “decision maker” and “follower” were differentiated in terms of the capacity the former offered teachers to determine when and to what extent they could make use of the L1 at the level of the individual classroom. This distinction suggests the important role agency plays in teacher identity construction (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). For example, realization of the identity “decision maker” could empower the student teachers by emphasizing their ability to shape language policy and use within the context of their individual classrooms.

As Day, Kington, Stobart, and Sammons (2006) point out, teacher identity is the product of the interaction of agency and structure, the latter drawing attention to the ways in which institutions, such as schools, can shape teacher identity construction. Thus, the identity “flexible” teacher failed to achieve the status associated with official recognition as a component of the school’s language policy, and was therefore evaluated negatively as a “sneaky” form of participation (extract five). The student teachers’ desire to have their preferred identity position of “decision maker” officially recognized by their placement schools suggests that the relations of power and status that would result from the reification of this identity within school language policy are crucial to its realization in classroom practices and activities.

The work of imagination can result in either a sense of affinity or of dissociation from certain identities. The participants’ location of their individual MOI experiences within the classrooms of their placement school with broader systems of language policy in Hong Kong – indexed by the identity category “follower” – was negatively evaluated, a linguistic strategy that signalled their dissociation from this teacher
identity. A similar sense of dissociation appeared to characterize the participants’ evaluations of the connections they made to language teachers across Hong Kong who were “flexible” in their use of the L1. By contrast, the student teachers’ enthusiastic embrace of the teacher as the “decision maker” about use of the L1 in the classroom suggested an affinity with this identity position.

*Using the L1: Engagement and identity*

Alignment contributes to identity construction by bringing the actions and practices of the individual into line with the requirements of institutions such as schools, and can take different forms, including coercion and allegiance (Wenger, 1998). Coercion, for instance, appeared to underpin the alignment of the student teacher’s use of the L1 in the classroom with the identity “follower”, as participant’s recounted cautionary tales that described the implications of not conforming to this identity position. The student teachers’ negative evaluation of the “flexible” teacher suggests that their allegiance was reserved for the identity position “decision maker”. Linguistically, this allegiance was evident as the student teachers couched their descriptions of “decision making” teachers in terms of strongly modalized statements that detailed what “should” and what “ought to” happen in terms of language policy and use within individual schools.

*Language policy as identity conflict*

The combination of engagement and imagination is a powerful force for identity construction because engagement “provides a place for imagination to land, to be negotiated in practice and realized into identities of participation” (Wenger, 1998, p. 217). The language policies and practices of the student teachers’ placement schools with respect to use of the L1 meant that although engagement in the classroom provided an opportunity for the identities of “follower” and “flexible” teacher to “land”, the identity position “decision maker” appeared to be marginalized, an outcome that was revealed discursively in the participants’ understandings of how different identity positions were realized within their schools. For example, while the modality used to describe the identities of “follower” and “flexible” teacher positioned them as available identity positions that “must” (extracts one and two) or
“can” (extracts three and four) be currently enacted, the identity “decision maker” was constructed as an ideal (extract six), one that was not realized in the contemporary practices and activities of language teaching as experienced by the participants. This could imply the marginalization of the competencies associated with the identity “decision maker”, reflecting the possible failure of school authorities to acknowledge the competencies that, in relation to language policy and use in the classroom, appeared to be most highly valued by the student teachers.

Identity construction requires that individuals reconcile their different forms of membership in different communities by constructing “an identity that can include different meanings and forms of participation into one nexus” (Wenger, 1998, p. 160). The pre-service teachers found this identity work problematic due to the failure of their schools to recognize the competencies associated with their preferred identity position of “decision maker” about the use of the L1 within the classroom. Yet Wenger (1998) does not adequately theorize how individuals might react to the identity conflicts implied by such marginalization, nor explore the potential impacts such conflicts can have on the task of identity reconciliation. Indeed, he has been criticized for providing a “benign model” (Barton & Tusting, 2005, p. 10) of community, one that downplays issues of power, conflict, and exclusion (Fuller, Hodkinson, Hodkinson, & Unwin, 2005). However, understanding and addressing these identity conflicts is likely to be crucial to the management of these student teachers’ boundary crossing experiences as they move from their teacher education programme to take up full-time language teaching positions in Hong Kong secondary schools.

The following section considers the implications of these findings for schools in Hong Kong and other analogous educational settings that may experience language-in-education policy as teacher identity conflict.

_Beyond conflict: Implications for language policy in schools_

School authorities and other stakeholders should acknowledge that the negotiation of school language policy may need to confront the social antagonisms that appeared to characterize the teachers’ relations of engagement and imagination described above.
As Howarth (2000) explains, “social antagonisms occur because social agents are unable to attain their identities, and because they construct an ‘enemy’ who is deemed responsible for this ‘failure’ ” (p. 105). For example, unable to realize the marginalized identity position of “decision maker” within their schools, the student teachers in this study experienced a “blockage of identity” (Howarth, 2000, p. 105).

To avoid pre-service teachers casting school authorities and experienced English language teachers as an “enemy”, the formation of school language policies should include attempts to assist student teachers and other stakeholders to move beyond such potential for identity blockage. This task could be approached from a poststructuralist perspective, which, as described earlier in this paper, argues that identity construction occurs through “the identification by the individual with particular subject positions within discourses” (Weedon, 1997, p. 108). Because discourses describe a partial fixation of meaning that is socially produced and historically specific, all discourses are necessarily contingent, meaning that subject positions are not pre-given or fixed but rather “precarious, contradictory, and in process” (Weedon, 1997, p. 32). It is this contingent character of all subject positions that opens the possibilities for their deconstruction.

Overcoming such identity blockage would begin by revealing to different stakeholders, including pre-service teachers, English language teachers, and school authorities, the constructed nature of identity categories such as “follower”, “flexible” and “decision maker”. For example, as part of their teaching practicum experiences, student teachers could be required to interview MOI policy stakeholders, such as school authorities, English language teachers, and students, seeking their views about when and to what extent the L1 might be used within the English language classroom. These insights may help to overcome antagonistic relations by allowing student teachers to “occupy the subject position of the other” (Spivak, 1990, p. 121), comprehending language policy and use from the point of view of other stakeholders, “and to see whether one’s own understanding can be elaborated, made richer, expanded in light of the new way of seeing made possible by listening to the other” (Davies, 1994, p. 27).
Analysis of the interview data might also be used to reveal to pre-service teachers how, in relation to language policy and use, they are positioned in terms of one identity category or another. Making this positioning visible might allow pre-service teachers to position themselves differently in relation to existing discourses within both their university and placement schools. For instance, seeing the effects of discourses that position them as either “follower”, “flexible” or “decision maker” can assist in allowing them to resist discourse they find undesirable and to see themselves not as one or other of these types of teachers but rather as occupying all categories. This outcome is consistent with the emphasis in poststructuralist theory and practice of revealing to individuals the existence of “multiple ‘I’s” (Davies, 1994, p. 34), and of fostering their ability to move between them.

These recommendations can be extended beyond the case of pre-service teachers. School authorities should find ways to acknowledge the role of teacher identity in the formation of MOI policy within Hong Kong schools. As a first step, school authorities could interview language teachers, exploring their attitudes towards language teaching and learning, their beliefs about how the L1 might help and hinder such teaching and learning, as well as their thoughts about current language policies within the school and the struggles they face to teach the English language within the structures of such policies. This data could then serve as input to the formation of MOI policies within schools. In doing so, school authorities would signal to language teachers, especially new teachers, that their input is valued within the negotiation of meanings that matter in relation to school MOI policy. This would make an important contribution to assisting all teachers to identify with the institution because it involves recognition of their competencies within the negotiation of meanings, and in the sharing of the ownership of those meanings, which are important components of identity formation.

**Conclusion**

The results of this study suggest that language policy can be one source of identity conflict for teachers that can result in antagonistic relations between teachers and other stakeholders, such as school authorities. These findings have implications for
the formation and implementation of language-in-education policy beyond Hong Kong. In particular, bilingual educational policy throughout the Asian region must afford identity in teaching a prominent role in the formation and implementation of such policy. This approach, consistent with Lin and Man’s (2009) call for a bottom-up approach to language policy formation in Asian educational contexts, would acknowledge teachers as active agents who play a crucial role in determining the dynamics of language-in-education policy in local, situated contexts.

The current study was limited by the small size of the sample and a focus on the perspectives of pre-service and in-service teachers. Future research should therefore use the analytic lens to explore identity from the perspective of other stakeholders, such as educational policy makers, school authorities, and students, all of whom play an important role in language-in-education policy construction and implementation.

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Overcoming Resistance in Post-Soviet Teacher Trainees in Kazakhstan

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Bio Data:

Nancy Burkhalter, PhD, was an associate professor and directed the Master’s in TESOL program at the Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics and Strategic Research (KIMEP) for three years, where she taught pedagogy and linguistics. She is currently an English Language Fellow (sponsored by Georgetown University and the U.S. State Department) in St. Petersburg, Russia, at Herzen State Pedagogical University.

Abstract

This paper reports on the resistance exhibited by Kazakhstani teacher trainees educated under the Soviet university system. Unless teachers adhered to the sanctioned curriculum and methods of teaching, they were humiliated and often lost their jobs. Research in psychology has shown that behavior learned out of fear is substantially more difficult to change and relatively impenetrable to cognitive control. It is hypothesized that because of their fear-based experience as students and teachers in that system, they exhibit greater than usual resistance to adopting new methodologies to teach English, the very training they purport to want. This paper draws upon research in psychology, education, and critical thinking to present three techniques implemented in our master’s program to help circumvent this resistance: 1) focusing on dispositional program goals (through self-reflections, collaboration, and research), 2) creating cognitive dissonance, and 3) employing metaphors when explaining methods and practices. These strategies help break down their resistance to
accepting a new culture of learning and teaching by avoiding direct confrontation.
This paper is important because Western educators may not understand the profound
resistance that teachers from authoritarian educational backgrounds may bring to the
training, an attitude which can undermine efforts on everyone’s part. These
techniques, used separately or together, can skirt that resistance to help students adopt
new methodologies.

**Key words:** disposition, metaphor, trainee resistance, cognitive dissonance, Soviet
Union, reflection

**Introduction**

In the two decades since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has been modernizing its
educational system according to the mandates put forth by the Ministry of Education
(Ministry of Education, Republic of Kazakhstan, 2004). President Nursultan
Nazarbayev has also instituted a three-language policy for its Strategy 2030 initiative
(http://www.akorda.kz/en/kazakhstan/kazakhstan2030/strategy_2030), the goal of
which is for all Kazakhstanis to have a “good command” of Kazakh, Russian, and
English by the year 2030. Because of this increased demand on language teachers,
they have been seeking ways to upgrade their skills.

In response to these needs, the administration at the Language Center at our university,
the Kazakhstan Institute for Management, Economics and Strategic Research
(KIMEP), started a master’s program in Teaching English to Speakers of Other
Languages (MA TESOL) in 2007 to introduce teachers to methods and materials not
available during the Soviet era.

KIMEP is one of two Western-style, English-speaking universities in Kazakhstan.
Many instructors in the university are native speakers, but the local teachers in the
Language Center speak Kazakh and/or Russian as first languages. None speaks
English natively. All of these instructors were trained under the Soviet system,
including the younger ones born after the collapse of the Soviet Union, because Soviet
teaching methods have remained in place to the present day (Burkhalter &

Some of them have had training outside the country, but only for a few weeks or
months.
This lack of input from outside sources, combined with the harsh, authoritarian treatment of instructors during training and at their posts under the Soviet system, has led to an unusually strong resistance among them that, it is hypothesized, is more difficult to counter than what one normally meets in other teacher training situations due to its foundation in fear: learning that takes place under fear is more resistant to change than learning that takes place without such an emotion-laden atmosphere.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the etiology of the fear these teachers learned and taught under, discuss the reasons fear is such a potent factor in the resistance they display, and present three possible solutions to bypass this resistance. Finally, the paper suggests that these methods can be used to advantage regardless of the level of resistance among trainees, but especially among those who may exhibit greater than usual amounts.

**Significance of the research**

This article endeavors to help all trainers meeting with resistance from teacher trainees, regardless of their country, culture, or language, but especially from those who bring a greater measure to their classrooms because of harsh, authoritarian, overly directive schooling, as in the Soviet system. Understanding this resistance, its roots and suggested approaches to circumvent it is an important topic for Western educators, who may not appreciate the origins of such attitudes exhibited by teachers from rigid, punitive educational backgrounds, which can undermine everyone’s efforts.

**Literature review**

**Teacher background**

The Kazakhstani teacher trainees in our MA TESOL program often look perplexed when I ask them to explain their teaching philosophy. A surprising number say they have none. As their trainer, I tell them this response is unacceptable since their values and beliefs\(^1\) determine everything they do.
These conceptions or beliefs about teaching, i.e., one’s philosophy, whether conscious or not, make up a teacher’s folk pedagogy, defined as values that are “‘wired-in’ human tendencies...that reflect some deeply ingrained cultural beliefs about ‘the mind’” (Bruner, 1996, p. 46). According to Chong, Wong, and Lang (n.d.), teachers’ beliefs stem from three sources: 1) personal experience, 2) experience with schooling and instruction (aka “apprenticeship of observation”) (Lortie, 1975, p. 60), and 3) experience with formal knowledge—both school subjects and pedagogical knowledge. No matter whether it is designing a curriculum, formulating objectives, making assumptions about students’ abilities, creating tests, or asking students questions, these activities are all predicated on beliefs, values, and methods that have been imprinted on them from an early age. Lortie (1975) states that by the time pre-service candidates begin training, they have already spent over 10,000 hours observing others teach. Chong et al. (n.d.) add: “The unsubstantiated beliefs that pre-service teachers bring with them have been shown to affect what they learn from teacher education and how they learn from it” (p. 1). The resistance can only be greater with teachers who have been in the field for twenty or thirty years and put these beliefs into practice before attempting to learn new methodologies. We can conclude, therefore, that one’s folk pedagogy, i.e., one’s lay theories, experiences, and/or implicit assumptions about how people learn, is pervasive and potent: you teach how you were taught. Bruner (1996) states the challenge thusly:

[I]f you as a pedagogical theorist are convinced that the best learning occurs when the teacher helps lead the pupil to discover generalizations on her own, you are likely to run into an established cultural belief that a teacher is an authority who is supposed to tell the child what the general case is, while the child should be occupying herself with memorizing the particulars...So your introduction of an innovation in teaching will necessarily involve changing the folk psychological and folk pedagogical theories of teachers—and to a surprising extent, of pupils as well. (p. 46)

In our MA TESOL program, we introduce students to alternative language teaching methods and discuss which ones might be the most appropriate in their teaching environment. Teachers taking these courses do so presumably to learn these new
techniques. Yet, even after several semesters, they often balk at adopting them. This skepticism is healthy and indeed mandatory, as many critical thinking experts point out (Paul & Elder, 2012). However, if we take this skepticism at face value, we risk overlooking a major sociocultural factor that lies behind it, namely, a deeply ingrained resistance to adopting a new methodology stemming from fear (Denscombe, 1982).

According to both the literature and personal communication, teacher training in the Soviet Union was conducted under harsh and unforgiving circumstances that engendered fear in teachers and an inflexibility that has made them resistant to change (Burkhalter & Shegebayev, 2010; 2012; Long & Long, 1999). The intensity of this resistance is illustrated best in a reflection by one trainee who said I had insulted the Kazakhstani educational system and culture with my presentation of Western-developed methods, which she perceived to be biased and judgmental against Soviet methods. She wrote:

> Very often I feel like I have to be defensive in this class due to several reasons. Sometimes it seems to me that the discussion about teaching methods, which were used during the Soviet Period and during the time shortly after, turns to the discriminative tone. It would be OK to hear objective criticism. However the message is accompanied by raised voice and body language. I may be too inexperienced in the area of teaching, but it is my past, my childhood, and my motherland. These things are of great value to me.

This student’s overt expression of dissatisfaction is rare; most trainees at our university exhibit more passive resistance. During lectures and class discussions, they nod, take notes, look convinced; yet when we observe their teaching, we see no change (Clarke, 2008). One might predict such a reaction by those acculturated under the transmission model used in the Soviet educational system, which taught them to be passive with respect to knowledge and never “encouraged [them] to seek and evaluate information on their own; rather, they learn to count on the environment to automatically feed them information” (Tishman, Jay, & Perkins, 1992, p. 1).
In previous research, Burkhalter & Shegebayev (2012) discuss the history of the Soviet teaching system and the culture: students memorized lectures and regurgitated facts in oral exams. There was no interaction between students and teachers in the classroom, no questions from pupils, and certainly no challenging the expertise of the instructor. Teachers lectured; students listened. Language teaching consisted of translation to and from the target language, with almost no opportunity to hear it spoken, except perhaps on tapes and videos, and rare use of the language to communicate. Dictation was a staple, as was the memorization of poetry and long literary passages. Grammar was learned through fill-in-the-blank exercises or writing short sentences. This methodology is outlined in Rogova’s (1983) widely used, state-approved primer for teaching English for Moscow State University (Adams, 1985). This approach uses “explicit teaching of language algorithms (Adams’ emphasis) followed by supporting exercises to develop habits” (p. 161). Students never utter an original sentence or express their thoughts in the target language since communication is not the goal.

This acquisition model, which evinces a behaviorist epistemology (Patchen & Crawford, 2011), calls for the teacher to transfer knowledge to the students, who are “received knowers” (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986). Freire (1993) calls it “knowledge banking,” because it focuses on input, not understanding. It serves the needs of the oppressors, he asserts, and “mirror[s] oppressive society as a whole” (p. 73). In a similarly strong statement, Adams (1985) reports that Rogova presses for “nothing less than foreign language study as an instrument for furthering domestic political policy” (p. 162).

These are the attitudes and practices of the knowledge-banking concept. The teacher

1. teaches and the students are taught;
2. knows everything and the students know nothing;
3. thinks and the students are thought about;
4. talks and the students listen – meekly;
5. disciplines and the students are disciplined;
6. chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
7. acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
8. chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
9. confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he set in opposition to freedom of the students;
10. is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects (Freire, 1993, p. 73).

In addition to knowledge banking, there is another aspect of the Soviet educational system that figures prominently in their training, namely, fear. Interviews conducted by Burkhalter and Shegebayev (2010) revealed that trainees were shouted at and belittled by instructors. They feared their teachers and never questioned their knowledge. Once installed as instructors themselves, constant scrutiny of their pedagogy and performance made them fear the system they taught under as well. Veer from the prescribed pedagogy, they were told, and lose your job. They were closely monitored, even so far as to have administrators walk down the halls at unannounced intervals to check up on their teaching. Were the students sitting with their hands folded on their desks and listening attentively? Were teachers dressed correctly? Did they arrive at their classrooms on time? Were they teaching the prescribed curriculum? This rigid, authoritarian structure also engendered corruption. Students paid for good grades, and teachers were happy to oblige, since this kind of system supplemented teachers’ meager salaries, but it also helped bolster their status to have so many “outstanding” students. Even today, first-hand accounts tell of professors writing students’ theses and dissertations for a handsome fee.

Status, income, respect—all were at risk if they did not adhere to the state-sanctioned pedagogy. No wonder such a brutal and unforgiving system made teachers cling to their methodologies as described by Bruner (1996).

This fear, under which our TESOL students studied and taught, is conjectured to be the defining factor in their resistance to accepting new methodologies. While it is true that resistance to new methods and to supervision of any kind is common (Bradley &
Gould, 2002), this paper hypothesizes that people taught under such oppressive conditions will manifest greater resistance to suggested changes in their pedagogy than will those not exposed to such an authoritarian system. One reason is that fear is “relatively impenetrable to cognitive control” and its activation is automatic, report Ohman and Mineka (2001, p. 483). In fact, that fear-learning even has its own “dedicated neural circuitry, located in the amygdala” (p. 483), the part of the brain that processes and controls the memory of emotional reactions, including those conditioned by environment. Therefore, learning acquired under fearful conditions is not easily surmounted because it is involuntarily triggered.

Natural Reactions

Many supervisees feel inadequate and fear loss of control, regardless of their field or background (Bradley & Gould, 2002). However, because of their Soviet past, the trainees in our program, especially those who have been teaching for decades, feel shame and anger at the mere hint they have not been trained properly or are not doing their job correctly. As with the student above who took umbrage at the way the new techniques were introduced, it is not just their methods being criticized—they feel criticized.

Since new methods create an uncomfortable and unfamiliar state of mind for teachers (Barker, 2003), they try to resolve that distress through various reactions that mirror the stages that clients go through during therapy in clinical psychology.

According to Prochaska (1999), there are six stages of change. The first is pre-contemplation, wherein clients deny any problem exists. They do not really want to change themselves, just the people around them. Language Center teachers manifest this stage when they refuse to take courses or professional development because they do not think they need more training.

Stage 2 is called the contemplation phase, where the person acknowledges a problem exists and starts to think seriously about solving it although plans and commitment are not firm. Teachers tell me they want to take courses but say they are too busy, even in
the face of possible termination of their employment unless they do so and regardless of our efforts to entice them with tuition discounts and reduced teaching loads. People can remain at this stage for a long time because they are substituting thought for action (Prochaska, 1999).

Stage 3 is reached when the person decides on a plan of action. There may still be ambivalence, but in general there is more intention to change. Teachers who finally enroll in classes are in this stage. However, despite our training, they often ignore all the new information and carry on as they always have with their old techniques. A recent example of this occurred when at a recent conference, a TESOL student writing her thesis delivered a paper about how teachers should blend the old Soviet methods with the new ones. Clearly, she felt they were valuable and was reluctant to discard them.

In Stage 4 the individual takes action and confronts what caused difficulty in the past. This would mean embracing the new methods and seeing them as offering solutions to teaching problems. One such teacher recently presented a professional development technique to improve his colleagues’ teaching by videotaping themselves for (private) review later to focus on certain aspects. He showed a short video of himself teaching and asked for critiques of his performance, a bold and unusual move because he had left himself open for criticism.

Stages 5 and 6 involve maintaining those changes and not relapsing. This would entail teachers finally adopting the new methods and implementing them without supervision. One teacher said she used many new, student-centered techniques in her undergraduate speaking and listening class to the great delight of her students, who researched what interested them rather than being assigned a topic. For her the reward of seeing her students become excited about the class supplanted the need for her to appear in control and all-knowing.

Understanding these stages can help trainers gain a finer appreciation of resistance in its various forms and decide how best to handle it.
Why language learning is different

Certainly one cannot gainsay the excellence of the Soviet educational system when one counts its innumerable contributions to math, science, space exploration, literature, and poetry, to name only a few fields, as well as its reported widespread literacy rates. After all, those attaining such great accomplishments were trained under the Soviet model as well. However, as second language researchers report, acquiring a language is unlike other kinds of learning. It is not optimally accomplished when students fear failing or when rote memorization and imitation are the techniques used, as with the Audiolingual method (Brown, 2007). Instead, scholars counsel a much more communicative approach (Brown, 2006; Richards, n.d.; Sauvignon, 1983), which takes into account the learner’s ego and cognitive processes, and focuses on communication rather than feeding students piecemeal elements, which are not cognitively available for use in conversation absent intense practice. In short, knowledge banking may work in some fields but is currently eschewed in the latest approaches to foreign language pedagogy.

If language learning is closely allied with one’s self-esteem, then frightening students by shouting at or punishing them for wrong answers can jeopardize or halt learning altogether. In addition to that, foreign language teaching scholars (e.g., Krashen, 1982) recommend teachers move away from the pedagogy that Rogova (1983, as cited in Adams, 1985) calls the Conscious-Practical Approach, with explicit grammar rules and extensive drills. The rationale behind using a more implicit and communicative approach lies in the fact that we cannot be certain how any one student organizes information about anything, especially about a topic as complicated as a foreign language. So determining in advance that they should, for instance, learn tenses in a prescribed sequence and adjectives before adverbs is not consonant with what we know about language learning. Not only do students learn things we do not overtly teach them, they may not even learn what we do explicitly teach. They make errors in the language that are not accounted for by transfer from their first language, and they may continue to make errors even after we spend class time going over such items. Mistakes are viewed as an “interlanguage” (Selinker, 1972), that is, the learner’s current hypothesis about the target language. The communicative approach, then, advises that learners be given enough understandable input about the language to help them refine their hypotheses about its grammar and give them an opportunity
to build up fluency toward that goal (Nation, 2008). This is not to say that language teaching need be haphazard. On the contrary, it should be shaped and practiced but by all means allow for creativity, meaningfulness, and freedom from fear of making mistakes.

Is it ethical to change someone's values?

Regardless of how effective the communicative approach may seem to its proponents, learning a new teaching method is not merely a matter of exchanging old for new. Some researchers question the ethics of attempting to change anyone’s beliefs about teaching. Raths (2000) says this sounds like brainwashing: “There is something inherently wrong with working to change the beliefs of others, especially from a position of power” (p. 1). From this perspective, we may be viewed by our post-Soviet trainees as merely the next hegemonic force wanting to tamper with their lives. Kazakhstanis have been controlled by rulers starting from the tsars’ takeover in the 1830s until 1991, when the Soviet Union fell. Besides, the knowledge-banking approach has worked for them, their parents, and perhaps their offspring. Why should they trade it in for another methodology that to them is untested? So the pull toward stability and stasis is strong. There is even a saying in the Russian reflecting this wish: *Ne dai vam Bog zhits v periyod pirimen* [“May God save you from living in a time of change.”].

Chong et al. (n.d.) disagree with Raths (2000), arguing strongly that trainers should address trainees’ values (used here synonymously with beliefs): “Research efforts…should focus more on helping the pre-service teachers to be more aware of their own beliefs and other associated factors and make them understand how their own beliefs can influence their learning while they are in teacher education programmes” (p. 1). In doing so, they “become more aware of their own dispositions towards teaching and hopefully this would contribute to their being and becoming effective educators in schools” (p. 1). They cite Kagan (1992), Pajares (1992), and Wubbels (1992), all of whom urge teacher educators to “uncover many of the teachers’ beliefs about the nature of teaching and learning and understand how these teachers’ beliefs interact with the content and pedagogy of the existing teacher
education programme and the extent of what and how they learn” (p. 1). In accord with this thinking are Tishman et al. (1992), who point out that acculturation goes on “whether we recognize it or not, so we may as well take heed and enculture what we want” (p. 1).

Thus we sit squarely on the horns of a dilemma. Our trainees say they want to learn updated methods; many even take our courses that present new methods. Yet they return to their classrooms and continue teaching using a didactic, teacher-controlled, knowledge-banking approach, replete with (in some cases) yelling at and humiliating their own students. However, some believe it is ethically unsound to approach it as a situation where we “fix” their methods.

If we want our trainees to question authority, conduct student-centered classes, and concentrate on inquiry-based instruction, we must raise their awareness about their tendency to revert to fear-based, teacher-centered approaches. However, exactly how that new mindset is brought about is paramount: it must be done in a way that does not ask them to give up their old methods but rather shows them they have other pedagogical choices, challenges their beliefs, and reframes what they know. To that end, this article explores three techniques that help sidestep this resistance without confronting values or fears, namely, 1) strengthening dispositions, 2) creating cognitive dissonance, and 3) using metaphors.

Methodology

Participants
Thirteen teachers participated in the study, along with three administrators of the Language Center, two of whom are ethnic Kazakhs, and the third, the director, a native English speaker reared and schooled in South Africa. All interviews were conducted in English.
Ages
The teacher trainees in the study ranged in age from 26 to 60 years. All were trained under the Soviet system. They are either ethnic Kazakh or Russian, with one Ukrainian schooled in Kyrgyzstan.

Data collection and analysis
Lengthy interviews were conducted about the training and work experience of the thirteen participants. The director was asked about his impressions as their instructor and administrator in both group and individual settings. He was asked about his solutions for dealing with teacher resistance and plans for inducing teachers to become more collaborative and cooperative with colleagues.

In addition to those interviews, data were also gathered through my experiences with students in tutorials, meetings, and assorted writing assignments, such as reaction papers and journals, those mentioned below.

Analysis was conducted by creating categories found in the interviews referring to their 1) teaching background, 2) comparisons with current teaching methods they have had in their classes, and 3) responses in classes, tutorials, and participation in meetings.

The next section outlines the methods gathered from various scholars’ work because they served the Language Center’s goal of challenging students’ thinking without confrontation.

Possible solutions

1. Focusing on dispositions
Because of the ethical questions surrounding changing values and general futility of directly confronting the ensuing resistance, some researchers propose focusing on teachers’ dispositions. The term, coined by Katz in 1984, is defined as “an attribution which summarizes the trend of a teacher’s actions across similar contexts” (Katz & Raths, 1986, p. 2). But the definition from the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) is more to the point of this study: “the values,
commitments, and professional ethics that influence behavior toward students, families, colleagues, and communities and affect student learning, motivation, and development as well as the educators’ own professional growth” (as cited in Koeppen & Davison-Jenkins, 2006, p. 13). Thus, dispositions do not address what has caused the behavior but are viewed as a category of behaviors for teacher trainees to aspire to and be evaluated by, such as being supportive, valuing knowledge, and colleagueship (Raths, 2000).

By focusing on dispositions, a supervisor need not confront teachers’ values directly, thereby minimizing the risk of offense or triggering resistance. Instead, trainees are told they need to have certain dispositions “strengthened” (Raths, n.d., p. 11). To that end, the director of our Language Center, where most of our TESOL students teach, has put in place three dispositions he wants to strengthen: self-reflection, collaboration, and research.

a. Self-reflections

Self-reflections are required in most of our courses, either as homework or as in-class activities. They then become fodder for discussions about teaching issues or observations of others’ classrooms. Teachers do them reluctantly and often write superficial narratives about the topic. For instance, the director asked one trainee in his practicum course to observe a class and write a reflection about it. After she observed the class, she told the director that the instructor had become quite angry with the students because they had not done their homework, roundly chastising them about their laziness and lack of responsibility in a loud and aggressive manner. The director reported that the trainee had had quite an emotional and negative reaction to the situation.

“She was shocked,” he said in the interview, “that the students were behaving badly and speaking Russian.” (They must speak in English at all times.) But when he asked her to explore the assumptions behind those feelings in a reflection, he was shocked himself to see it a mere description, with no insights into why the teacher or students might have behaved that way or why their actions upset her so. Even a subsequent reflection probed no more deeply.
I’d like to see that people are sufficiently in touch with any emotional response to a situation and explain why they feel that way. If your expectation is that things should be orderly and then encounter when things aren’t, doesn’t this help you think about what you would do in such a situation? The role I have to play is one of challenging them and asking them to rethink why we hold certain beliefs and why we do things in a certain way.

In short, he said, if students stay on automatic pilot, nothing will change. Reflections can play an important role in achieving that goal since, according to the director, “They help them engage in thinking about what they are doing. You have to engage people and ask those critical questions such as why, what are our reasons, could it be different?”

b. Collaboration

A second disposition our administration promotes is collaboration to, among other things, stimulate the creation of better materials and write more coherent and consistent syllabi. However, instead of regarding collaboration as a way of easing the workload or inspiring each other to greater creativity, teachers remain suspicious that the observer has been sent to “spy” on them for management.

The need to encourage collaboration was also born out of the intense emotions exhibited during team meetings for courses instructors teach in the Language Center; yelling and cruel comments were not unusual. Privately, teachers admit their feelings are hurt due to these invectives, yet they persist. The director observes:

Teachers’ listening skills are not very good, and they resort to shouting and putting people down. They don’t process others’ ideas but don’t come up with their own solutions. They’re very good at finding problems. Underlying that is fear of being punished and being blamed…They tend to fault one another for problems and lack of progress.

To foster collaboration, the director has paired teachers to team teach foundation (basic English) courses, with an eye toward placing those more resistant to changing their methods with others who have had Western training or demonstrated proficiency
in the newer techniques. “The resistance at first was incredible,” he said, “but they consented—begrudgingly.”

Team teaching has met with widespread opposition in part because some resent their assigned partner: the younger ones can be arrogant and do not think they need help, and older ones often relentlessly dominate the inexperienced ones. So instead of working together in the service of creating materials and continuity between the courses, some avoid the director’s authority by dividing the responsibilities: one teaches reading and writing, and the other, listening and speaking on alternate days. They do not coordinate or share progress reports. The director said he was surprised these teachers, who came from a collectivist society, would balk at collaborating in the workplace. But, as one teacher explained, during Soviet times they were forced to work on collectivist farms picking potatoes and other crops at the behest of the government. Now, with their newfound freedom, they want to be left alone and answer to no one. Making them share that power is anathema.

Ironically, the director commented, the teachers sometimes work a bit too collaboratively when it comes to writing applications or even filling out questionnaires, which they often copy from one another (Burkhalter & Shegebayev, 2010). “There are times when they want to collaborate and then work individually,” he said. “It comes down to being afraid of making a mistake. Teachers don’t want others to know what’s going on.”

After four years of intervention, the director is cautiously optimistic and reports that the balkanization is slowly fading, especially with his plan to pair local teachers with Western-trained ones. “They’re starting to see that there are benefits to working collectively. They see role models that ease them in.”

c. Research
The third disposition the director wishes to encourage is a climate of curiosity leading to research, and specifically action research, defined as inquiry that investigates any aspect of one’s own teaching: the school or classroom environment, student outcomes, one’s own teaching, virtually anything to do with education. To that end, our Language Center has created a research laboratory to help teachers investigate
whatever interests them and perhaps develop it into a conference presentation and/or academic article. While teachers receive no course reduction for doing this, their participation boosts their points on their yearly evaluations. This method appeals to their self-interest, as well as communicates the message they are part of an academic community and are expected to behave as academicians. The director adds:

    Encouraging research is difficult because research is viewed [in Kazakhstan] as terribly abstruse and complicated...It has all sorts of expectations, such as it must be theoretical. In this context I don’t think this is helpful. For people who are engaged in daily teaching, applied research is much more beneficial, and it needn’t be so daunting.

This research lab was proposed three years ago, but no one was interested. However this year, ten instructors have begun developing studies (some are even collaborating) to answer questions about teaching and syllabus design, often with the goal of presenting a paper or workshop to colleagues. Conference participation has also risen dramatically: whereas in 2008, only a handful of local teachers participated in conferences or gave papers at international conferences, compared with close to 20 who have done so in the last two years.

Strengthening the dispositions of self-reflection, collaboration, and research has helped teachers shift their focus away from the fear and toward skills that will earn them points in their yearly evaluations. The director hopes they will eventually internalize these behaviors to enrich their teaching experience and create a more harmonious working environment.

2. Using cognitive dissonance
A second solution is the use of cognitive dissonance, an uncomfortable feeling caused by holding conflicting ideas simultaneously (Raths, 2000). The goal of the method is not to overtly challenge anyone’s beliefs, attitudes, actions, or values, but to juxtapose them with opposing cognitions (Barker, 2003). This causes students to try to restore cognitive equilibrium either by changing their behavior, trivializing the matter, or rationalizing their actions. Additionally, it sensitizes them to conditions under which they are “prone to rationalize or act to minimize dissonance” (Peters & Filipova,
2009). It is “a good way to undermine students’ confidence in their own settled beliefs or assumptions” (Bean, 1996, p. 27). It works well because it is a private and therefore safe way for them to examine their beliefs.

One way to achieve cognitive dissonance is through writing reflections, such as journals and reaction papers, or by asking students to respond to specific questions, e.g., What about this demonstration differs from how you teach speaking and listening? What do you like about your teaching style and what do you want to work on?

Another way is Bean’s (1996) use of “decentering,” which helps “students see a phenomenon from an unfamiliar perspective” (p. 27). One decentering technique asks students to create a dialog between two people on opposite sides of an issue. Take as an example the following dialog between two imaginary characters, Bill, who favors the grammar translation method, and Mary, who prefers the communicative approach. The characters must explain their understanding of the other’s position.

Here is one student’s dialog, preceded by the directions for the exercise:

Bill and Mary always argue about which method is the best one for their second language students. They both teach the same level, and both are experienced teachers. Bill favors the grammar translation method while Mary prefers the Communicative Approach. Write a dialog between these two people showing them defending their views. In your dialog, make sure each person summarizes the views of the other person. For instance, you could say, “If I understand you correctly, you believe that…”

Bill: People might think that I am old-fashioned but I continue appreciating the grammar-translation method. I do think that it has got a lot of advantages.

Mary: What? What have you said? What kind of plusses are you talking about?

Bill: The first positive feature of this method is learning grammar rules. And when you have finished one grammar rule, only then you can move to another. Students can devote enough time to practice and drill each rule for them to understand it better.
Mary: But learning the rules does not mean acquiring the language. Look, how many people have been studying the language for decades, but cannot speak at all. I prefer the communicative approach when students in their speech use all types of grammar at once.

Bill: But then how can you correct students’ errors? Do you mean that grammar (accuracy) is not so important for you and you can allow your students to ignore the important aspects of grammar, such as conditionals or tenses? It is absurd! You can’t do this!

Mary: Dear Bill, believe me, but only when students speak, they activate the language. You can also explain grammar rules in the communicative approach, but it should be done in meaningful context, not in isolation.

Bill: Really? Then could you explain what the communicative approach is?

Mary: OK. The communicative approach is when students are given a lot of different opportunities to speak, discuss and practice the language.

This student was particularly resistant to new methods but appears to have presented both sides well and even with some humor.

A third kind of cognitive dissonance exercise is McLuhan and McLuhan’s (1988) tetrad. Filling out the tetrad helps teachers reflect in a dialectical way about, in this case, the new methods they learned about in their teaching reading and writing course. As with dialogs, the tetrad helps them externalize their thinking and fears so they can look at them more objectively. In figure 1, the right side of the tetrad probes negatives aspects of adopting new strategies. Many respondents left one or both quadrants blank or replied that nothing would be lost or rendered unnecessary. Perhaps it means they are at a stage where they either do not have enough information to answer or are too reluctant to admit they will be giving up anything. Here is a tetrad with some teachers’ responses.

Tetard*
The classroom strategies presented in this class will alter your class dynamics in your classroom. In the tetrad below, notice how this way of working might transform what you do.
It enhances the number of interactive activities and enhances my knowledge on the methods of teaching language.

When I was a little girl the thing I was dreaming about was to enter the class as Soviet teachers did. They looked strict and all students were afraid of them. I always thought that students have to be afraid of me, so I would have a well organize classes. Thanks to your classes I see that sociocultural approach does miracles.

Enhance: What will it enhance that you already do?

Introduce: What will it do that is new or different?

Peer evaluation or calling upon other students’ view and understanding. Working with students’ view over my class. What will make my lesson better are mainly students centeredness tasks based on the development of critical thinking.

Jeopardize: What will you risk losing that you value?

Make obsolete: What will it make unnecessary?

It will make unnecessary to teach reading and writing by using only formal techniques. Probably some theory will be not very necessary.

Figure 1. Tetrad.
3. Creation of metaphors/analogies

The last solution is the use of metaphors. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors can be instrumental in changing the way we perceive reality by providing a framework for generating new perspectives and approaches. Metaphors accomplish this change by providing a mapping of or bridge to some of the ideas onto a new schema while leaving other information behind or by hiding certain aspects of the concept (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Thus, metaphors are quite powerful in helping to reorganizing one’s ideas about anything—politics, substance abuse, smoking (Stice, Shaw, Becker, & Rohde, 2008)—and go beyond preconceived concepts and facts to challenge the propaganda that permeates people's daily routines and thought patterns. In that same way, metaphors can help raise teachers’ awareness about their “root beliefs and theoretical assumptions” (Alger, 2009, p. 744) and modify their ideas about teaching without necessarily threatening their identity or triggering the fear that is part of their “folk linguistics,” which Guerrero and Villamil (2002) define as “those ‘common sense’ notions everybody has about language and language learning associated with teaching” (p. 115). Nor does this approach ask them to abandon or be critical of their past. In short, as with the techniques cited under cognitive dissonance, using metaphors is a nonthreatening way to have individuals at least reconsider their views. As Wright, Sundberg, Yarbrough, Wilson, and Stallworth (2003) put it: “Metaphors, along with a reflective process, can help in-service teachers identify conflicts between their beliefs and their roles as teachers” (p. 1).

Guerrero and Villamil (2002) point out that this process of change through the use of metaphors begins with analyzing the ones teachers supply about the notions of teaching. By doing so, they can be “a heuristic tool to raise awareness about theoretical assumptions, challenge established beliefs, and promote change in classroom practices” (p. 97).

In their study, Guerrero and Villamil (2002) uncovered many culturally sanctioned beliefs in teachers’ metaphors, which is what sociocultural theory would predict: metaphors are psychological tools that shape, as well as are shaped by, interactions (Dunsmore, Gavelek, & McVee, 2005). So, Guerrero and Villamil (2002) continue, in the process of raising teachers’ awareness of their culturally shared metaphors about
teaching and learning, there can be a reconstruction. It is this reconstruction that is so
difficult for Kazakhstani teachers because of their loyalty to their Soviet past,
buttressed by the fear that militates against change; therefore metaphors provide an
ideal method for examining their own thinking, again privately and without public
scrutiny, since they do not want to be perceived as having deficits.

Each culture has its own root metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), defined as one
which is so embedded within a language or culture that it is often not realized as being
a metaphor. English root metaphors (also called metaphoric themes by Wright, 1999)
include time as money and business as war.

Since the Kazakhstani culture prides itself on its excellent hospitality, it seemed
reasonable to tap into this cultural notion to explain the concept of implicit learning,
whose premise many students reject. As Krashen (1982) points out, implicit teaching
strategies foster the acquisition (subconscious learning) of language, as opposed to its
learning via direct instruction of, say, grammar rules. After all, knowing those rules
does not necessarily translate into oral fluency, which is what gave rise to the
communicative method in the first place. However, because its effects are largely
unquantifiable (Holme, 2004), our teachers regard implicit teaching as lazy or no
teaching.

In this metaphor, the trainees are told that implicit teaching is like setting a table for
language learners with all kinds of food and drink. Students are allowed to eat
whatever they want from the table, but we teachers are not in control of what or how
much they consume. That way they can be hospitable to their students and nourish
them at the same time. Because teachers understand the concrete custom of eating and
setting a fine table, it is much easier to understand the importance of allowing their
students to “graze” at the table of language. Thus, we can portray a teaching method
in a way that does not confront their loyalty to the transmission model and still
conforms to their cultural practices. They can at least re-evaluate how it might fit into
their teaching practices.
Another sticking point among teachers involves their zeal to correct students overmuch when they speak. Nation (2008) states this is the surest way to thwart creativity when using the language, one of the main goals of communicative language learning. Learners need to develop fluency in and techniques for expressing themselves in novel situations. To counter this notion of having to correct each and every error, trainees were given the metaphor of teaching a child to ride a bike. Would they stop the cyclist, have him/her dismount so they can explain correct posture and placement of the feet on the pedals? Of course not, because they intuitively know it is far more important to allow the child to correct those things by doing the action. The only legitimate reason for stopping the cyclist would be to correct those behaviors that caused the child to fall (analogous to a global error in communication that prevents understanding). Their laughter confirmed they understood the absurdity of the practice presented in the metaphor. Yet this is exactly what they do when they interrupt a speaker to correct pronunciation or grammar instead of allowing them to express a complete thought and thus develop fluency in the language.

Tobin (1990) recommends teachers have at their disposal a repertoire of metaphors they can choose from depending on teaching circumstances. They are an extremely versatile, creative, and unlimited teaching tool. There is nothing is lose by using metaphors and everything to gain.

**Discussion**

These techniques are quite useful for any supervising situation, including those where supervisees, regardless of background, play games to “manipulate and exert control over the supervision process” and mitigate the power disparity to protect themselves (Bradley & Gould, 2002, p.1). These actions can consist of flattery, seeking reassurance, feeling helpless, blaming the supervisor, and submissiveness. Recognizing these ploys can be difficult for supervisors, especially when many of them can upset or offend them, or at minimum throw them off track (Bradley & Gould, 2002, p.1). Knowing how to recognize these tactics and redirect the trainee to consider the issues in another way takes the focus off the supervisor/supervisee relationship and puts it into a more neutral setting. As discussed earlier, this is also the goal of dispositions, cognitive dissonance, and metaphors.
Here is an example of how three of the methods could be used with a particularly resistant student to remove the supervisor as the target.

**Using reflections**

One trainee had written a reflection about my teaching reading and writing class. For the course, all the trainees wrote an essay, just as their own writing students do, so they could undergo the same experience of writing and receiving criticism. One trainee had been teaching reading and writing for many years and had many opinions about how this course should have been run, and apparently not the way I had done it: I had not introduced the notion of thesis statement early enough in the semester, gave too much attention to others’ essays in class (which she found “boring and tiring”), and did not give her work enough consideration. All students were invited to see me for a private tutorial to talk about their paper as often as they wanted. She, however, came to my office only once (one time was mandatory) after she had received my critique of her first disorganized and unfocused draft. She looked alarmed and expressed concern she would have to rewrite the whole paper. For her, I believe, the realization that her writing was not as good as she had thought, even though she had been teaching writing for many years, was too shaming, hence, her need to blame me to protect herself, as Bradley & Gould (2002) predicted. While the reflection gave the student an outlet for her feelings and views, she provided no alternatives or specifics as to exactly how the course should have been taught.

**Using cognitive dissonance**

In this situation, in order to draw attention away from me and put the focus back on her, I might ask her to write a rebuttal to her reaction paper from my viewpoint and address questions such as, What possible reasons could there be for introducing the notion of thesis statement so “late” in the semester? Why did she think I took so much time in class going over students’ thesis statements? Why did she find it boring? So instead of allowing her belittling of me to stand, this exercise would have forced her
to see another side of the situation, similar to how she would explain her actions to her own students.

**Using metaphors/analogies**

Metaphors produced by trainees about their role as a teacher can be a window into their thinking and can play a “significant role as vehicles for reflection and awareness raising among educators” (Guerrero & Villamil, 2002, p. 95). Using this method, I asked several students to complete the phrase “A teacher is (like)…”. According to Guerrero and Villamil (2002), this technique externalizes a trainee’s views on teaching but may not correlate with classroom practices. Allowing students to describe their profession in this way “is a step towards identifying culturally based notions” (p. 116).

The same student who had criticized me in her reflection above responded to the prompt this way: “A teacher is a judge who notices both positive and negative features in students’ learning and performance and makes a verdict about student’s achievement and progress.” She added a second metaphor: “A teacher is a guardian who leads the students.”

Both of her metaphors reflect a familiar Soviet-based theme of the teacher as provider of information and sentry over learning. To get her to reevaluate her teaching metaphor, I might ask her to complete this prompt: “A teacher of the communicative method is like…” This would help her contrast her previous ideas with those of a teacher using a new approach that is student centered.

These are but a few suggestions for using these techniques to identify and deal with the resistant trainee.

**Conclusion**

Anchored in Bruner’s (1996) notion of folk pedagogy, which states that we teach how we were taught, this paper explores the allegiance that Kazakhstani teachers have toward their Soviet training, despite its harsh authoritarianism. Such treatment,
however, caused strong reticence in our master’s students to adopt new teaching methodologies due to their fear-based learning. This article has attempted to lay out a rationale for using three methods—strengthening dispositions (through self-reflections, collaboration, and research), creating cognitive dissonance, and using metaphors to reframe concepts—to deal with the resistance they have exhibited toward new teaching methods. These approaches are designed to avoid direct confrontation, an approach that is ethically problematic and ineffective when targeting a belief with a strong affective barrier (Ross, Leper, & Hubbard, 1975). The greater the affective attachment between belief and subject, the more resistant that belief is to modification (Anderson, 1982). Using these techniques can help trainees reframe their ideas.

While hardly a new problem in pedagogical training, this strong need for belief preservation can impede progress and negatively color the relationship between supervisor and student when the latter feel threatened and insecure. This clash is not limited to trainer-trainee pairings of those from different cultures (and certainly not solely for post-Soviet teachers), although that may exacerbate the situation since trainees may believe the instructor does not understand them or their culture. One of the greatest benefits of these approaches is the ability to influence behavior while preserving the trainer-trainee relationship. Students do not feel dominated or shamed, and supervisors can avoid being manipulated through flattery or other means that can derail the goal of the lesson.

The paper does not provide empirical data of their efficacy. However, several scholars cited here have reported positive results, e.g., dispositions: Katz & Raths, 1986, and Raths, 2000; metaphors: Guerrero & Villamil, 2002, and Tobin, 1990; cognitive dissonance: Bean, 1996, and McLuhan & McLuhan, 1988. In the short time we have instituted these remedies in the Language Center, our results, albeit anecdotal, show promise.

It would be a mistake to regard the use of these techniques as a unitary approach against resistance. Rather, each is powerful in its own right and can be used independently and for any teacher-training situation, for their efficacy does not depend on teacher background but rather on the need for trainees to challenge their
beliefs and strengthen behaviors that will comport with departmental goals and pedagogical objectives.

These are but a few methods that can help obviate or minimize that conflict no matter what the language or culture of the trainees. Regardless of the etiology of the resistance, allowing supervisees to discover their own beliefs and examine them without fear of reprisal, as Guerrero & Villamil (2002) suggest, provides face-saving techniques and time for private reflection.

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The ESL/ELL teacher’s survival guide, 1st

Larry Ferlazzo and Katie Hull Sypnieski


Reviewed by Hitomi Kambara

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The ESL/ELL Teacher’s Survival Guide by Ferlazzo & Sypnieski provides several pragmatic strategies, lesson plans, and useful online tools that teachers of English language Learners (ELL) can easily implement in their classrooms. The book, designed for ELL teachers from grade four to grade twelve, offers an array of effective teaching methods and strategies. It even includes a chapter explicitly directed to mainstream teachers who have English Language Learners in their classrooms. The authors introduce the necessary components of ELL instruction, such as classroom strategies to strengthen students’ language skills and detailed sample lesson plans, with thoughtful understanding of proficiency levels and real knowledge about the everyday struggles of ELL students.

The book is organized into five parts with thirteen chapters. The first part provides basic information; commonly used acronyms and key terms about second language learning that teachers need to know. The authors discuss the three important Rs that are essential for promoting ELL learning: Relationships, Resources, and Routines. For example, computer routines can be implemented in daily lesson plans. A teacher reviews directions for computer use in the classroom and lets students write the directions down in their notes. Then students move to the computer lab and reproduce
the steps on their own while helping each other. Overall, the computer routines enhance students’ leadership abilities and deepen their relationship with each other as well as facilitate the learning of key concepts through technology (p.34).

The second part presents daily instructions, including strategies and sample lesson plans, for beginning ELLs. According to the authors, a week’s sample lesson plan should equally cover all four basic language skills: reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Ferlazzo & Sypnieski recommend using familiar topics, such as home, animals, and feelings so that students are able to relate what they are learning with their daily lives.

The third part describes a variety of effective approaches and sample lesson plans that prepare the intermediate level ELLs to learn academic language, with focus on academic writing skills. The authors introduce several strategies for building students’ background knowledge before they start writing. Prewriting and writing activities with teachers’ support and immediate feedback are critical for facilitating understanding in the target language.

The fourth part explores important concepts for content-area teachers who might have ELLs in their classes. It is built around what the authors call the Organizing Cycle which has five important steps: “building student relationships, accessing prior knowledge, developing student leadership potential, learning by doing, and reflection” (p.205). There are straightforward and useful example lessons presented for social studies, math, and science using the Organizing Cycle.

The fifth part of the book introduces recommendations for the assessment of ELL students as well as a discussion of relevant games. For instance, the authors introduce a classroom game called Telephone that enhances students’ speaking and listening skills. A teacher divides the class into two or three groups and whispers a sentence into the ear of the first person in each group. As a rule of the game, students need to
correctly deliver the sentence to the next person. The last person in the group whispers the sentence to the teacher. If the students have an incorrect sentence, they have to start over from the beginning. The second person becomes the first person who starts the game and the first person becomes the last person. The game encourages student participation and can be enjoyable (p.243).

The central argument of *The ESL/ELL Teacher’s Survival Guide* is that students learn by doing, not by sitting and listening. In every chapter, the authors successfully introduce learning by doing activities. These activities develop a deeper understanding of the materials while encouraging students to be active learners. Each chapter starts with an interesting story, which allows readers to form core ideas about the chapter. Then it includes teachers’ authentic reflections on implementing specific strategies. The end of each chapter features links to additional resources for readers who wish to have further information.

The authors provide readers with useful teaching methods, strategies, and tools. *The ESL/ELL Teacher’s Survival Guide* is packed with illustrations and the large font used throughout the book is easy on the eyes. Overall, *The ESL/ELL Teacher’s Survival Guide* is a highly recommended and well-organized resource for all who teach English as a second or foreign language, but should be especially pertinent for beginning or preservice teachers.
English Language Teaching in India: The Shifting Paradigms


Reviewed by S. Kumaran, India

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English Language Teaching in India: The Shifting Paradigms by S. P. Dhanavel, Professor, Department of English, Anna University, Chennai, is a collection of research papers, written over two decades. Its objective is to record the developments in ELT in India from a practicing teacher’s viewpoint. It traces the trajectory of English from literature-based teaching to soft skills teaching.

The book, which consists of 19 chapters on various topics like language skills, grammar, vocabulary, the link between ELT and soft skills, English for Science and Technology, and literature, examines the current status of English in India with an insight into the colonial legacy and the postcolonial double bind. It highlights the everyday problems in the Indian classroom and offers useful solutions for practitioners of ELT in India and abroad, specially neighboring countries.

One of the major reasons for the failure of ELT in India is its lack of direction for the learners. The first chapter addresses the development of English as a world language and prepares the readers, primarily teachers at the tertiary level, for empowering English learners. The second chapter is an appeal to the policy makers and administrators to formulate a consistently strong language policy so that the efforts of teachers of English would give the desired results. Chapters three and four describe the impact of globalization and information technology on English and urges teachers

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of English to adopt Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) judiciously in order to be more competitive in the global market. The best solution, in the author’s view, for mastering English is by tapping into the intrinsic motivation of both learners and teachers, which is addressed in Chapter 6.

An innovative aspect of this book is a record of the experiments the author conducted at Anna University, Chennai. It shows that any teacher can conduct similar activities anywhere to ensure the successful learning of English. While discussing technology-enabled language learning in Chapter 4, Dhanavel reveals how Anna University students were encouraged to explore various forms of technology, especially blog writing as a part of learning English. In Chapter 5, the author investigates content related to engineering and technology in teaching English to first year undergraduate engineering students. He analyses how a simple question from a student regarding the word ‘crux’ enabled him to discover the potential of technical content simulating present real-life situations in the classroom. In Chapter 13, he proposes a new approach tried with first year engineering students at Anna University. The students were predominantly from Tamil medium background. The interesting finding of the research is that students learned to write sentences and discovered new meanings at the same time.

Historically, the Key English Language Teaching (KELT) project undertaken by the Department of English of the university in 1988 and its outcome in the syllabus of Technical English I and II, which relies on English for Specific Purposes (ESP), is important for teachers of English in India and elsewhere. He questions the experimental results and suggests a way forward for multipurpose English teaching programs in Chapter 18.

The strength of the book lies in chapters 7, 8, and 13. The 5S approach to vocabulary teaching in chapter 7 is quite interesting as it involves Sight, Sound, Source, Sense, and Syntax of a word in question. Generally, grammar and composition are considered difficult by students and dull by teachers but the author perceives them exciting in Chapter 8 and offers new techniques through a number of acronyms to teach them. For example, VANPAPCI stands for the eight parts of speech and DEAN stands for four modes of discourse: Description, Exposition, Argumentation, and
Narration. The integrated approach to teaching writing proposed in Chapter 13 discusses three levels of writing. Thus, through these thought-provoking and practical techniques, the author has opened new grounds for English teaching.

A current trend in ELT is the teaching of soft skills, also called people skills, which are needed for one’s professional success. Dhanavel discusses them in Chapter 14 and has a separate textbook on *English and Soft Skills* (2010). Undoubtedly, the author’s focus on thinking as an integral part of communication skills in Chapter 15 will urge teachers to relate thinking with all four language skills. Further, he has included non-verbal communication skills in Chapter 16. His use of proverbs in teaching and learning English and soft skills in Chapter 17 draws sustenance from the wisdom of the ages for successful learning and teaching.

Though the book has achieved its objectives of documenting the shifting paradigms of ELT in India and suggesting innovative techniques for teaching and learning English, it is specific to the experience of an English teacher from a technical university in Tamilnadu. The attempt to explain the pronunciation of the letter ‘x’ in Chapter 10 seems inadequate. Knowing the pronunciation of “x” alone may not help everybody to speak English well. However, *English Language Teaching in India: The Shifting Paradigms* will remain a perennial source of inspiration and innovation not only for teachers of English in India but also for teachers in other countries.
This volume is an engaging addition to the body of scholarship which examines the increasingly globalized nature of English. Featuring contributions from distinguished scholars and covering a range of contexts, it offers concise summaries and insightful observations about how characteristics of English use in Japan continue to emerge and change.

The book consists of a general introduction by the editor and nine chapters divided into two parts. The first part "English in the education system" discusses the relationship between the English language and educational policy and practice, while the second "English in society and culture" examines the uses and meanings English has in popular culture and the public sphere. Altogether, the chapters look predominantly at the state and status of English in present-day Japan.

Part one begins with "Elite discourses of globalization in Japan: the role of English". The authors analyze online promotional materials of several Japanese universities and examine two visions of globalization: globalization as opportunity and globalization as threat. They further compare the discourse of language and globalization in Japan with that of other countries and regions.

In Chapter two, "Not everyone can be a star: students' and teachers' beliefs about English teaching in Japan", the researcher examines the gap between students and their English teachers in four key areas: the role of English as an international language (EIL), the
importance of learning English, the goals of the required English class, and the assessment of each other's contributions toward learning. The chapter also suggests ways to promote communication between students and teachers about course expectations.

The third chapter: "Parallel universes: globalization and identity in English language teaching at a Japanese university" explores teacher identity and student identity at a Japanese higher education context. Based on the interviews with curriculum planners, teachers and students, the study attempts to bring out salient identity positions in relation to globalization and internationalization.

Chapter four, "The native speaker English teacher and the politics of globalization in Japan" uses the narratives of five assistant language teachers participating in Japan Exchange and Teaching programme (JET) to address the difficulties faced by native speakers of English entering the field of ELT. The study hopes to bring to applied linguistics research further insight into the complex, and sometimes contradictory, mix of effects of the globalization of English.

The first part concludes with Chapter five, "Immigration, diversity and language education in Japan: toward a glocal approach to teaching English". The author draws on her qualitative research in the city of Hasu in 2007 to investigate the perceptions and experiences of Japanese adults learning English outside of educational institutions. She proposes a glocal approach to teaching English as a foreign language, which she believes can raise students' critical language awareness and develop border-crossing communicative skills. Thus they can actively and critically engage in diverse cultural, racial and linguistic contact zones.

Part II "English in society and culture" begins with Chapter six: English as an international language and "Japanese English". First, the author tackles the native speaker syndrome/mentality of the Japanese people and calls for de-Anglo-Americanization of English. Secondly, he predicts that it seems unlikely to develop a variety recognizable as "Japanese English" with its own endonormative standards. However, the increasing incorporation of English expressions in daily Japanese use is bringing about various changes to the Japanese language.

Chapter seven "The position of English for a new sector of 'Japanese youths': mixed ethnic girls' constructions of linguistic and ethnic identities" is an innovative piece. It studies the position of English in Japan by analysing the hybrid identities of early adolescent girls of
mixed ethnicity. From the spoken data, the researcher identifies dominant discourses of language and ethnicity that affect this particular group.

Chapter eight: "The ideal speaker of Japanese English as portrayed in 'language entertainment' Television" reveals the psychology of Japanese English speakers and the characteristics of an ideal speaker of Japanese English. Different from the language education programme, the language entertainment genre of Japanese television can be seen to contribute to the development of Japanese speakers of English, by modeling yuuki (courage), jigyakui (self-effacement), genki (enthusiasm) and competence as personality traits that favour the successful use of English.

The final chapter, "The symbolic meaning of visual English in the social landscape of Japan" is dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the visual display of English in modern Japan. By interviewing informants with a diversity of geographical location, age and gender, it aims to show that such language use is not solely a means of relaying content meaning to a non-Japanese speaking sector of the public, but it has a localized symbolic value which draws upon the status and implications of English as a global language.

Despite the complex nature of the core concepts of the triad, "English", "Japan" and "Globalization", this book manages to offer a critical analysis and reflective thinking of what is understood by these terms, and how the concept of Japan and of Japanese culture is constructed in contemporary debates and discourses. As the chapters illuminate the unique aspects of English use in Japan and redress the unwarranted assumptions and overgeneralizations about English use in the Asian context, readers who are interested in EIL and want to be further informed will find this book particularly inspiring.
It is axiomatic that students attending universities in English-dominant countries will need to be proficient in English. Increasingly, however, that linguistic prerequisite also applies to those who choose to study in their own home country. Formal study of any kind is, of course, predicated upon writing, and it is in order to examine “a number of issues which are central to the field of academic writing” that Ramona Tang has created this volume.

Academic Writing ....is intended for anyone researching, studying or, indeed, writing in English as a second or foreign language. Broken into three broad sections, it encompasses learning, learner discourse and writer identity in ESL academic writing. There are 11 articles by a total of 16 contributors, representing a broad spectrum of Asian and European contexts and perspectives.

The articles which follow address issues such as identity and empowerment, the challenges and opportunities which face the E2L academic writer. More concretely, specific genres of academic text - and the language which characterizes the likes of research articles and dissertations - are examined. Contributors hail from both ‘center’ countries such as the UK and US and ‘periphery’ countries such as Poland and China (terminology borrowed from Tang, Challenges and Opportunities for Scholars from EFL Backgrounds, this volume). A variety of research methodologies are represented, ranging from a quantitative assessment of questionnaire data on the one hand to contributor as research subject on the other.
Academic Writing encompasses both the theoretical and the practical and is thus of value to anyone with an interest in issues pertaining to E2L writing. The volume as a whole is bound together by the rationale articulated by editor Ramona Tang in her introductory article: a departure from what she terms the ‘deficit’ model:

“…I firmly believe that our discussions in this area need to be supplemented by a more positive discourse that also appreciates and foregrounds the cultural and linguistic capital that ESL/EFL scholars have.” (p10)

So how does Academic Writing attempt to achieve this? Its stated objectives are threefold: first, the volume provides a platform for voices from a variety of backgrounds, not merely those for whom English is L1. Secondly, those voices encompass a variety of perspectives: undergraduates, postgraduates, researchers and academic professionals. Finally, a plurality of methodological approaches is represented, ranging from quantitative analysis on the one hand to personal reflection on the other. Academic Writing is therefore both extensive and comprehensive all at once. Constrained by its overall brief yet aiming for the broadest possible scope, it serves the reader in like fashion. No matter what one’s interest, something of interest is to be found within these pages.

One small caveat, should one be needed: this is not a book for the neophyte nor, indeed, for the ordinary ‘composition’ teacher. It is not a ‘how to’ manual or an introduction to academic writing qua genre. Yet to those whose research interests cover the territory outlined above, Academic Writing will prove an indispensable addition to the canon.