THE TESOLANZ JOURNAL

VOLUME 17   2009

THE TESOLANZ JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

The articles selected for this year's Journal raise thought provoking questions for teachers to consider and offer informed possibilities for classroom practice. To begin, Newton presents a position paper on intercultural language teaching and learning and its relevance to ESOL teaching in New Zealand. Newton notes that while interculturally informed language teaching is well established as an important teaching and learning paradigm in languages education internationally and is gaining momentum in second language education in New Zealand schools, it has had little obvious impact on TESOL in New Zealand. Newton draws on the rapidly growing international literature in this field to propose a number of pedagogic principles that can assist ESOL teachers in New Zealand to take a more interculturally informed stance towards teaching and learning in their classrooms.

In the second article, Sweetnam Evans outlines a blueprint underpinned by findings in reading research which arose from a programme designed initially to illustrate reading cognition to undergraduates using narrative film. It involves accessing complex, information-based texts using a narrative framework to enhance comprehension and learning in a second language. The technique is presented to ESOL teachers as an aid to bolstering the academic literacy of secondary learners.

Exploring patterns of use of high frequency multifunctional words in English, 'as' and 'so' in particular, as a basis for making decisions about when and how to treat them pedagogically is the aim of Vine's article. This study identifies patterns of use of 'as' and 'so' in the Wellington Corpora of Spoken and Written NZ English, and compares them with patterns of use in two popular English coursebooks. The discourse and grammatical patterns of use of the two words in the corpora are diverse and complex, and there is considerable mismatch between the patterns in the corpora and the patterns in the coursebooks, which has implications for pedagogical decision-making.

Finally, Ryan and Barnard probe second language learner-teacher interactions in order to find problematic areas of communication. An information-gap task, in which a SLL recounts a film narrative, was followed by a stimulated recall in which the teacher explains the mental picture of the narrative that s/he was developing while listening. The results

reveal that text analysis and participant reactions may be a misleading indicator of communicative success, and it is suggested that similar activities may be usefully employed as classroom activities, professional development, and in action research, as the triggers - and extent - of miscommunication are sometimes surprising.

The book reviews that follow have been selected to cover a range of areas relevant to language teaching and research and highlight current issues being explored in the literature.

In conclusion, I would like to thank all the contributors who submitted manuscripts for consideration in this year's volume of the journal. We are also indebted to members of the Editorial Board for the insight and generosity of spirit that characterize their reviews.

I encourage the many readers of the TESOLANZ Journal, established researchers and those who are just beginning in research, who have not yet contributed to the publication, to consider doing so in the following year. You will find Notes for Contributors at the end the journal, but always feel free to contact the Editor by email (s.gray@auckland.ac.nz), if you require any additional information. The closing date for receiving manuscripts in 2010 will be Tuesday 1st of June.

A PLACE FOR 'INTERCULTURAL' COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING (ICLT) IN NEW ZEALAND ESOL CLASSROOMS?[1]

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Abstract

Interculturally informed approaches to language teaching and learning are well established in many western educational contexts (e.g. The European Union, North American, Australia) and are in the process of being adopted in languages education in New Zealand schools (The New Zealand Curriculum 2007). However, familiarity with intercultural approaches does not appear to be as widespread within the New Zealand TESOL community.

This paper outlines ways in which an intercultural stance has been instantiated in language policy internationally and then discusses a number of pedagogic principles that can assist ESOL teachers to take a more interculturally informed stance towards teaching and learning in their classrooms.

In this paper I review international developments in the area of intercultural language teaching and learning. I argue that TESOL in New Zealand can benefit from greater engagement with these developments. With this in mind, I propose three principles for helping teachers adopt more interculturally oriented classroom practices.

Intercultural language teaching and learning is well established in languages education internationally and is gaining momentum in second language education in New Zealand schools. However, it does not appear to be as well known in the New Zealand ESOL community[2]. To some extent I think that this gap reflects a degree of separation between the languages and TESOL communities in New Zealand. Each community, for instance, has as its own conference (NZALT and CLESOL). ESOL is also

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[2] A notable exception with which I am aware was the course *Culture and New Zealand Society* taught until recently at UNITEC by Dr Martin Andrew and colleagues. This course focused explicitly and in depth on intercultural dimensions of the interactions and life experiences of ESOL students in the New Zealand community.

distinct from the languages strand in the NZ Curriculum framework, and each community draws on distinct research and scholarship traditions (although with obvious overlaps).

Since it is likely that familiarity with the term 'intercultural' is variable, I begin with a discussion of this term. Intercultural language teaching differs from linguistically oriented approaches to language teaching that focus on language with little reference to culture. It also differs from communicative approaches in which culture is an assumed backdrop to communication which may incidentally and haphazardly be bought into focus as the need arises. Rather, intercultural teaching recognizes the intertwined and inseparable nature of language and culture and so treats culture learning as an integral part of all language learning. It is however, most emphatically not just about transmitting information about culture. Instead, it focuses on raising awareness of culture and culture-in-language in the lived experience of the students as well as in the lives of people in the target language community. As such, intercultural teaching is a vehicle for developing in language learners firstly a deeper and more reflective understanding of their own cultural world(s) and identity, and secondly, an understanding of and the skills to accommodate the cultural differences they experience in their lives and interactions. As Gohard-Radenkovic, Lussier, Penz & Zarate (2004) argue:

> …the teaching/learning of modern languages seems to us to be the discipline *par excellence* for intensifying the openness to other cultures and the contact with otherness in the development of positive cultural representations associated with xenophile attitudes. (p. 53, cited in Rubenfeld, Clement, Lussier, Lebrun & Auger, 2006, p. 612)

The desired outcome of this approach is learners who can confidently navigate intercultural interactions and relationships, not just because they have achieved a certain level of linguistic or even communicative competence but because they are *interculturally* competent (Byram, 1997, 2006).

The Finnish scholar, Pauli Kaikkonen (2001) neatly sums up three key characteristics of language teaching which informed by an intercultural stance. First, it focuses on the inseparable relationship between culture and language, and on the power of language as both a carrier of culture and a tool for constructing our taken-for-granted cultural worlds. Second, it encourages learners to construct their understanding and awareness of culture through observation and experience and reflection. Third, it values learners' subjectivity by involving learners "with their whole personality: as knowing, feeling, thinking and acting individuals" (p. 64).

This stance characterises an intercultural paradigm shift in foreign or second language education in a growing number of education settings over the past 10-20 years. The following section provides a taste of this cultural turn as presented in curriculum and policy documents from Europe, Britain and Australia.

We start with Europe and with what is probably the most influential and widely cited language policy document internationally, *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001). This document identifies intercultural awareness and intercultural skills as core competencies to be achieved through language education. It expands on intercultural awareness to include:

- openness towards, and interest in, new experiences, other persons, ideas, peoples, societies and cultures;
- willingness to relativise one's own cultural viewpoint and cultural value-system;
- willingness and ability to distance oneself from conventional attitudes to cultural differences. (p. 105)

As noted in the framework, '[t]he development of an "intercultural personality" involving both attitudes and awareness is seen by many as an important educational goal in its own right' (p. 106).

Similarly, the national languages policy for England as outlined in *Languages for all: Languages for life: A strategy for England* (Department for Education and Skills, 2002) identifies cultural awareness as an essential educational goal. It states that 'in the knowledge society of the 21st century, language competence and intercultural understanding are not optional extras; they are an essential part of being a citizen' (p. 5).

In Australia, the *National Statement of Languages Education in Australian Schools* 2005-2008 (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, 2005) emphasizes the importance of intercultural language learning to the overall education of learners and to the broader community, noting that learning languages:

- enriches our learners intellectually, educationally and culturally;
- enables our learners to communicate across cultures;
- contributes to social cohesiveness through better communication and understanding;
- further develops the existing linguistic and cultural resources in our community;
- contributes to our strategic, economic and international development;
- enhances employment and career prospects for the individual.(p. 2)

The document goes on to identify the capacities that intercultural language learning can develop in learners, including the ability to:

- communicate, interact and negotiate within and across languages and cultures;
- understand their own and others' languages, thus extending their range of literacy skills, including skills in English literacy;
- understand themselves and others, and to understand and use diverse ways of knowing, being and doing;
- further develop their cognitive skills through thinking critically and analytically, solving problems, and making connections in their learning. (p. 3)

The *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) indicates the future approach to language teaching and learning in New Zealand and takes a similar approach. It introduces the new learning area of *Learning Languages* to the curriculum by stating that 'learning a new language provides a means of communicating with people from another culture and exploring one's own personal world' (p. 24). Under the heading *Why study a language*?, the document expands on this idea:

> By learning an additional language and its related culture(s), students come to appreciate that languages and cultures are systems that are organised and used in particular ways to achieve meaning. Learning a new language extends students' linguistic and cultural understanding and their ability to interact appropriately with other speakers. Interaction in a new language, whether face to face or technologically facilitated, introduces them to new ways of thinking about, questioning, and interpreting the world and their place in it. Through such interaction, students acquire knowledge, skills, and attitudes that equip them for living in a world of diverse peoples, languages, and cultures. As they move between, and respond to, different languages and different cultural practices, they are challenged to consider their own identities and assumptions. (p. 24)

This and the earlier statements from Europe, Britain and Australia all promote a view of language learning as inextricably tied up with learning about culture, and, in the process, learning about the culturally constructed nature of one's own world. The statements also reveal a broad consensus on the role of languages education in fostering cross-cultural understanding and inculcating in learners values associated with both national and global citizenship. In the remainder of this paper I discuss three principles that can guide ESOL teachers to adopt an interculturally informed pedagogy in line with this consensus. These

principles, which are well supported in the intercultural literature, are as follows:

1. Engage learners in genuine social interaction.
2. Encourage and develop an exploratory and reflective approach to culture and culture-in-language.
3. Foster explicit comparisons and connections between languages and cultures.[3]

The first principle, *Engage learners in genuine social interaction,* is an obvious starting point for developing intercultural competence. Social interaction forces us to take culture into account in the linguistic and behaviour choices we make, and to consider the effect of these choices on others. One way to improve the quality of social interaction is to embed language learning activities within intercultural communicative events in which learners communicate authentic meanings on topics of value, preferably to someone from the target culture. E-mail and internet based interactive spaces such as Facebook are increasingly popular ways of doing this (e.g. Belz, 2003; Bretag, 2006; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; O'Dowd, 2003, 2007; Ware 2005). There is nothing new about involving learners in genuine communication. But social interaction needs mention here because it underpins an interculturally informed pedagogy just as much as it defines communicative language teaching (CLT). In fact I believe that approaching CLT interculturally greatly enriches communicative methodology. It does so by drawing learners' attention to culturally shaped aspects of communication and behaviour and to their own taken for granted ways of communicating that might otherwise go unnoticed.

At a pre-conference workshop at the CLESOL 2008 conference, Jeremy Harmer showed an interesting example of a communicative event; a video of a multicultural class of young adult ESOL learners in Britain involved in a speed dating scenario. Needless to say, there was plenty of social interaction, though it seems to me that such an activity is culturally risky. Nevertheless it offered intriguing opportunities for learners to reflect on intercultural issues; how they felt taking part in the activity, learners from different cultural backgrounds (European, Asian, Middle-Eastern) comparing their subjective experience of the activity, reflecting on how speed dating might be viewed by other members of their communities, identifying alternative forms of socially sanctioned male-female interactions available in the various cultures represented in the classroom, and so on. Engaging learners in reflecting on these kinds of issues transforms a communicative activity into an overtly intercultural one.

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[3] These three principles are selected from a larger set of six principles developed in a report to the Ministry of Education and provided in the Appendix to this paper.

The second principle, *Encourage and develop an exploratory and reflective approach to culture and culture-in-language,* stands in contrast to the static descriptions of cultural facts often found in traditional approaches to language teaching. Instead of facts about culture, interculturally informed pedagogy explores dynamic aspects of culture *in* and *around* everyday language use. Culture pervades everyday uses of language as seen in such things as forms of address used in different circumstances, the marking of formality and interlocutor status, and uses and types of humour and in the behaviour that accompanies language (e.g. gesture, facial expressions, and the culturally shaped daily life rituals in which language is embedded). As Claire Kramsch (1993) points out, every time we speak we perform a cultural act.

These visible manifestations of culture in language use are underpinned by less easily observed but no less important aspects of culture as captured in the metaphor of the cultural iceberg (see Figure 1). A large proportion of culturally shaped knowledge (for example behavioural expectations, and expectations of appropriateness and politeness in verbal and non-verbal behaviour) lies below the surface of culture, and is mostly only subconsciously applied in our everyday interactions.

Figure 1: The Cultural Iceberg (Weaver, 1993, sourced www//home.snu.edu/~hculbert/iceberg.htm)

Greeting routines, for example, can be realized in various observable ways including a handshake, raised eyebrows, a kiss, or a nod of the head. However, lying beneath these behaviours are non-observable values, attitudes and expectations to do with status, relationships and social distance, all of which are uniquely structured and perceived within different cultural contexts (Finkbeiner & Koplin, 2002). The iceberg model can also be applied to the language/culture relationship; choice of linguistic form is shaped by 'hidden values, attributions and interpretations of the world' (C. Finkbeiner, personal communication, June 24 2007). In response to this phenomenon, interculturally informed pedagogy focuses not only on the visible tip of the cultural iceberg but also on the less easily observable, dynamic aspects of culture represented by the large invisible part of the iceberg.

The word 'exploring' in the second principle is synonymous with a constructivist view of education. Exploration allows learners to *construct* their understandings from first hand experience and reflection, and thereby to engage more deeply in the learning process. In other words, *transmission* of static culture by teachers is replaced by *discovery* of dynamic culture by learners. Four simple rules of thumb can help teachers develop an exploratory approach to culture:
1. Emphasize the dynamic and lived experience of culture.
2. Encourage reflective dialogue alongside experience.
3. Guide students as they interpret their experience of the target culture and language.
4. Provide a metalanguage for discussing intercultural experience, for example: c*ulture, invisible culture, same, different, self, identity, stereotypes, prejudice* etc.

These rules of thumb are neatly exemplified in the ABC's activity designed by Claudia Finkbeiner (2006) and presented below. This is a good example of how a learner's first hand intercultural encounters provide the basis for a communicative task that explores cultural differences and similarities and that ensures learners' reflections on experience are central to the task rather than peripheral or incidental.

The ABC's approach to intercultural language learning
A as in *Autobiography*
Each learner writes or narrates relevant aspects and/or key events from his or her autobiography.

B as in *Biography*
Learners interview a partner from a different cultural background (audio or videotaped). The interviewer will then construct a biography describing the key events in that person's life.

C as in *Cross-Cultural Analysis* and *Appreciation of Differences*
Learners study their autobiographies and compare them to the biographies they have written. They write down a list of the similarities and differences. (Finkbeiner, 2006)

I have presented here only the bare bones of the ABC activity. Obviously each step needs to be carefully scaffolded, language structures and vocabulary supplied, and guidelines given for interacting and comparing. More important for the purposes of this article are the features of interculturally informed pedagogy that this activity so neatly exemplifies:

- the starting point is awareness of self and of one's own culturally shaped reality
- learners are engaged in genuine social interaction;
- learners construct intercultural understandings through exploration and discovery, rather than through being taught about a culture;
- guided comparison is used to connect cultures;
- culture is treated as dynamic, lived experience rather than static knowledge;
- instruction seeks to develop interculturally tuned communicative competence.

The third and final of the three principles we will discuss in this paper is *Foster explicit comparisons and connections between languages and cultures*. Language learning positions learners between languages and between cultures – i.e. in a third space. This can be confusing and disorientating, and can lead to withdrawal into the first cultural place where the learner becomes more resistant to an intercultural understanding of cultural difference. To successfully enter and embrace this third space requires some care on the part of the teacher as s/he guides the learners in exploring cultural similarities and differences (Kramsch, 1993). In resources developed by the Department of Education in Tasmania (N.D)[4], the journey to the third space is seen as involving four steps: identify, investigate, reflect and describe. I discuss these steps below and exemplify them with a series of prompt questions from the Tasmanian resource which are designed to guide teachers and learners on the journey of cultural discovery.

The first step, *Identify,* involves exploring the 'First Place', that is, the learners own cultural world. It involves the following kinds of prompt questions:

- How do these things work in my world?
- How is this situation handled in my culture?
- How would my family and friends react to this situation? (Department of Education, Tasmania, N.D)

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[4] http://www.education.tas.gov.au/school/educators/resources/lote/cultural/thirdplace

One of the challenges in teaching culture is that knowledge of one's own culture is largely implicit and so not easily available for conscious reflection. We are often unaware of the cultural values which allow us to communicate within our own culture, let alone those that underpin behaviour in another culture with which we come in contact. And yet, as Byram (1997, 2006) argues, recognising personally held cultural systems is a necessary precondition for identifying these systems in others. For this reason, interculturally-informed language teaching encourages learners to reflect on their own culture as the starting point for intercultural awareness.

The second step, *Investigate,* involves exploration of the 'Second Place', that is, the cultural worlds of others. The following prompt questions are designed to guide students in their exploration of this second place:
How do these things work in your world?
- How is this situation handled in your culture?
- How would your family and friends react to this situation?
- How does learning your language help me get to know you better? (Department of Education, Tasmania, N.D)

The third step, *Reflect*, involves a journey to the 'Third Space'[5], that is, to a hybrid space in which identity and awareness are no longer constrained by simple dualities, but emerge from deeper understands of self and others, of commonalities and difference; a dynamic space in which cultural givens are open to dialogue and negotiation (Kramsch, 1993). Learners can be guided towards this space with questions such as the following:
- How do similarities/differences between us affect our responses to this situation?
- How does language help us engage and negotiate effectively in this situation?

The fourth and final step, *Decide*, offers opportunities to explore the 'Third Space' through prompt questions such as:
- How will I decide to behave/respond to this situation?
- What practices will I adopt or reject?
- What attitudes will I consciously cultivate? (Department of Education, Tasmania, N.D)

As these steps show, comparing cultures is a practical focus for language teaching which allows learners to develop more sophisticated concepts of culture. It helps to undermine notions of the immutability of one's own

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[5] The source material refers to a third 'place' rather than 'space'. I have made the change to 'space' because I prefer the openness implied by the term 'space' and resist any sense of arrival implied by notions of a 'place'. The dynamic nature of identity and of ongoing intercultural experiences make 'arrival' a process not an endpoint.

cultural values and cross-cultural prejudices by "conveying the understanding that one's own as well as the foreign culture are constructs" (Wendt, 2003 p. 97). Thus, gradually, learners 'decentre' from their own culture, viewing it from the perspective of members of other cultures. As Byram (1997) notes, an intercultural approach leads to "the relativization of what seems to the learner to be the natural language of their own identities, and the realization that these are cultural and socially constructed" (p. 22). The end result, as described by Tomlinson and Matsuhara (2004), is 'a gradually developing inner sense of the equality of cultures, an increased understanding of your own and other people's cultures, and a positive interest in how cultures both connect and differ' (p. 5).

Conclusion

The research literature in the area of intercultural language teaching and learning is in general agreement that the acquisition of intercultural competence – entering the 'third space' – is not an automatic outcome of second language learning (e.g. Schulz, 2007, Sinicrope, Norris & Watanabe, 2007). As Dellit (2005) notes 'ignoring culture does not leave a vacant cultural place which can be filled in later. Rather, it leads to a cultural place which is filled in by uninformed and unanalysed assumptions' (p. 7). To cultivate intercultural sensitivities in learners requires teachers to adopt an intercultural stance towards culture and language. Culture is no longer ignored or treated incidentally through cultural anecdotes and casual observations or through transmission of cultural information. Instead an intercultural stance produces an integrated and consistent focus on culture as an inseparable part of all language and communication. As Jo Carr (2007) argues, to teach and learn interculturally involves:

> an orientation which consciously attends to both language and culture in *all* second language interactions. Rather than interspersing occasional commentary, triggered by a particular text, we aim now to approach all text and communicative experience in the target language from a cultural as well as a linguistic perspective; to make the experience itself *culturally* experienced. (p. 26)

The three principles discussed in this paper offer starting points for teachers to integrate this kind of orientation into their classroom practice. Let me stress again that an interculturally informed pedagogy adds value to the teaching and learning goals of linguistic and communicative competence rather than detracting or subtracting from them. By relying on a communicative methodology to achieve the goal of interculturally competent learners, it ultimately enriches this methodology. I therefore consider it timely to consider reframing and revitalizing the familiar term

'communicative language teaching' (CLT) so that it embraces the intercultural. An alternative term ***intercultural Communicative Language Teaching* (iCLT)** provides one way of giving the intercultural stance its due weight in the theory and practice of contemporary language teaching.

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Appendix

Six principles of intercultural communicative language teaching and learning (iCLT):
1.   integrates language and culture from the beginning;
2.   engages learners in genuine social interaction;
3.   encourages and develops an exploratory and reflective approach to culture and culture-in-language;
4.   fosters explicit comparisons and connections between languages and cultures;
5.   acknowledges and responds appropriately to diverse learners and learning contexts;
6.   emphasises intercultural competence rather than native-speaker competence. (Source: Newton et al, 2009)

A NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR COMPREHENDING INFORMATION-BASED TEXTS

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Abstract

Secondary school learners need to be able to read, comprehend and learn from information-based texts for their school studies and also for later tertiary study. This can be difficult for first language speakers and even more problematic for students learning in a second language. Since reading comprehension forms the basis for much learning (Stanovich, 2000), the ESOL teacher has a useful role to play in channelling English second language learners' efforts towards maximising their comprehension and making the most of their opportunities for learning in educational institutions in New Zealand. I take the position in this paper that narrative elements can usefully serve as access points for the reading and comprehension of information-based texts in the secondary ESOL classroom.

Introduction

The technique I outline in this paper is a blueprint underpinned by findings in reading research, which arose from a programme (described in Sweetnam Evans, 2007), which I designed to use narrative film to illustrate reading cognition to undergraduates. The students in these courses on reading comprehension in South Africa and New Zealand volunteered the information that their own comprehension had improved in all their subjects as a result of their changed perspectives on reading. As a result, I set about investigating the use of film and narrative in general learning, in second language learning and teaching and in the reading of information-based texts. While I have not tested this narrative framework technique in experimental trials, I have demonstrated it to other teachers and have also used it myself. It has been used with positive results as an intervention in a research project (Skinner et al., 2008) and I have had positive feedback after my presentations at a seminar (Skinner et al., 2008) and workshop (Sweetnam Evans, 2009b) from ESOL teachers who believe they would be able to use it effectively in the classroom (also see additional comments later in this paper). In a bilingual reading research project, I have found that readers sometimes interpret non-narrative texts in narrative terms, apparently to enhance their comprehension and recall (Sweetnam Evans,

2009a). I would appreciate constructive feedback from readers who decide to use this framework in their ESOL classrooms.

Basic literacy in a language is no guarantee of an individual's ability to comprehend difficult technical texts – what Graesser (2007 p. 5) calls "deep comprehension", even with high levels of domain knowledge. Despite the fact that prerequisites for New Zealand university entrance (http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/for-students/ue/index.html) reflect an acknowledgement that literacy forms a significant part of learning and studying, this is no assurance that school leavers will have advanced skills in the reading of complicated scholarly texts in English. The literacy requirements can be met from options which are not concerned with proficiency in the reading of complex information-based texts (http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/for-students/ue/litreqs.html). Students can thus graduate from secondary school and commence their tertiary study programmes with relatively low levels of competence in reading academic texts.

Instead of assuming that secondary ESOL learners will be capable of advanced studies in English if they are able to meet university entrance requirements, teachers might actively prepare learners by helping them to develop advanced academic literacy. One way of doing this is by giving learners an alternative perspective on reading for learning. To this end, I suggest using a narrative framework to facilitate the comprehension of information-based texts, which have to be read in all disciplines. I discuss some of the rationale for my suggestion below and provide an outline for using the framework in the ESOL classroom.

Reading, comprehension and learning
According to the construction-integration model of comprehension, readers build dynamic mental representations of texts on a number of levels while reading. It is these mental representations (mental texts) that form the foundations for comprehension, interpretation and recall. The surface level represents the form of the incoming text and is based on decoding words and sentences. Another level, the text base, encompasses the gist of the text and other macro- and micro-propositions more or less in the order in which they occur in the text (Kintsch, 1998). A third level, the situation model, represents the situations and events in the textual world (Zwaan & Madden, 2004), and contains inferences and elaborations added by the reader. The construction of a strong situation model is paramount in the comprehension of narrative and in learning (Collins & Levy, 2008).

Real learning stems from the construction and long-term storage of new knowledge in the brain after comprehension and as a result of the

interaction between an individual's own conceptual and experiential knowledge with incoming textual knowledge. Learning also involves the ability to transfer and apply newly-integrated and constructed knowledge to other domains (what Kintsch, 1994 calls "learning from text"). Individuals, who read texts to remember specific details, are able to replicate textual propositions but not to apply the textual knowledge in other areas. This "memory for text" is based on the construction of a text base without a situation model (Kintsch, 1994), or on a relatively strong text base and a weaker situation model (Geiger & Millis, 2004). With rote memorisation of textual information, learners have strong surface representations – the actual words, phrases and sentences of the text are committed to relatively short-term memory – with little comprehension of the textual information and no inferences or elaborations. In rote learning and the remembering of details without much comprehension, textual information is stored in relatively short-term memory at the word level, rather than at the conceptual, semantic level (Collins & Levy, 2008). In other words, in this "shallow processing" of texts, readers focus on details, whereas in "deep processing" they focus on overall coherence (Oded & Walters, 2001).

Decisions about the languages in which students are taught and in which they learn are often points of contention amongst educators (Sweetnam Evans, 2001), parents, language policy makers and bilingual researchers (Holme, 2004). These debates fall outside the scope of this paper, but it is useful to consider the following. Parents and students themselves often choose English, a second language, as their language of instruction, with little appreciation of the difficulties entailed in learning in a second language. Once they have enrolled at an educational institution, students have no further control over the language in which they are instructed. If they are not able to read with comprehension and to construct new knowledge in the language of instruction, it will not become their personal language of learning.

For many students who are instructed in a second language and have perforce to read all their prescribed texts in the L2, the preferred method of learning is often rote memorisation. I was once told by a mature, non-English-speaking second-year student of linguistics at a South African university (who was herself a secondary school teacher with many years of teaching experience), that she and a group of fellow students met regularly to "sing". This "singing" involved one member of the group reading the lecture material and notes to the rest of the group and then all of them chanting in unison in order to memorise the material. My informant indicated that this was their standard (and only) method of preparing for tests and examinations in all their undergraduate subjects. It was also clear from their assignments and tests that these students were not engaging with

their academic texts and were not integrating their own background knowledge with the textual knowledge.

Reading in a second language can be challenging. Second language readers generally read more slowly than first language readers do, have lower levels of comprehension, need to re-read texts more than first language readers do in order to understand them, and focus more on details than overall coherence (Nassaji, 2002). There will no doubt be individuals who are able to access their first language reading strategies in their second language reading (Bernhardt, 2005), and who therefore do not have to resort to rote memorisation, but this access does not occur effortlessly. Such access (also referred to as "transfer"), is rare at and below intermediate levels of competence in the second language (Walter, 2007), or if learners are not able or have not been encouraged to interact with the texts and discuss them in their first languages (Upton, 1997), or if they have not developed advanced academic literacy in their first languages. Secondary ESOL learners in New Zealand are likely to fall into at least one of the above categories.

Rationale for a narrative framework
Linguistic, cultural and formal barriers to reading comprehension can be experienced by all readers, although they are generally greater for second-language readers. These barriers are relatively easy for the teacher to minimise in the ESOL classroom with judicious text and/or task selection. Linguistic barriers are lowered when the language used in the texts is comprehensible to the readers and cultural barriers are reduced when readers can relate to or comprehend the sociocultural information embedded in the texts. Formal barriers are lowered when readers have knowledge of genre-specific textual features.

Although all genres are culture specific to a certain degree (Sell, 2007), narratives nevertheless share many features across cultures and occur universally, thus presenting the reader/receiver with fewer formal barriers to comprehension. Because of their universal nature, narratives are easier to read, comprehend and recall than other types of discourse (Graesser et al., 1991), and most individuals are able to process narratives in their first languages (Graesser et al., 2003). First and second language readers recall more from narratives than from expository texts (Willingham, 2004) and narratives are miscomprehended less frequently than expository texts are (DuBravac & Dalle, 2002). In fact, narrative structure is so fundamental to comprehension, that its absence in educational multimedia has been shown to impede comprehension (Laurillard, 1998). Bringing narrative into the ESOL classroom as outlined in this paper, and using narrative texts, narrative elements in texts, or generally harnessing narratives for the

learning of English as a second language (Wajnryb, 2003), allows students to use their existing background knowledge to construct new knowledge as they move from familiar and relatively easy-to-comprehend narratives to unfamiliar and more difficult-to-comprehend information-based texts.

Improbable though it may seem at first glance, it is relatively simple to view academic texts from a narrative perspective. Comprehension of most texts involves some sort of narrative construction and interpretation (Kintsch, 1998). While most well-written texts are produced as specific types of genre and often with a certain readership in mind, it is still the reader who decides, consciously or unconsciously, how to read a text (Geiger & Millis, 2004). The situational context in which the text is received, one's reason for reading or listening, instructions received before or during reception and one's expectations about the genre of the incoming text, all work together to determine how a text will be read and comprehended. The reader adopts a particular stance towards a text which monitors the reception process by allocating different processing resources to comprehension (Zwaan, 1994). The stance may (using one classification), be literary, story-driven or information-driven (Vipond & Hunt, 1987) and is dynamic and subject to change. That is, the same text can be read differently by different individuals and even by the same individual at different times. A reader can switch from one stance to another while reading one text, or in consecutive readings of the same text. If learners receive instructions to view an expository text in narrative terms therefore, they will effectively adopt a narrative, story-driven stance and use a narrative framework to direct their comprehension during a specific reading of the text.

The narrative framework suggested for classroom use in this paper is based on the event-indexing model for situation model construction in narrative comprehension (Zwaan et al., 1995). Processing narratives entails selecting and ordering information coherently and inferring implicit causal links. When more than one event occurs in a text, readers construct an episodic situation model, linking characters, objects, time, causality, space and intentionality to the textual events (Radvansky et al., 2005). Skilled readers organise episodes in situation models according to how they make sense of the texts in terms of their own existing knowledge and according to their individual goals for reading. In other words, readers create their own overall coherence for texts by making causal and spatio-temporal connections between textual events, characters and objects and by identifying the perspectives and intentions of different characters and of the text producer and this reader-constructed text with reader-determined coherence, can be very different from the original text.

Engagement with the text is a significant feature of reading comprehension. Narratives elicit more textual engagement than expository texts do and reading texts from a narrative perspective also increases engagement with the text. Textual engagement is a source of situational interest (Hidi, 2001) and enhances comprehension and recall (Hakemulder, 2004). When engaged with texts, readers respond affectively to textual features, become absorbed in plots, events, characters and settings (Miall & Kuiken, 2002), perceive textual actions and feelings from the perspectives of the characters (Mar, 2004), concentrate more (Willingham, 2004) and censure or approve of the actions, beliefs and opinions of characters and writers (Wade, 2001).

In a workshop which I conducted with ESOL teachers using this narrative framework (CANTESOL Expo, Christchurch, October 2009), participants volunteered the information that they felt more engaged with the information-based text (reproduced in the appendix), once they had identified the main characters. They also reported that, once they had identified the major situations, they started bringing their own background experiences to bear on the text, which is the basis for comprehension, recall and learning. They actively tried to determine the writer's perspective and attitude towards the topic, they focussed on the negative and positive connotations of words and they classified characters as "good or bad guys".

Applying the narrative framework to an information-based text

Poor readers do not suppress unimportant details in texts (Gernsbacher & Faust, 1991), and try instead to maintain as much information as possible in memory (Oded & Walters, 2001). A narrative framework assists poor readers and second language readers by giving them explicit cues to focus on specific textual elements while reading. Textual elements that do not fit the framework, can be suppressed and need not be stored in working memory. Suppressed details can be reactivated during subsequent readings of texts if necessary. The narrative framework directs learners to view texts in terms of episodes. Processing a text in terms of episodes will help learners to construct a situation model for the text, which can be stored in long-term memory, thus promoting their learning from the text and releasing learners from a reliance on memorisation of the actual words of the text or textual details. Learners identify initial situations in texts, then identify the characters, their plans and intentions. They then use these to determine causal links between characters and events. They learn to understand the words, opinions and actions of characters (including writers) in terms of their perspectives, plans and goals. If they use the narrative framework outlined below, learners will produce their own versions of the text which will be quite different from the original text and which will contain both more information (in the form of inferences) and less information (textual elements which were suppressed) than the original text did. It is these

individual versions (mental representations) of the texts that are significant in learning and without which real learning does not take place.

A good way to introduce the framework in class is by using a story that is known in many cultures and to most learners, such as The Tale of Little Red Riding Hood. After this, learners can match the narrative elements to other narratives and finally to expository texts. The narrative framework can be applied to texts at any secondary or NCEA level and beyond and with texts at any level of reading complexity. By the time secondary ESOL learners are expected to learn from complex information-based texts, they could have been exposed to a range of narratives in the ESOL classroom, including short and longer fiction, anecdotes, jokes, gossip, cartoons, comic strips, news reports, film and television. If the teacher has used this framework with learners in tasks designed for them to interact with narrative texts, they should be comfortable using it with non-narrative texts.

A checklist for the narrative framework is useful to use in class. Although the checklist can be used by learners working on their own, it will be effective if used in collaborative activities. A task could initially be a kind of scavenger hunt as learners search the text for the features specified in the checklist. There are of course other problem-solving ways in which a narrative perspective can be applied to information-based texts in the ESOL classroom, including the time-honoured options of jig-saw, information-gap and cloze. An activity using a combination of these, could create gaps to be filled by specific narrative elements presented separately on jumbled cards available only to those members of a group (or pair) of students who do not have the full text. The checklist can be as simple as the following:

- **situations** – What are the initial situations? What are the subsequent situations?
- **events** – What are the main events and actions?
- **characters and objects** – Who are the main characters/writers? What inanimate objects are involved in the story?
- **intentions** – What are the plans and intentions of the writer and the characters?
- **causality** – How do actions cause characters/objects/situations to change? Look for textual items that are linked by cause and effect in the text.
- **spatial settings** – What is/are the main location(s)? How is place relevant?
- **temporal settings** – In what time period or time frame do the events occur? How is time relevant?
- **synthesis** – What is the main "story" that the writer tells?

In the Little Red Riding Hood story, learners need to focus on the grandmother's (character) illness as the initial situation which creates an intention on the part of the mother (character) to send the grandmother a basket of treats (objects). Red Riding Hood (character) has to carry out her mother's plans and go (an action) to the grandmother's house (location). She wants (intends) to give her grandmother an extra treat, so she picks (action) flowers (objects) in the forest (location), thus creating a situation in which the wolf (character) meets up with and speaks to her (action), and so on. Events and actions result in changed situations which bring about new feelings, intentions, plans, actions and events. Situations are changed by words, actions and events and the perceptions, states and actions of characters are affected by other actions and events. The teacher illustrates why each of the items in the checklist is significant. For example, the locations in the story are significant because they enable characters to come across one another. Little Red Riding Hood picks flowers in a forest, where the wolf meets up with her. The grandmother's house is in the forest and Red Riding Hood's screams are heard by a passing woodcutter who (it is inferred) works in the forest.

The outline below is provided in the form of comments on a text on deforestation in Malaysia (reproduced in the appendix) from a 2008 geography scholarship exam, using the checklist elements as headings. The text is in the public domain and as such is an authentic text of the type that learners are likely to come across frequently in their formal studies at secondary school and beyond and also in possible forays on the internet and in the print media.

Situations
These are the initial and subsequent circumstances mentioned in the text and may be identified as a problem to be investigated by the researcher or to be reported on by the writer. Learners identify why a particular problem or situation requires attention and identify the situations which are presented in the article. In the article on Malaysia, the major situation is deforestation in Peninsular Malaysia and the lowlands of Malaysian Borneo and the threat of deforestation on the island of Borneo (especially the states of Sabah and Sarawak). Other situations are that the Malaysian government turns a blind eye to logging, gives tax incentives to palm oil producers, has overruled the building of a large dam for a hydroelectric project and has apparently given kick-backs to politicians.

Events
These are the actions taken to investigate or solve a specific problem. Events might also constitute a sequence of actions in the past which led to a specific situation. Learners determine how the reported events are relevant

to the overall problem, investigation and solution. In the deforestation article, events and actions include the

- FAO supplying of data which the author used,
- refusal of the Malaysian government to supply figures on deforestation to the FAO,
- extensive logging,
- protests against logging in the form of roadblocks and sabotage by the indigenous Penan people,
- Malaysian government's blocking of media access to Borneo (in the 1980 protests),
- Malaysian government's putting down of the unrest by removing forest dwellers from the area,
- mining, and
- production of palm oil.

Characters and objects

Characters are the writer(s), researcher(s) and subjects in an experimental project and any other individuals or groups of people in the text. In a report there may not be a researcher and the writer's identity may not be obvious and the two may be different individuals. Nonetheless, the first character who has to be identified is the writer. Learners determine the professional capacity or credentials of the writer(s), the reputation of the publication and theorists and researchers referred. Learners determine the perspectives of the characters (including the writer), where relevant. In the deforestation article, the characters are the:

- author of the article,
- Malaysian government,
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (a minor character),
- timber companies and loggers,
- Penan indigenous people of Borneo,
- palm oil producers, and
- High Court of Malaysia.

Implied characters include people in cities, other farmers and the Indonesian government which doesn't control fires in Indonesia. There is no explicit information about the author of the article and learners need to attempt to determine this. Some investigation on the website will produce the information that the article may bear the title "Malaysia: Environmental Profile" and was probably written by Rhett Butler who started the website *Mongabay.com*. The mission of this website is given as "to raise interest in and appreciation of wild lands and wildlife, while examining the impact of emerging trends in climate, technology, economics, and finance on

conservation and development". The author of the site acknowledges not being a tropical biologist but provides the information that he has been involved with tropical rainforests since 1995 and has authored or co-authored numerous papers published in peer-reviewed scientific journals. He establishes his credibility further by mentioning that his information sources are reliable and that his site has been "praised by some of the world's leading conservation biologists and forest policy experts". The article can thus be assumed to be factually relatively reliable, on condition that readers are able to check these claims.

Inanimate objects in the text may be research instruments (questionnaires, surveys, etc.) in an experiment or things with which the characters interact in some way. Objects in the deforestation article with which characters interact include forests, sustainable forest legislation, the Bakun dam hydroelectric project, palm oil.

Intentions
Intentions are identified in terms of plans and goals. Learners identify the intentions of a writer, researcher or reporter which are often mentioned in the introduction to an article or report. The goals and plans of characters within the text are also identified and may have to be inferred if they are not stated overtly. Learners identify the linguistic markers of goals, intentions and plans, e.g. *plan, intend, need, want*, etc. Intentions (plans and goals) in the deforestation article include the:
- loggers wanting timber and presumably profits,
- Penan people wanting to retain their homes,
- Malaysian government wanting to be seen to have sound ecological policies but also wanting the financial benefits of development, and
- Sarawak politicians and their cronies wanting benefits (presumably of a financial nature).

Causality
Learners make causal inks between characters, their intentions, plans, goals, and events. They identify causal markers such as *because, since, as, cause, then, (as a) result, stems from, effect(s), affect(s), comes about*, *thus, therefore,* etc. They identify causal structures such as one cause – many effects; many causes – one effect; and many causes – many effects. In the deforestation article, causality can be inferred in the following ways:
- A loss of primary forest has been caused by urbanization, agricultural fires, logging, conversion to palm oil plantations and other agriculture.
- Logging resulted in Penan protests.
- The protests resulted in the Malaysian government clampdown.

- The clampdown resulted in the removal of the forest dwellers.
- This removal resulted in international awareness of logging in Borneo forests. This attention has, however, had no long-term effect and logging continues. (This is a lack of effect from a possibly expected cause).
- The Malaysian government turns a blind eye to logging which results in continued deforestation.
- The Malaysian government has allowed the construction of the Bakun dam with resulting high costs, benefits to politicians and their cronies and more deforestation.

Spatial setting(s)
The socio-cultural context of the writer is included as the set of underlying conditions which generate a situation to be reported or researched. Writers are situated within certain socio-cultural communities and write for and about these and other communities. They often attempt to solve problems in communities and they engage with their peers in discourse communities. A text might involve a number of different spatial settings. The country and culture of the writer and/or in which the research is undertaken or a problem is reported, is often significant. The events and actions might unfold according to certain specific cultural conventions. A specific location might be involved in producing an initial situation and might contribute to a specific problem. Events might occur in specific sites e.g. schools, practitioner's rooms, training centres, laboratories, clubs, forests. The major setting of the deforestation article is Malaysia, primarily the island of Borneo and peninsular Malaysia.

Temporal setting(s)
These are the periods/times in which the textual world is set and the article is written. Learners check the date that a text was first published and determine whether it is recent, relevant, outdated or has specific historical significance. They check the period in which the situations and events are situated. They identify the time period for events leading to a current situation. Specific markers will be useful for identifying temporal settings, e.g. *when, then, now, before, after, two weeks, one hour, yesterday, last ten years, future, past, present, current, existing, prior,* etc. In the deforestation article, various historical stages of deforestation are mentioned, namely the periods since the 1970s, before 2000 and after 2000. The Penan protests took place in 1980 and the High Court decision on the Bakun dam was overruled in the 1990s. The dam was scheduled for completion in 2003 but was expected to be finished only in 2009. There is no indication as to when the article was written or published.

Synthesis

Finally, learners bring all these elements together to determine the writer's story/stories. Once learners have identified the narrative elements of a text, in whatever tasks the teacher has set, they can again work collaboratively to retell the story in speech or writing. They can collaborate to produce a summary, review of, or response to the text, or to address instructions such as would be provided in an examination.

Conclusion

Narrative enables second language learners to interact with and comprehend difficult expository texts and to engage in real-world discourse communities. When learners use a narrative framework such as the one proposed in this paper, they will be guided to construct strong situation models of the expository texts they read. Their mental representations of the texts will be rich with inferences, elaborations and causal connections, ordered according to their own prior knowledge, as they integrate their existing background knowledge with incoming textual information. Their comprehension of the expository texts will be enhanced and they will be set up to learn from the texts, to construct their own new knowledge and to store knowledge that can be recalled later and applied in other domains.

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Appendix

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Malaysia
Malaysia's deforestation rate is accelerating faster than that of any other tropical country in the world, according to data from the United Nations. Analysis of figures from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) shows that Malaysia's annual deforestation rate jumped almost 86 percent between the 1990-2000 period and 2000-2005. In total, Malaysia lost an average of 140,200 hectares—0.65 percent of its forest area—per year since 2000. For comparison, the Southeast Asian country lost an average of 78,500 hectares, or 0.35 percent of its forests, annually during the 1990s.

The Malaysian government failed to provide FAO with figures showing the change in extent of primary forests during the period. Primary forests—forests with no visible signs of past or present human activities—are considered the most biologically diverse ecosystems on the planet.

Declining forest cover in Malaysia results primarily from urbanization, agricultural fires, and forest conversion for oil-palm plantations and other forms of agriculture. Logging, which is generally excluded in deforestation figures from FAO, is responsible for widespread forest degradation in the country, and green groups have blamed local timber companies for failing to practice sustainable forest management. In late 2005—despite photographic evidence suggesting otherwise—the Samling Group denied

claims from NGOs accusing the timber giant of recklessly harvesting timber in one of its Sarawak concessions on the island of Borneo.

Forest cover has fallen dramatically in Malaysia since the 1970s. While FAO says that forests still cover more than 60 percent of the country, only 11.6 percent of these forests are considered pristine.

Logging
During the 1980s, rampant logging in the Bornean states of Sabah and Sarawak allowed Malaysia to temporarily outpace Indonesia and become the world's largest exporter of tropical wood.

On paper, Malaysia has probably one of the best rainforest protection policies in developing Asia, but in practice logging still carries on as it always has. The majority of Malaysia's remaining forests are managed for timber production, and each state is empowered to formulate forest policy independently. During the past two decades, sustainable forest management has been non-existent. While Malaysia has the policy framework for sustainable forest management in the form of the National Forestry Act of 1984, it has failed to enforce the legislation.

Peninsular Malaysia's primary forests are mostly gone, though some magnificent forest still exists in Taman Negara, a national park. Scientists believe that at 130 million years old, the rainforests of Taman Negara are the oldest in the world.

Most of Malaysia's remaining primary forest exists on the island of Borneo in the states of Sabah and Sarawak, but the majority of the forest area in Malaysian Borneo—especially the lowlands—has been selectively logged, resulting in reduced biodiversity. Loggers are now operating in more marginal areas on rugged mountain slopes, which increases the risk of soil erosion and mudslides. In Sabah (Northeastern Borneo), cutting has slowed over the years after a period of rapid deforestation. Timber production appears to have shifted to Sarawak (Northwestern Borneo), where about half the forest cover is slated for logging. About 8 percent of the land area in Sarawak is designated as reserves, but these protected areas are generally understaffed and threatened by illegal logging and encroachment by colonists who settle along logging roads.

In the 1980s, through roadblocks and sabotage of logging equipment, the indigenous Penan of Borneo attempted to stop logging in their traditional homeland. Their protests were ruthlessly and savagely put down by the Malaysian government, which blocked media access to the region until the unrest was settled and the forest dwellers cleared. The attacks on the Penan

brought international attention to the logging of Borneo's forests but appear to have had relatively little long-term impact, since logging increased dramatically in the following years.

Mining
Decades of mining in peninsular Malaysia have left a heavy mark on the environment. Deforestation, pollution of rivers, and siltation have resulted in agricultural losses, and road projects have opened new areas to colonization.

Cronyism
Despite the government's pro-environment overtones, the heavy-handed Malaysian government tends to side with development more than conservation. As of 2004, no court had ever ruled favorably in a major case on behalf of the native forest peoples displaced by rainforest destruction. In the 1990s, the government overturned a High Court decision that would have prevented Bakun dam, a huge hydroelectric project that would flood 170,000 acres (69,000 hectares) of forest. The $2-billion-dollar project has since been plagued with cost overruns and delays. It now appears that the dam—scheduled for completion in 2003—will only be expected to begin generating electricity in late 2009. Further, the local Sarawak market has no need for the power, and undersea transmission lines that would have connected the dam to peninsular Malaysia will not even be laid. Some local commentators say the only purpose behind the project was to benefit Sarawak politicians and their cronies.

Cronyism extends into other industries as well, including palm oil. Malaysia is currently the world's largest producer of palm oil, and many of the largest producers have strong political ties. Promoted by incentives which give plantation owners a 100 percent tax exemption for 10 years, thousands of hectares of forest have been cleared for palm oil and other types of plantations. While plantations on cleared and degraded forest lands are ecologically and economically beneficial, clearing natural forest for plantations results in increased erosion and biodiversity loss.

Transmigration
Like Indonesia, the Malaysian government sponsored transmigration programs to open up rainforest for cash crop production. Between 1956 and the 1980s, Malaysia converted more than 15,000 square kilometers of forest for resettlement programs.

Fires
Periodic fires, usually coinciding with the el Niño events, burn thousands of hectares across Malaysia, especially on the island of Borneo. The haze

from these fires and the fires in Kalimantan (Indonesia) cause serious pollution and health problems in Malaysia.

Back in the 1990s, the Malaysian government reacted to fires by ordering media blackouts to avoid spooking tourists and inciting panic over the health impact. Today this has changed as the government increasingly blames Indonesia for failing to control wildfires.

Biodiversity

Malaysia is home to some 15,500 species of higher plants, 746 birds, 300 mammals, 379 reptiles, 198 amphibians, and 368 species of fish.

On paper, more than 30% of Malaysia's land area is under some form of protection, although some "conservation" areas are specifically managed for logging.

'AS' AND 'SO': CONTRASTING PATTERNS OF USE OF HIGH FREQUENCY MULTIFUNCTIONAL WORDS[6]

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Abstract

We all agree that high frequency words are important, but we may not be as clear as we could be about what needs to be learned/taught about them. I report findings from a research study of uses of 'as' and 'so' in the Wellington Corpora, two one-million word collections of naturally occurring samples of New Zealand English usage, spoken and written respectively. I present detailed analyses and comparisons of the discourse contexts in which 'as' and 'so' occurred in the two corpora, together with some analyses of grammatical patterns. I compare these with analyses of two English coursebooks. When teaching English as a second language, we need to take account of the range and complexity of the uses of high frequency multifunctional words like 'as' and 'so' in making decisions about when and how to treat them pedagogically from the perspectives of vocabulary, grammar and discourse.

Introduction

Many words in English, particularly words that are used frequently, are multifunctional. As Leung (1991) has noted in his study of a range of meanings of the word 'over', this poses challenges to learners of English as a second language. It also poses challenges to their teachers, who have to decide when and how to teach the words and their various uses. However, Leung's study of 'over' was not an analysis of a corpus, so he could give no information about how frequently each of the meanings of 'over' that he identified are used in English. Kennedy (1987), in his study of how quantification is expressed in written English, argued that corpus-based information about patterns and frequencies of use "surely is an improvement on using impressionistic means alone as a basis for English language teaching" (p. 283).

The study reported here explores the scope of the challenges facing learners and teachers by examining and analysing the uses of 'as' and 'so' in two corpora of New Zealand (NZ) English, each of one million words collected

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[6] An earlier version of this article was presented as a poster at 11th National Conference for Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages (CLESOL), King's College, Auckland, October 2008.

from adult users of NZ English: the Wellington Corpus of Written NZ English (Bauer, 1993) and the Wellington Corpus of Spoken NZ English (Holmes et al., 1998). The written corpus was collected from writings published in the years 1986-1990. Texts in the spoken corpus were recorded in the years 1988-1994.

Frequencies of occurrence
An analysis using Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2004-2006) showed that both 'as' and 'so' are very high frequency words in both spoken and written NZ English. However, while the total number of occurrences of 'as' and 'so' for the spoken and written corpora combined is similar, the two words pattern differently across the two corpora. In the spoken corpus, 'so' is the 23rd most frequent word and 'as' is the 60th. Conversely, in the written corpus, 'as' is the 17th most frequent word and 'so' is the 51st. 'As' occurred almost twice as frequently in the written as in the spoken corpus, but 'so' occurred well over three times as frequently in the spoken as in the written corpus (see Table 1).

Table 1: 'as' and 'so' in the spoken and written corpora

	Spoken	Written	Total
as	3 769	6 954	10 723
so	7 923	2 209	10 132

Corpus frequencies were then compared with frequencies of use of 'as' and 'so' in the first two books in a series of English language teaching coursebooks which are widely used in NZ: *New Headway Beginner Student's Book* and *New Headway Elementary Student's Book*. Since 'as' and 'so' are high frequency words in the corpora, we might expect that they would be taught early in English courses.

An analysis of uses of 'as' and 'so' in the two books showed that, unlike the pattern in the corpora, 'so' is used much more frequently than 'as' in both the beginner book and the elementary book (see Table 2).

Table 2: 'as' and 'so' in two coursebooks

	New Headway Beginner Student's Book			*New Headway Elementary Student's Book*			**Total for two books**
	Spoken	Written	Total	Spoken	Written	Total	
as	0	1	1	7	9	16	17
so	12	1	13	35	24	59	72

However, the corpus patterns of higher frequency of written 'as' than spoken 'as', but higher frequency of spoken 'so' than written 'so' are reflected in the coursebook data. These patterns are stronger than the corpus patterns in the beginner book and weaker in the elementary book.

What does this mean for teachers?
'As' and 'so' are both very high frequency words in both spoken and written corpora, which suggests that it will be useful for English learners to begin learning these words early. The patterns of occurrence in the corpora suggest paying more attention to teaching and learning 'as' in written than spoken contexts, and 'so' in spoken than written contexts. The analysis of coursebook uses suggests that the coursebooks are doing this to some extent, but not to the extent that the corpus findings indicate might be appropriate.

Discourse contexts of 'as' and 'so' in the written corpus
The written corpus is organised into ten sections which contain texts from particular broad discourse categories, and the frequency of occurrence of 'as' varies widely across those categories (see Table 3), as does the frequency of 'so' (see Table 4). Further analysis shows that, for both 'as' and 'so', the ten sections of the written corpus form three groups, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, and that the three groups are significantly[7] different from each other in terms of the frequencies of occurrence of 'as' and 'so', respectively.

Table 3: Discourse categories of occurrences of 'as' in the written corpus

Corpus section	Discourse category	Total words in category	# of 'as'	# of 'as' per 1000 words in category
C	Press: reviews	34 000	295	8.7
D	Religion	34 000	281	8.3
G	Belles lettres, biography, essays	154 000	1 270	8.2
J	Learned and scientific writings	160 000	1 282	8.0
F	Popular lore	88 000	617	7.0
E	Skills, trades, hobbies	76 000	505	6.6
H	Miscellaneous	60 000	396	6.6
B	Press: editorial	54 000	326	6.0
K+L	Fiction	252 000	1 503	6.0
A	Press: reportage	88 000	479	5.4
TOTAL		1 000 000	6 954	7.0

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[7] The sections are ordered in Tables 3 and 4 according to the results of partitioning the chi-square and thus combining sections with similar frequencies of usage. A chi-square test of homogeneity revealed significant differences in the frequency of use of 'as' (X^2 = 153.871, df = 2, p < 0.001) and 'so' (X^2 = 161.220, df = 2, p < 0.001) in the three combined groups in the written corpus..

Table 4: Discourse categories of occurrences of 'so' in the written corpus

Corpus section	Discourse category	Total words in category	# of 'so'	# of 'so' per 1000 words in category
K+L	Fiction	252 000	751	3.0
G	Belles lettres, biography, essays	154 000	386	2.5
E	Skills, trades, hobbies	76 000	180	2.4
B	Press: editorial	54 000	123	2.3
F	Popular lore	88 000	197	2.2
C	Press: reviews	34 000	75	2.2
D	Religion	34 000	57	1.7
J	Learned and scientific writings	160 000	235	1.5
A	Press: reportage	88 000	134	1.5
H	Miscellaneous	60 000	71	1.2
TOTAL		1 000 000	2 209	2.2

Interestingly, when the written corpus data for 'as' and 'so' are compared, the positions of the corpus sections in grouped discourse categories are different for the two words (see Table 5). Religion (section D), Learned and scientific writings (section J) and Fiction (sections K+L) are at opposite ends of the frequency distribution of 'as' and 'so' in terms of grouped discourse categories. Press: editorial (section B), Press: reviews (section C), Belles lettres, biography, essays (section G) and (Miscellaneous (section H) differ by one group, and only Press: reportage (section A), Skills, trades, hobbies (section E) and Popular (section F) are in the same group for both words.

Table 5: Grouped discourse categories compared for 'as' and 'so' in the written corpus

Discourse category	Corpus section	'as'	'so'
Religion	D	Group 1	Group 3
Learned and scientific writings	J	Group 1	Group 3
Fiction	K+L	Group 3	Group 1
Press: editorial	B	Group 3	Group 2
Press: reviews	C	Group 1	Group 2
Belles lettres, biography, essays	G	Group 1	Group 2
Miscellaneous	H	Group 2	Group 3
Press: reportage	A	Group 3	Group 3
Skills, trades, hobbies	E	Group 2	Group 2
Popular	F	Group 2	Group 2

Discourse contexts of 'as' and 'so' in the spoken corpus
The spoken corpus is organised into fifteen sections which contain texts from particular broad discourse categories, and the frequency of occurrence of 'as' varies widely across those categories (see Table 6), as does the frequency of 'so' (see Table 7).

Table 6: Discourse categories of occurrences of 'as' in the spoken corpus

Corpus section	Discourse category	Total words in category	# of 'as'	# of 'as' per 1000 words in category
mst	Broadcast monologue	11 205	99	8.8
mul	Lecture	30 406	174	5.7
muj	Judge's summation	4 489	32	5.7
muc	Sports commentary	26 010	148	5.7
dgi	Broadcast interview	96 775	509	5.3
dgu	Parliamentary debate	22 446	115	5.1
dph	Oral history interview	21 972	108	4.9
dgz	Transactions & meetings	102 332	489	4.8
msn	Broadcast news	28 929	122	4.2
dgb	Radio talkback	84 321	332	3.9
dpc	Conversation	500 363	1 362	2.7
dpf	Telephone conversation	70 156	181	2.6
dpp	Social dialect interview	31 058	71	2.3
mus	Teacher monologue	12 496	27	2.2
msw	Broadcast weather	3 641	0	0
TOTAL		1 046 599	3 769	3.6

Table 7: Discourse categories of occurrences of 'so' in the spoken corpus

Corpus section	Discourse category	Total words in category	# of 'so'	# of 'so' per 1000 words in category
dpf	Telephone conversation	70 156	777	11.1
dgz	Transactions & meetings	102 332	982	9.6
mul	Lecture	30 406	249	8.2
dph	Oral history interview	21 972	178	8.1
dpc	Conversation	500 363	4 025	8.0
dgi	Broadcast interview	96 775	702	7.3
mus	Teacher monologue	12 496	88	7.0
muc	Sports commentary	26 010	176	6.8
dpp	Social dialect interview	31 058	205	6.6
dgb	Radio talkback	84 321	419	5.0
muj	Judge's summation	4 489	19	4.2
mst	Broadcast monologue	11 205	37	3.3
dgu	Parliamentary debate	22 446	46	2.0
msw	Broadcast weather	3 641	3	0.8
msn	Broadcast news	28 929	17	0.6
TOTAL		1 046 599	7 923	7.6

The various discourse categories are grouped in the corpus according to whether the talk is dialogue (d) or monologue (m), private (p) or public (g), and scripted (s) or unscripted (u). The private dialogue categories - Conversation (dpc), Social dialect interview (dpp), Telephone conversation (dpf) and Oral history interview (dph) - are shaded grey in Tables 6 and 7 above. As a group, they have a significantly [8] lower frequency of occurrence of 'as' than the public category groups (see Table 8 below). By contrast, however, they have a significantly [9] higher frequency of occurrence of 'so' than each of the public category groups (see Table 9 below).

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[8] $X^2 = 232.751$, df = 1, p < 0.001.

[9] $X^2 = 9.198$, df = 1, p < 0.002 for the comparison with mu*, and $X^2 = 43.589$, df = 1, p < 0.001 for the comparison with dg*.

Table 8: Corpus groupings of discourse categories of 'as' in the spoken corpus

Corpus grouping	Discourse category group	Total words in category	# of 'as'	# of 'as' per 1000 words in category
mu*	public monologue unscripted	73 401	381	5.2
ms*	public monologue scripted	43 775	221	5.0
dg*	public dialogue	305 874	1 445	4.7
dp*	private dialogue	623 549	1 722	2.8

Table 9: Corpus groupings of discourse categories of 'so' in the spoken corpus

Corpus grouping	Discourse category group	Total words in category	# of 'so'	# of 'so' per 1000 words in category
dp*	private dialogue	623 549	5 185	8.3
mu*	public monologue unscripted	73 401	532	7.2
dg*	public dialogue	305 874	2 149	7.0
ms*	public monologue scripted	43 775	57	1.3

What does this mean for teachers?
The findings have shown that frequency of 'as' and 'so' varies across discourse categories in the written and spoken corpora. They suggest that if some discourse categories are more relevant to learners than others, these should be taken into account in making pedagogical decisions. For example, in written contexts, more attention should be paid to 'as' if academic writing (Learned and scientific writings) is the learners' main target than if Fiction is, because 'as' occurs more frequently in the former than the latter. However, if Fiction is the learners' main target, more attention should be paid to 'so' than if academic writing is, because 'so' occurs more frequently in the former than the latter. In spoken contexts, more attention should be paid to 'as' if public talk is the learners' main target than if private talk is, because 'as' occurs more frequently in the former than the latter. However, if private talk is the learners' main target, more attention should be paid to 'so' than if public talk is, because 'so' occurs more frequently in the former than the latter.

Patterns of grammatical usage

The random sample function of Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2004-2006) was used to select a sample of 100 occurrences of 'as' and 100 occurrences of 'so' from each corpus for further analysis. The 100 items in each sample were analysed for the grammatical structure that each occurred in, and the grammatical function of the constituent that it was part of. The grammatical analysis follows the descriptive approach to English grammar presented in Biber et al. (1999, 2002).

Tables 10 and 11 compare the grammatical patterns of 'as' and 'so' respectively, found in the spoken and written corpus samples. The structures listed in the tables are the ones that occurred four or more times in either or both of the spoken and written samples. In both cases, the remainder of the samples includes a range of structure and function combinations, each of which occurred three times or fewer.

Table 10 shows that, in the written sample, the five most frequent structures together account for 40% of the uses of 'as' in the sample, while in the spoken sample the proportion is 50%.

Table 10: Grammatical patterns of 'as' in the spoken and written corpus samples

	Grammatical structure	Grammatical function	# in written sample	# in spoken sample
as	preposition + noun phrase	adverbial phrase of manner	17	23
as well	fixed phrase	adverbial phrase of addition	0	13
as	conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of time	11	5
as	conjunction + clause	stance adverbial clause	4	5
as	preposition + noun phrase	noun postmodifier	5	3
as	preposition + non-finite clause	adverbial of manner	4	1
as far as	complex conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of respect	0	4

As can be seen in Table 10, in both the written and spoken corpus samples, 'as' occurred most frequently in a preposition + noun phrase structure functioning as an adverbial phrase of manner, for example:

- Mozart did manage to hold his own in what must be regarded as "middle of the road Mozart" (C04 017)
- all the guys got dressed up as women (dpc136)

but, that similarity does not extend to the next most frequent structures. The second most frequent use in the spoken sample is 'as well', for example:

- you'd probably get problems with flooding as well (dpc159)

However, 'as well' did not occur at all in the written sample. The second most frequent use there is 'as' in an adverbial clause of time, for example:

- Often the larva flicked its body backwards, lifting its forelegs clear of the substrate, as it struck. (J04 213)

This use of 'as' occurred much less frequently in the spoken sample.

Table 11 shows that, in the written sample, ten structures occurred four or more times, and together they account for 78% of the uses of 'so' in the sample. In the spoken sample, five structures occurred four or more times, and together they account for 77% of the uses of 'so' in the sample.

Table 11: Grammatical patterns of 'so' in the spoken and written corpus samples

	Grammatical structure	Grammatical function	# in written sample	# in spoken sample
so	adverb + clause	linking adverbial of result/inference	7	40
so	adverb + adjective	emphasis	23	8
so	adverb + clause	introduce comment/question on what has been said	5	15
so	adverb	refer back to something mentioned	8	3
so	adverb + clause	introduce next event in story	2	8
so that	complex conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of reason	8	1
so	conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of result	3	6
so that	complex conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of result	6	1
so	adverb + adverb	emphasis	5	1
so much	adverb + determiner + noun	emphasis	5	0
and *so* on	idiom	indicate more items in list	4	1
so	adverb + clause	something just said is true of another	4	0

As can be seen in Table 11, the patterns which occur most frequently in each sample also occur in the other sample, but their relative proportions are very different. In the spoken sample, 'so' is by far most frequently used as a linking adverbial of result/inference, for example:

- matt's always been into engineering so um you know he's got a really good training in that eh (dpc326)

'So' is also used in this way in the written sample, but it is not the most frequently occurring use there. Conversely, in the written sample, 'so' is most frequently used as an adverb adding emphasis to an adjective, for example:

- Why were they all so nice? (K54 053)

This structure occurs much less frequently in the spoken sample.

What does this mean for teachers?
When we consider what emphasis to place on teaching the various grammatical patterns for 'as', the corpus findings suggest first establishing 'as' in preposition + noun phrase structures, functioning as adverbial phrase of manner, in both written and spoken contexts, because that is its most frequent use in both contexts. The findings further suggest that in spoken contexts, the next priority would be 'as well', a fixed adverbial phrase of addition, while in written contexts, the next priority would be conjunction 'as' introducing an adverbial clause of time.

For 'so' in spoken contexts, the corpus findings suggest establishing it first as a linking adverbial of result/inference and then as an adverb introducing a comment/question on what has previously been said. However, in written contexts, the corpus findings suggest the first priority would be 'so' + adjective for emphasis.

How do the grammatical patterns in the corpora compare with the patterns of use in two popular coursebooks?
Although it is a very high frequency word in the corpora, 'as' occurs only once in *New Headway Beginner Student's Book*: in a preposition + noun phrase structure, functioning as an adverbial phrase of manner. That is the most frequently occurring pattern in the corpora, so it is what we might expect to see in the coursebook, but the corpus data suggest it should be appearing more than once.

In *New Headway Elementary Student's Book*, as in the corpora, the most common uses of 'as' in both spoken and written texts are preposition + noun phrase structures functioning as adverbials of manner (see Table 12). The second most frequent use is the same structure, but used as an adverbial phrase of time. This use is not a frequent one in the corpora.

Table 12: Grammatical patterns of 'as' in New Headway Elementary Student's Book

	Grammatical structure	Grammatical function	# in written texts	# in spoken texts
as	preposition + noun phrase	adverbial phrase of manner	4	3
as	preposition + noun phrase	adverbial phrase of time	3	1
as well	fixed phrase	adverbial phrase	0	1
as...as	comparative + adjective + conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of manner	0	1
as	preposition + noun phrase	noun postmodifier	1	0
as soon *as*	complex conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of time	1	1

Looking now at uses of 'so' in the coursebooks, we see that *New Headway Beginner Student's Book* does have some occurrences of this high frequency word (see Table 13). Furthermore, the two most frequent patterns (linking adverbial of result/inference and adverb + adjective for emphasis) are also the most frequent patterns in the corpora. However, the occurrences in this coursebook do not reflect the distribution between spoken and written texts that is evident in the corpora.

Table 13: Grammatical patterns of 'so' in New Headway Beginner Student's Book

	Grammatical structure	Grammatical function	# in written texts	# in spoken texts
so	adverb + clause	linking adverbial of result/inference	0	4
so	adverb + adjective	emphasis	0	4
so	conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of result	1	2
so	adverb + clause	introduce comment/question on what has been said	0	1
so	adverb + clause	something just said is true of another	0	1

The next coursebook in the series, *New Headway Elementary Student's Book* (see Table 14), provides further exposure to, and practice in, the first four of the patterns of use of 'so' which were introduced in the Beginner level book, though the patterns of occurrence in terms of order of frequency and distribution between spoken and written texts continue to be not very consistent with the patterns observed in the corpus data.

Table 14: Grammatical patterns of 'so' in New Headway Elementary Student's Book

	Grammatical structure	Grammatical function	# in written texts	# in spoken texts
so	adverb + adjective	emphasis	5	15
so	conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of result	11	5
so	adverb + clause	introduce comment/question on what has been said	0	7
so	adverb + clause	linking adverbial of result/inference	4	1
so much	adverb + pronoun	emphasis	2	1
so many	adverb + det + noun	emphasis	0	2
so	adverb + clause	introduce next event in story	1	1
so	conjunction + clause	adverbial clause of reason	0	1
so	adverb	refer back to something mentioned	0	1
so	adverb + adverb	emphasis	1	0
so far	idiom	till now	0	1

In each coursebook, however, for both 'as' and 'so', after the most frequent patterns discussed above, we see a tail of grammatical patterns which do not match corpus patterns very closely, and which occur only three times or fewer, thus not frequently enough to give learners exposure to, or practice in, their use.

Concluding comments

We have seen that 'as' and 'so' are frequently used words in English. Learners are likely to meet them often, and that gives these words a certain claim for pedagogical attention. However, the corpus findings presented above make it clear that teachers and learners should not treat 'as' and 'so' as items of vocabulary in isolation. They need to take account of the range and complexity of their uses, in terms of discourse and grammar, in making decisions about when and how to treat them pedagogically. Of course it should also be noted that corpus frequencies are not necessarily the only criteria that could be taken into account in making pedagogical decisions. However, I am taking the position here that they should at least not be overlooked.

The corpus findings may not be consistent with teachers' expectations about 'as' and 'so'. Teachers who are aware that their expectations can be confounded are more likely to take note of the patterns of usage that they see in the texts, spoken and written, in use around them, and to apply what they notice when making pedagogical decisions.

It is also important for teachers to be good observers of patterns of language use because they do change over time and corpora may not reflect recent patterns. For example, McCarthy and Carter (2008) note a relatively recent and increasing use of 'so' as an emphasising adverb with grammatical structures other than adjectives. Patterns like this tend to be seen primarily in spoken English, but can be reflected in writing, for example, in dialogues in fiction writing:

If the deal on the island is so not Rugar [a man's name], then who is it? (Parker, 2008).

A relatively recent pattern of use for 'as' is an emphasising postmodifier of adjectives. Again, this primarily spoken use also finds its way into writing, for example, a poster advertising Snapper cards on buses in the Wellington region proclaims: "Tag on. Tag off. Easy as."

Some teachers may find it difficult to bring themselves to teach productive use of patterns like "so not Rugar" and "Easy as", but in my view, we have a responsibility to ensure that learners at the very least recognise and understand such uses receptively, because they will certainly hear, and possibly read, them as they go about their daily lives in NZ.

The issues raised by the cases of 'as' and 'so' are probably also relevant to pedagogical decisions about other frequently used words in English. It is likely that one reason why words are used frequently is that, like 'as' and 'so', they do different sorts of linguistic work: they are multifunctional. It is an issue that needs to be considered in order to make sound decisions in pedagogical practice. The multifunctionality of these words means that they can take a lot of learning.

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"WHO DO YOU MEAN?" INVESTIGATING MISCOMMUNICATION IN PAIRED INTERACTIONS

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Abstract

Professional experience, as well as a great deal of published research (e.g. Gass & Varonis, 1991; Varonis & Gass, 1985a), suggests that even successful users of English as a second language unwittingly give rise to communication problems when encoding and decoding certain features of language, both linguistic and pragmatic. Among the latter is the issue of referring (for example, by pronouns or lexical substitution) to people, places and objects not in the immediate context. This paper, based on a wider study, outlines a procedure in which teachers were asked, via stimulated recall sessions, to reflect on previously-recorded pair work interactions and to discuss occasions where problematic communication occurred, or did not occur. Close analysis of transcript data reveals that potentially significant misleading stimuli may not eventuate in any failure of communication, while apparently trivial slips could cause considerable misunderstanding. It is suggested that teacher-researchers might usefully adapt a procedure such as that used in the study for their own professional development, for use in class, and as the basis for action research projects.

Introduction

Communication breakdowns are a feature of any oral interaction, even in conversations between 'native-speakers' (NSs) of the language. (Although we dislike the term, we will use it in this article for the sake of convenience.) Strained communication is of course more likely to occur between NSs of English and even successful second language learners, and it may not be easy for either party to identify the precise nature of the breakdown and to repair the situation, or in some cases to even be aware of miscommunication.

Therefore, it is important for language teachers to be sensitive not only to the frequency of miscommunication in oral interactions, but of the range of causes for the inability of the language learner to make his/her meaning clear. At one level, this may be a matter of a lack of mastery of linguistic features, such as faulty pronunciation, inappropriate lexical choice, awkward syntax, and so on. In many informal interactions, the interlocutor - assuming that s/he identifies an occurrence of miscommunication - can interrupt the speaker to ask for clarification. But often communication may

be strained or fail altogether because of implicit pragmatic features where each party initially makes wrong assumptions about the extent of shared knowledge about events, places and people not in the immediate environment. What follows in the conversation may clarify the situation, but in the meantime the two interlocutors might be at cross-purposes, and it is possible that the listener may end the conversation with completely the wrong idea in his or her mind.

To discuss this issue in more depth, this paper reports a study in which dyads of second language teachers and learners took part in a two-part interaction. Firstly, they watched together a clip from a movie, and then the teacher left the room while the learner carried on watching the film. The teacher returned and asked to be told what had happened in his absence. After that conversation, the researcher invited the teacher to discuss the extent to which strained or mis-communication occurred during that second interaction. The findings indicate some interesting implications for the analysis of oral communication, and we feel that the ideas suggested in this study could be modified by teachers for classroom use, or as an exercise in reflective practice, and also as a focus for action research.

Communication and miscommunication in interactions
Successful communication is a complex notion, in which it is possible to take a broad view of the factors involved, looking not only at the degree of success in communicating meaning, but at the entire act of communication. This can include notions as diverse as the participants' non-engagement (Gass & Varonis, 1991, pp. 123-124) versus their willingness to communicate (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1998), based on personality factors, source and strength of motivation and instrumental goals, identity goals, outcomes, relationships, and ideological analysis, to name but a few (see Coupland, Wiemann & Giles, 1991, for an integrative model of miscommunication). Correspondingly, miscommunication may be analysed at very broad levels, (e.g. Bosco, Bucciarelli & Bara, 2006). However the present article, like Wu and Keysar (2007), limits the focus to the transmission of information. For these purposes then, successful communication is considered here to involve the listener interpreting the meaning of an utterance *as the speaker intended* it to be interpreted. It occurs when interlocutors adhere both to linguistic rules and Grice's cooperative principle and the conversational maxims of quality, quantity, relation, and manner (Grice, 1989) that arise from these.

Clark (1996) proposes a model of communication in which language use is considered a *joint action*, which is defined as "one that is carried out by an ensemble of people acting in coordination with each other" (p. 3). According to this model, speakers and listeners have roles as individuals, as

well as collaborative roles, and together they strive to coordinate the speaker's meaning with the addressee's understanding. Much of this coordination is achieved through linguistic conventions, in which both parties share an understanding of how language is typically used by a speech community, and perhaps by the individuals in question. These conventions include those of lexis (including the meanings of words, phrases, and morphemes), grammar (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic rules), and conventions of use (such as socio-linguistic information). However, coordination must also be reached when language is used non-conventionally, such as when context plays a role in determining the speaker's meaning, and in the use of semantically ambiguous words, or truncated syntax.

In comparison with interactions among native speakers of a language, coordination in discourse between NSs and NNSs is distinctly lower in all areas of conventional language use. A single stretch of discourse may contain multiple errors in lexis, grammar, and usage. It therefore seems that there is likely to be a greater role for context-specific interpretation in NS-NNS discourse. However, evidence suggests that non-conventional coordination is also typically lower in such discourse due to issues such as differences in 'common ground' (Clark, 1996), for example differences in shared cultural knowledge. For example, Varonis and Gass argue that a lack of common ground in NS-NNS discourse arising from "different customs, modes of interacting, [and] notions of appropriateness" is a crucial factor in miscommunication (1985a, p. 327) and suggest that problematic communication may result from any one, or any combination, of non-coordination over world views, cultural assumptions, and linguistic resources.

The inconsistency of terminology relating to problematic communication has been widely remarked on (e.g. Dascal, 1999, p.753-754; Gass & Varonis, 1991, p.123). For the present purposes, we will distinguish two broad types of problematic communication, with the terms adopted here being 'strained communication' and 'miscommunication'.

Table 1: Types of communication problem

Communication problem	
Broad category	Sub-category
Strained communication	Strained communication An utterance requiring a degree of processing out of proportion to the complexity of the sense
	Partial understanding Incomplete understanding, or understanding of gist but not details
	Repaired misunderstanding, e.g. 'garden path' utterances
Miscommunication	Failure to understand The listener is unable to understand the sense of the expression
	Misunderstanding 'I thought you meant something else'

The issue of problematic communication is important for language teachers in a number of respects. First of all, those working within the paradigm of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) need to have a more sophisticated understanding of communication theory than is usually presented in methodology books or professional development programmes (Robbins, 2003, p. 59). Secondly, since a major aim of most of CLT teachers is to enhance their learners' communicative competence, they need to have a firm hold of the practical implications of identifying--and subsequently analysing and dealing with --faulty communication when it occurs in their classes. For example, examinations such as IELTS and the new ICB format of TOEFL require students to understand and transmit meaningful messages, and they need to be adequately prepared to do so without giving rise to strained or miscommunication. Also, there are implications regarding miscommunication arising from current thinking about the teaching of grammar, especially that which centres on the notion of Focus on Form (Long, 2000). This approach requires teachers to intervene in learners' communicative activities--to deal 'incidentally' and 'transitorily' with grammatical issues--only when communication breaks down (Long, 1991; Long & Robinson, 1998), or is anticipated to do so (Doughty & Williams, 1998a). However, analyses of interactions between and with second language learners, such as those by Varonis and Gass (1985a and b), have revealed that any such intervention would be actually a rather more complex matter than might be suggested by many interaction studies within the mainstream paradigm of Second Language Acquisition research (for example, those carried out by Lyster 1998; 2004; and Lyster & Ranta, 1997). In the first place, apart from the practical difficulties of

monitoring several communication activities going on at the same time in a classroom, any intervention is likely to obtrude into the conversation and disrupt the flow of communication (Williams, 2005, p. 676). Moreover, it is not easy for an outside observer to gauge the actual or potential extent of communicative breakdown within pair or group interactions. Those actually involved are in a better position to judge, but even when one or other interactant does identify a problem, which is not always the case, it may not be within their pragmatic competence to avoid or repair any breakdown. Moreover, it is quite possible for the participants in a conversation to continue to 'communicate' but be unaware that each of them has devised a different mental picture of the content of the conversation, triggered by sometimes very trivial linguistic or pragmatic slips. For intervention to be unobtrusive and effective, what is needed is a focus based on 'an analysis of learner need rather than being imposed externally by a linguistic syllabus" (Doughty & Williams, 1998b, p. 5). However, it should be obvious that such an analysis cannot be carried out on the spot, but rather needs to be done *post hoc* based upon learners' oral production so that the causes, nature, and extent of potential communication breakdowns might more easily be identified, and a pedagogic strategy considered. One approach to doing this is suggested in the present study.

The present study

The empirical studies which have been reviewed provide reasonable inferences about the extent, nature, and source of miscommunication. However, none of the studies sought *the immediate interpretation of interlocutors to identify their perceptions of successful or unsuccessful communication*. This is the focus of the following report of part of a wider project examining the use of pragmatic reference by second language learners, and its role in miscommunication with NSs.

The wider study involves three sets of dyads, with data collected from ten dyads in each set: i) two native-speaking undergraduates; ii) a second language learner (SLL) and a native-speaking undergraduate; a (NS) English-language teacher and a SLL. The SLLs are all university students, mostly undergraduates in a first or second year academic writing course. As such, they had all reached a minimum level of proficiency of (or equivalent to) an overall IELTS score of 6.0. The extracts presented below are taken from an interaction and stimulated recall involving a male teacher and a male Chinese student from a second year writing course.

Following a number of previous studies (e.g. Chini, 2005; Klein & Perdue, 1992; Swierzbin, 2004), an edited, two-part version of the Chaplin film *Modern Times* was made as an elicitation device. As with

the pioneering uses of this movie as a research instrument (see Perdue, 1984, 1993), in the extracts which are illustrated below, the first part of the film is watched by both participants to create shared knowledge of aspects of the narrative. The (NS) teacher is then called to another room, and the SLL watches the second part alone. At the end of the film, the teacher returns to the room, and the learner is asked to recount what happened in the rest of the film. This conversation was both video- and audio recorded.

Unlike previous studies utilizing film recounts, the present study used stimulated recall to probe the teacher's understanding of the film recount immediately after the interaction. The video recording of the conversation was used as a stimulus to remind the teacher of what they were thinking at the time the learner was recounting the film events. During the session, this video recording was periodically paused and the teacher invited to explain what their mental picture was at that stage of the learner's recount. After this stage of the stimulated recall, the teacher was then shown the part of *Modern Times* that they had not watched and asked to comment and confirm or disconfirm that (un-)successful communication had taken place.

Findings and discussion

Miscommunication is a matter of discourse processes rather than of text. Thus while an analysis of transcribed speech may suggest *potential* for communicative strain or miscommunication, it often fails to *reveal* actual instances of miscommunication. The following examples from the interaction between the teacher and learner noted above support this position; that is, while an analysis of the linguistic errors in a transcript may suggest problematic communication on the part of the learner, the follow-up stimulated recall between the teacher and the researcher revealed that in fact the teacher formed an accurate impression of the events described. (Reference to the narrative of the film extract in the Appendix will clarify the context in each case.)

In the first example below, there are at least two linguistic errors which do not actually cause any communicative breakdown.

Extract #1: The factory manager and some others are observing the trial of the new machine.

NS-SLL interaction	*Stimulated recall session*
SLL: there is a manager and some peoples they look for this machine it's good	NS: The idea for me was that it was some sort of err business proposal almost, new invention, showing, [uh-huh] so they Charlie as a test, the managers are looking at it…

The first of these linguistic errors is the expression 'look for' rather than the intended 'look at'. The second is the omission of lexical and syntactic cues indicating both the manager's goal, and the hypothetical quality of the idea 'it's good'. A suggested reformulation would be 'they look at this machine *to see whether* it's good'. However, no such miscommunication, or even communicative strain, seemed to occur, as may be inferred from the native speaker's comment. In a number of examples, the use of gesture greatly clarified or enriched the linguistic message.

As shown in the following, a lexical error was repaired because of an accompanying gesture.

Extract #2: The machine feeds corn on the cob to Charlie.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: . . when feeding: . Charlie with the . popcorn **<<gestures with hands>>** NS: Popcorn? SLL: Yep NS: oh corn SLL: oh corn, yeah, corn	RES: She said popcorn and you seemed to click automatically – nearly – that she meant cob of a corn NS: Yes RES: Is that right? NS: Yes, and it's only related to: the way she was moving her hands RES: Yeah, [and] NS: Because her hands didn't match what she was saying

As indicated by the teacher, the incongruity between the gesture and lexical item was immediately recognized, and although we may infer some communicative strain, the listener appears to quickly recognize the intended meaning, and indicates in the stimulated recall session that he was confident in this interpretation.

The pragmatic 'error' shown below was somewhat ambiguous on an initial hearing, but did not result in eventual miscommunication.

Extract #3: The manager picks Charlie to trial the machine.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: . . . the owner pick . d Charlie: . yea NS: Charlie Chaplin SLL: – yeah Charlie Chapman?, and they test: with the machine with him?, . and that machine was with like . . like . . for the: . eating machine, I don't know – like the machine give the food to the man, [yep] NS: [Ah]hh SLL: the man just stand there, and the machine . NS: feeds [him?] SLL: [give] – yeah feed them automatically	RES: And now, he said feed the man, . and did [I] you think this was people in general or [no] did you have a sense of . . NS: no, I had a sense of that he was talking about feeding Charlie Chaplin specifically

One interpretation is that the learner has switched from specific reference to Charlie, to non-specific reference to a representative of wider class. In this case, either an indefinite article, or zero article with a plural noun is called for. An alternative possibility is that he is continuing to refer specifically to Charlie, in which case a pragmatically inappropriate strategy is being used: article + common noun, rather than the preferred pronoun or proper name. In either case, the linguistic forms used are those of specific reference to a second male character (i.e. not to Charlie, and not to a generic representative character). However, the comments from the native speaker reveal that no miscommunication occurred.

The above extracts indicate that miscommunication need not occur even when the learner's linguistic weakness might suggest otherwise. However, the following extracts from the same interaction reveal how miscommunication can arise from apparently trivial mispronunciations.

The following is an example of where mispronunciation may give rise to initial strain, but did not eventuate in any actual miscommunication.

Extract #4: The first part begins at lunchtime, and Charlie stops work.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: ah, second part is: . ah . time is /lɒntʃ/ time? And the #second the #second has two parts [mmhm] the first part is lunchtime when . when Charlie was still working in the . er	RES: Just this initial, at this part, NS: With 'lunch time'? [Yeah] RES: [Yeah] or 'two parts' or NS: Yeah, I – I dunno, when he said lunch time. I wasn't 100% sure what he was actually meaning, was it 'launch time' or 'lunch time' RES: Ah, ok NS: But then after he said it a few times, you sort of # 'ah ok, it's lunch time' [ah] because they've taken a break, I think he mentioned [yep] break before, you sort of put two and two together [yep]. But it was initially, a little bit, yeah I was a bit unsure

At this point in the stimulated recall session, the researcher paused the video stimulus to ask a vague question as to what the native-speaker understood at this stage of the conversation. The teacher assumed that the pronunciation of 'lunch' was the issue – as this seems to have caused him some strain during the initial conversation. His strategy here was to allow

the learner to continue without seeking clarification, in the knowledge that the overall meaning--and perhaps the meaning of the particular unresolved expression--might become clear. Data from the wider study suggests that this strategy is quite common. This listening strategy appears to be motivated both by the effectiveness of 'top-down' comprehension strategies, and to avoid the stilted conversation and loss of face that may arise from interrupting the speaker.

The following is an example of either mis-pronunciation or an error in lexical choice ('choke' for 'shake') that does lead to miscommunication.

Extract #5: The workers stop for lunch. Charlie has developed a twitch from the repetitive movements of working on the production line. The soup spills when Charlie passes a soup bowl to his colleague.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: ya know . ah factory [mhm] and comes to the ah lunchtime so they stop. And they got er . . – one guy behind got a soup and put it in a . a bowl, ya know, and Charlie was a little bit a little bit choking?	RES: At this point did you have a clear idea about who he was talking about an- . [where things were?] NS: [Yeah, I mean] . *yeah, I mean, he said it, quite explicitly* said there's a guy behind Charlie who had a bowl of soup, [yep] um, then all of a sudden Charlie's choking, *so I mean, from that I got he's obviously* given the soup to Charlie, and he's Charlie's eaten it and choked RES: Oh, ok NS: But I mean, he didn't, I dunno, he didn't actually say that that happened, so [but] but that's what I thought, but in looking back at things, he might've meant that the guy was choking: - I'm not sure, but initially I thought Charlie, he got the bowl of soup and he was eating it and choked RES: Right, ok NS: Yeah

It is important to note that the teacher *believed* that the communication had been clear (as indicated the italicized portions), and so this is a case of miscommunication rather than communication failure. In this case, the miscommunication arises from one mispronounced/misinterpreted word--'choke'--which entails the meaning 'eating', so the teacher inferred two actions (in addition to the choking) that were not intended by the learner: (1) the colleague giving the soup to Charlie, (2) Charlie eating the soup.

In what follows, the teacher wrongly attributes a cause and effect connection between the 'choking' and the 'lunch machine', and then develops quite a different interpretation of the function of the 'lunch machine'.

Extract #6: Charlie, still twitching, spills the soup over his colleague and on the floor. The manager enters with a new automatic feeding machine to trial on the workers. He chooses Charlie as the 'guinea pig'.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: the soup was . was spit [[spilt]] and goes all over the floor [mhm] and then the boss er . come to have a look and they bring like er a m- machine, like, erm . ah . . automatic lunch machine some[thing like that] NS: [@ok@] SLL:yeah, and put Charlie in chair? NS: yeah	RES: So at this point, what was your idea about what was happening? NS: So, . I dunno, so the boss has come along and . um seen that Charlie's choking, so they bring some sort of automatic lunch machine along, . . *I wasn't a hundred per cent sure what he meant by automatic lunch machine*, [yeah] until: later on he explained that it cleaned him up, [right] but when he said automatic lunch machine, I mean: did it dispense sandwiches, did it – you know

It is clear from the portion in italics that there was initially strained communication, which was then wrongly resolved by the listener – it becomes miscommunication. Several factors are at work in this miscommunication. Firstly, the mispronunciation/misinterpretation of 'spilt' as 'spit' seems to reinforce the teacher's understanding that Charlie has eaten and choked (and subsequently spilt) the soup. Secondly, the vague connector 'and' can function to signal both a sequential relation, and also a cause and effect relation (among others). This ambiguity leads the teacher to understand the arrival of the 'lunch machine' as a response to the

soup eating (choking and spilling) incident. Thirdly, this interpretation is later strengthened when the hearer misunderstands what the machine is doing, as can be seen below.

In the following example, strained communication which is initially not resolved (or tentatively, but inaccurately understood) is later resolved, but wrongly.

Extract #7: The machine gave Charlie some cake, wiped his mouth, and then gave him some corn on the cob.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: an- I they got er: first #one it was . . . er . . . can't remember, a cake? Yeah he got cake < . . > to eat? NS: mmhm SLL: and then got ah something like can . wipe his mouth? And later – an- . got a: /kɒn/, /kɔ/ and he can eat, and ah got-, corn #turning?	NS: Yep. That point, I wasn't sure if he meant 'comb' or 'cone'. RES: Ok NS: Um . I mean later on he said it 'brushed his face, brushed his teeth' so it might've been a comb or a brush or something like that RES: Ok NS: But I thought because he said 'cake', and then it might've been 'cone', like . ice cream cone sort of, RES: Right, yep NS: So until he said something about it brushing him up, um . then . yeah, I wasn't really . too sure

It is noteworthy that the learner clearly identified the machine as giving Charlie cake to eat, but the teacher had trouble reconciling this with what he (wrongly) understood to be the function of the machine – which he believed to be to clean Charlie up. The teacher tolerates this ambiguity, especially when the machine wipes Charlie's mouth: this seems to reinforce his interpretation. The learner seems to acknowledge his difficulty in pronouncing 'corn', and has two attempts – neither of which successfully communicates the idea of 'corn'. At this point, the teacher entertains two possibilities: that the learner is referring to 'cone' or to 'comb'. In the stimulated recall session, he reported that 'cone' seemed plausible because it connected semantically with 'cake', so at that point he was unsure. But later he mentally revised this to 'comb' because of the events that he misunderstood as taking place.

In what follows, the learner successfully communicates some of his intended message; however, the teacher misinterprets the overall function of the machine.

Extract #8: The corn cob is rotating and moving backwards and forwards so that Charlie can eat it. But then the machine goes haywire, and the corn starts going faster and faster across his mouth.

NS-SLL interaction	*Stimulated recall session*
SLL: and like, the <.> typing machine is like turning and it goes right ah right left right left and then, the machine goes crazy [[talking faster]] and, goes really fast, and like brushing his mouth,	RES: So when he said 'a typing machine' before, you were thinking: NS: Typewriter RES: Yep NS: Yep RES: Ok. And how did that relate . do you think . to the: what he was saying? NS: Well, I mean, I thought it was a pretty good description of what the machine was doing, [right] it changed my sort of thinking about what the machine was RES: Right. So what was it doing? NS: Well, the brush was spinning, and it was going back and forward, like a typewriter would, [uh-huh] so then all of a sudden it went mental and . RES: Right, so that was quite a good description then NS: Well I I thought it was, yeah RES:Yeah NS: I dunno if it was RIGHT

A key misunderstanding here is "like brushing his mouth" which was intended by the learner to have a comparative function (a simile) but is literally interpreted by the teacher. This has quite a significant effect on the latter's interpretation of the overall function of the machine. Previously, the teacher had thought the description of the machine's function was ambiguous or unclear, but "brushing his mouth" lends support to the idea of it being a cleaning machine, and thus erroneously confirms this interpretation. In addition, the teacher settles on an interpretation of /kɒn/

and /kɔ/ as a 'comb', rather than the previously entertained possibility of 'cone' or indeed the intended 'corn'.

The final extract below shows an example of failed communication, where the teacher tolerates a communication failure because he believes that the meaning may become clear soon.

Extract #9: The engineers and the inventor work frantically to fix the out-of-control machine. Eventually, they seem to have succeeded. But the machine throws a cream pie in Charlie's face.

NS-SLL interaction	Stimulated recall session
SLL: and thi: thi: the guys they ah try to stop it? and but they can't do it? and . but anyway they final fix it, and put the corn away. NS: mmhm SLL: and . then, last one is #they still got a cake. < . > this time they, they the machine didn't operate properly and just threw cake # <.> in his face, [mhm] and	RES: So, what did you understand by that bit? NS:. . . not . a lot . I couldn't quite understand what he said at the end of that RES: Mmm NS: Like, the machine opened [mm] and I wasn't really [mm] quite sure. RES: Ok NS: Yeah, I mean, I guess I wou- I I probably should have stopped and asked him what it was but I thought it might be better if: he continued explaining, because from what I noticed that, . . if he'd said something a little bit strange and I didn't quite get it, it would sort of explain itself . in a little bit RES: Uh-huh NS: like he'd he'd explain further on on something and then you'd pick up what he'd actually meant

As it turned out, the teacher had not grasped the point that the learner was making. This was the final link in a chain of strained and miscommunication which started with the teacher's failure to correctly interpret mispronounced words. This led him to paint a rather different picture in his mind. Following the stimulated recall session, he was shown the part of *Modern Times* film that he had missed while 'answering the

phone'. It is <u>only</u> at this stage that he became aware of the extent of misunderstanding.

Discussion between the Researcher and Native Speaker after the stimulated recall session
RES: I'll just pause there. Just a quick comment, it's quite fascinating how one or two mispronounced words can set off a whole [yep] can set off a whole chain reaction of [yep] different interpretation, eh? NS: Yep, especially at the start with the choking, I didn't even THINK of shaking, I I [yeah] really didn't. Because I thought that . I just inferred that he actually was drinking the soup because it's lunch time so he's obviously going to have some soup too RES: Mmm NS: But in fact, that wasn't the case [[*laughs*]] quite the opposite RES: It's quite fascinating NS: I mean parts of the lunch machine were . quite accurate, but it still didn't . . paint the picture . that . you know . what it actually was, [yeah] like the picture I got was something a little bit different. That it was more of a lunch cleaning machine than an actual eating machine. [mm] and that's why I- I guess I wasn't really sure . how the CAKE sort of . . fitted into the whole idea RES: That's it. Any final comments to make? NS: It's pretty interesting to n- to sort of notice how: much can actually be missed by, like he mispronounced what was it? Ah RES: Two or three words

Implications

In summary, the first three extracts above reveal that surface-level linguistic errors on the part of the second language learner need not give rise to any miscommunication. However, the extracts which follow show how initial pronunciation slips could give rise to a communicative breakdown to such an extent that the listener (the teacher) came away from the interaction with a completely different interpretation from that which was intended by the learner. It is important to note that the teacher was not aware of this until he watched the part of the film that he had missed.

This study was carried out using recorded extracts from *Modern Times*, and we believe that short extracts from (silent) movies are potentially extremely rich stimuli. However, as will be discussed below, it is possible for language teachers to use other information-gap tasks in a similar way for classroom activities, professional development, and as a focus for action research.

Classroom teaching

The procedure could be used in language classrooms, for example in classes preparing students for the oral element of examinations such as IELTS. Pairs of students could be asked to take part in the two-part interaction, and the recording of the second phase could be played to stimulate class discussion of where communication was sometimes strained, and the reasons for this. The class could be encouraged to consider specific communication strategies to reduce their own faulty production and--perhaps more importantly--to use specific examples of tactful language to seek clarification where they are not sure of the interlocutor's intended meaning. Raising students' consciousness of, and then providing practice in, these issues is particularly important in test situations, where candidates are prone to the anxiety inherent in all examinations, and where it is not always possible or desirable for the examiner to ask for clarification, even where s/he detects miscommunication.

Professional development through reflectivity

We would suggest that teachers could adapt a procedure such as that outlined above to develop their pragmatic awareness of the ways in which communication breaks down, and how miscommunication could be avoided or repaired. By closely examining transcript data, a teacher could anticipate which particular features of language, for example with learners from similar language backgrounds, might lead to strained or mis-communication. He or she might also be able to reflect on how their own questions, or prompts for discussion, could be more clearly framed to avoid leading learners astray. The teacher could be sensitised to signals (verbal or nonverbal) from their interlocutor which indicate that the conversation is moving away from the desired direction, and learn how to tactfully bring it effectively back on track. From such a microgenetic analysis of transcript data many useful insights might emerge. However, as this study has shown, the issues could be more fully, and usefully, explored by holding stimulated recall sessions immediately afterwards with participants so that their respective points of view could be discussed and reconciled; in this way possible solutions could be co-constructed, rather than unilaterally considered. It is not suggested that this would be an everyday teaching activity but rather that it could be an element in an individual or group programme of reflective practice.

Research

The study discussed above has not sought to make generalisations about issues related to problematic communication, but rather to open up a particular way for teachers - and perhaps learners - to explore, and reflect on, interaction in specific contexts. We suggest that it could be very useful

for the procedure to be used by groups of teachers in collaborative action research projects, where analyses and interpretations could be co-constructed. The primary aim of such projects would be to identify communication problems facing their particular students and perhaps find ways that they could assist both themselves and their students to avoid or repair these challenges. Such small-scale and localised projects could stimulate more extensive studies of where, how and why language learners' communication may falter or break down. Moreover, if the data collection and analysis of such research is done systematically, and disseminated through conference presentations and publications, the findings could enhance general professional and academic understanding of the pragmatic use of language.

Note: A transcript of the interaction between the teacher and the second language learner discussed in this article may be obtained from Jono Ryan (jgr3@waikato.ac.nz).

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Appendix
Description of the film extract

The second section of the film has two parts. The first part (recounted in the extracts) is described here.

It begins at lunchtime, as the conveyor belt slows to a halt and Charlie and the other workers stop for lunch. Charlie has developed a 'twitch' in which he cannot stop making the repetitive movements from his job on the

production line. The boss's secretary happens to be walking past and as she bends over, Charlie instinctively 'tightens' the buttons at the back of her skirt with the two wrenches or spanners he still has in his hands.
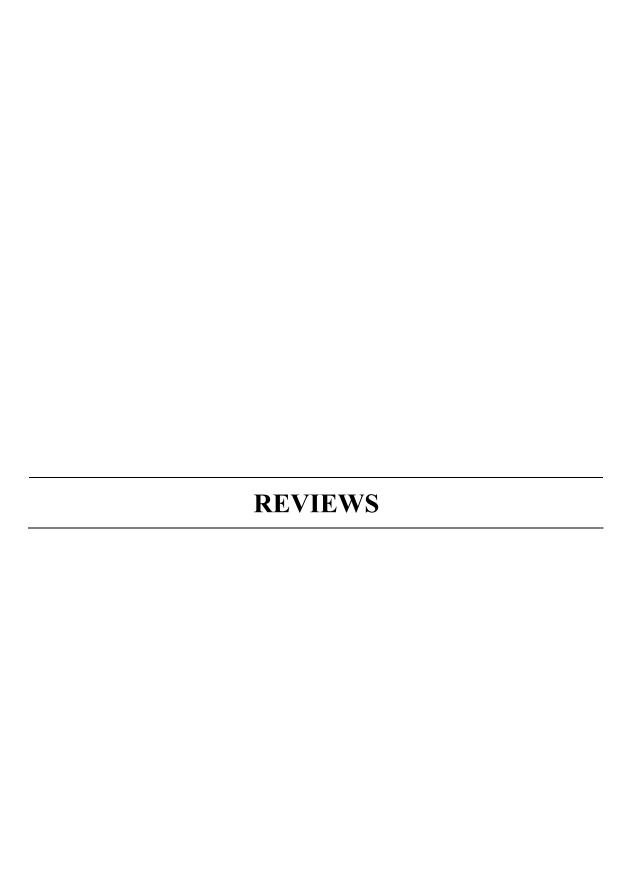
Meanwhile, the man who works beside Charlie pours a bowl of soup and sets in down on the bench. Charlie is about to sit in it when the colleague shouts at him, and tells him to pass it over. When Charlie picks up the soup bowl, he is still twitching and so he spills the soup over the floor and over his colleague.

Soon after, the manager arrives on the factory floor with a new machine that an inventor is trying to sell to him, and which they now intend to trial on the workers to judge its performance. It is the dome shaped object that was brought to the manager's office at the end of the first section of the film. The manager chooses Charlie as the guinea pig. The inventor has Charlie strapped in, and explains to Charlie that it is an automatic feeding machine.

The machine begins by raising a plate of food to the level of Charlie's mouth. The plate contains small cubes of food, perhaps bread or meat. A metal rod pushes a piece into Charlie's mouth, the plate rotates a little, and then another piece is pushed into his mouth. Then an object on the end of a rod, perhaps a sponge, swings around and wipes Charlie's face. After this, the machine rotates and a bowl of soup is raised for Charlie to drink from. The machine rotates again and a corn cob appears. The corn has a skewer through its middle, which slowly spins the corn and moves it from left to right so that Charlie can eat without moving. At this stage, the machine is working well.

Suddenly, the machine starts to malfunction. The corn starts spinning faster and faster and violently moving back and forth across his mouth. The machine is out of control. Sparks are flying from the engine and it appears to be short circuiting. The engineers and the inventor work frantically to fix it. Eventually, they seem to have succeeded in repairing it. They try again. But the next dish is a cream pie that the machine 'throws' in Charlie's face. The machine goes wildly out of control again, and the sponge that was meant to wipe Charlie's mouth, instead repeatedly bashes his face. The inventor and his engineer eventually get the machine to stop, and it releases Charlie, who collapses to the ground.

The manager tells the inventor 'It's no good – it isn't practical' and walks away with his assistants, leaving the inventor behind.

REVIEWS

Cambridge academic content dictionary. (2009). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-69196-3 Paperback with CD-Rom. 1137 pp. $51.50.

Reviewed by Lizzy Roe, University of Auckland.

The focus of this dictionary is clear from the contrasting colours and fonts of the cover title: 'Cambridge academic content dictionary', with the first and last words in white, and 'Academic Content' in blue. The blurb emphasises the academic focus: 'With more than 2,000 content-area words, from algebra to zoology'. In all, there is a promising-sounding 1,113 pages of definitions and a 20-page, largely science-based, reference section at the end. This makes it a fairly hefty book for its suggested target users (high school students and beyond) to carry around. It comes with a CD-ROM dictionary/thesaurus. As a teacher of EAP courses for tertiary ESOL students, I was keen to see the quantity and type of academic content that this dictionary offers.

The content of the Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary (hereafter CACD) is based on the Cambridge Dictionary of American English (second edition) and includes vocabulary from twenty academic subject areas: algebra, art, biology, chemistry, earth science, English, geometry, grammar, literature, mathematics, music, physics, politics and government, science, social studies, trigonometry, US history, world history, writing. The vocabulary is from a range of American state tests and subject area assessments, and the editors based their selections of words, meanings, and example sentences on the Cambridge International Corpus (one billion plus words of written and spoken English).

In terms of layout, headword entries (in green) offer standard dictionary fare: pronunciation using the IPA with regional American variations, part of speech and grammar patterns, the meaning(s), an italicised example phrase or sentence (for some entries, not all), and 'related word' entries (i.e. word family), phrasal verbs, and idioms. 'Usage labels' indicate register or special use contexts. A few pictures are distributed throughout the book.

Information boxes with different labels ('confusables, 'word choices', 'usage', 'common learner error') serve to clarify terms that cause semantic or grammatical confusion, which users will find helpful. Boxes also contain 'word family' entries, although some contender headwords miss out on this format. It could be argued that these 'word family' boxes are redundant as

they repeat the listing of 'related word' entries, although they are handy at a glance, and do break up the columns of text on each page.

So, how much 'academic content' does this dictionary contain? There are 2,100 subject-specific words e.g. 'muon' (physics), 'fractional distillation' (chemistry), 'diatonic scale' (music), but across twenty subject areas that suggests an average of only a hundred or so words per subject. It would also be useful to have an index of the words in their subject categories, for students of a specific discipline to have as a reference; however this is available on the CD version.

More than 1,500 'general academic words' are also included. The preface acknowledges that the 570 headwords (and their derivatives) of the Academic Word List (AWL) are the source of these. Page ix refers users to the AWL author's website for more details. (Note: despite this dictionary's recent 2009 publication, the AWL website reference is already out-of-date.) Again, an index of the AWL headwords would have been useful, and perhaps also the AWL sublist number (1-10) as an indicator of how frequently that word appears in written academic texts. Word frequency is otherwise not considered in this dictionary.

If the subject-specific and general academic words total only 3,600 entries out of more than 60,000, then what makes up the rest? Flicking through the pages, there are many words appropriate for an academic context e.g. 'inborn', 'routine', 'trait', which are useful weapons in a student's armoury. However, a number of entries are arguably basic or not academic. Taking page 436 at random; it has 17 headwords, none of which are subject-specific or academic words, and four entries include: hash (as in food – a mix of meat and potatoes), hash browns (more food), hat, hatchback (car door). Other basic word entries elsewhere include 'car', 'city', and 'girl'. If users need to look up these words because their meanings are unknown, perhaps they should be using a lower-level dictionary.

Looking more closely at the meanings (which are, after all, the bread and butter of a dictionary - or should that be 'meat and potatoes'?) The definitions were written using the Cambridge Defining Vocabulary - a list of 2,500 very common words already known to students. The same 'simplified language' approach applies to the dictionary that my university-level students use (the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary – OALD, sixth edition) and is a feature they seem to appreciate. That said, there seem to be fewer meanings in the CACD compared with the OALD. For example, the CACD headword 'formula' has one subject-specific 'mathematics' meaning, and three other meanings (including the one

relating to chemistry which, surprisingly, is not given its subject-specific label) but the OALD has these same four meanings, plus three others. The same analysis of two other AWL verbs reveals a similar shortfall: 'contribute' (CACD 2, OALD 4), and 'release' (CACD 2, OALD 7).

The CD-ROM is easy to install and has a comprehensive 'help' guide. It has the entire dictionary plus extra functions of hearing the word pronounced (American-style), recording the user's pronunciation, and a 'smart thesaurus', which provides a list of similar-meaning words/categories, and their dictionary meanings. If a word in the meaning is not understood, the user highlights that word and the dictionary entry for it appears. One impressive function is 'QUICKfind' which instantly displays the meaning of any word in a document, email or Web page that the user mouses over. The 'Advanced Search' function lets the user find words by part of speech, or word category, among other options. However, using this function and these three keywords: 'headwords' (category), 'all science' (subject) and 'academic' (word type), returned only 20 words, and repeating the search using just 'science' instead of 'all science' returned just three words!

Overall, the CACD is a basic-level resource that would be very suitable for high school students, although tertiary level EAP students might well prefer the stronger focus on academic vocabulary of the OALD.

Folse, K. (2007). *The art of teaching speaking.* Michigan: University of Michigan Press. ISBN 978-0-472-03165-8. 284 pp. $US 38.47

Jonathan Newton, Victoria University of Wellington.

The art of teaching speaking is a practical and accessible guide to teaching speaking in the EFL/ESOL classroom. It is probably most suited to the beginning teacher, but there is enough breadth to the content to make parts of the book useful for experienced teachers as well. Because this is a book of distinct parts I will proceed by dealing with each chapter in turn.

The chapters that introduce and conclude the book present an accessible overview of research on, and principles for, teaching and assessing speaking. Chapter 1 gives an overview of five factors to consider when planning and teaching a conversation class: the learner, the curriculum, the topic, the language demands of a task, and the task itself. As broad as these

factors seem, each is discussed in a very applied way with anecdotes from Folse's 30 years teaching experience and with a concluding section outlining the practical applications of each factor for teachers. Chapter 2 surveys recent research on the teaching of conversation including topics such as fluency versus accuracy, interlanguage, input, negotiation, output and various kinds of tasks (one-way, two-way, open, closed etc). Although this material is covered briefly and superficially, such brevity is in keeping with the practical focus of the book.

At this point we encounter three highly practical and, in some respects, quite unique chapters that, in turn, present case studies of conversation classes, a set of practical teaching activities, and a set of scenarios of how *not* to teach a conversation class. The first of these chapters (Chapter 3) presents 20 two to three page case studies of conversation classes from around the world, each written by a different teacher and each followed by a set of issues for reflection written by Folse. This large chapter would be very useful for beginning teachers, and especially for beginning teachers with limited TESOL training. The strength of this chapter is the way that Folse allows principles of sound language teaching pedagogy to emerge from specific teaching contexts. So, for example, Case Study 16 is about teaching a conversation class to young adults in Japan. The teacher, Darren P. Bologna, discusses his teaching strategies for managing the expectations these students have of the teacher and their unwillingness to initiate interaction with the teacher in the class setting. Folse then picks up this issue in the 'Issues for Reflection' section. Here he encourages the reader to reverse cultural roles and imagine what it would be like to interrupt a formal lecture from an esteemed professor with a question or disagreement. A weakness of this approach of teasing issues out of case studies is that some of the issues discussed are a little obvious, and possibly would not warrant attention if the case studies did not require them.

Chapter 4 then describes 20 successful activities. Many of these will be familiar to practicing teachers, for example: *Find Someone Who; Find the Differences; Twenty Questions*; and *Role Play.* This is a conventional centre-piece to the book but will be an invaluable resource for inexperienced teachers who are looking for a set of tried-and-true activities for use in a speaking class.

While Chapter 4 is somewhat traditional in its approach, it is greatly enriched by the unique approach taken in Chapter (5) which describes and analyses ten unsuccessful invented teaching experiences. These include, for example, a teacher sitting on a desk and presenting a topic for discussion (What do you think about capital punishment?) without providing a task or discussion structure and then wondering why there is no conversation.

Folse then uses each of the 10 teaching disasters to unpack important teaching principles. As with other chapters in this book, a particular strength of this approach is the way that it situates principles in practice, and indeed in situated, contextualized practice.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) gives an overview of principles and practical suggestions for assessing speaking. Like Chapter 2 it is brief but practical and informative. This might be the final chapter but it is by no means the end of the book. Five appendices follow, each of which contains excellent content deserving of more prominence. The first three of these appendices are highly compressed overviews of key principles for teaching vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. Rarely have I seen such a clear concise description of the core principles for addressing each of these aspects of language. The section on vocabulary for example, deals with the following points: should you teach vocabulary directly, what is a word, which words to teach, what does it mean to know a word, collocations, the role of practice, word lists, board use, drills and testing. And all within seven pages! The final two appendices present sample lesson plans and lists of useful resources. A final noteworthy feature of the book is the way it links to further resources related to each chapter at the University of Michigan Press website (http://www.press.umich.edu/esl/compsite/teachspeak/). These resources are mostly in the form of pre-reading questions and suggested activities to guide the reading of each chapter.

In conclusion, this book makes a valuable and distinct contribution to the language teaching literature. Among its many strengths is range of classrooms that it draws on including those from Folse's own teaching experience in the USA, Saudi Arabia, Ecuador and Japan and also those of the twenty teachers from around the world who contribute case studies of their classrooms for the book. Because of the prominence of real classroom experiences in the book, principles and suggestions for teaching practice are thoroughly grounded in real contexts. A limitation in this regard, at least for teachers of children, is that the book focuses almost exclusively on teaching adults.

A second strength of the book is that Folse has largely succeeded in balancing theory and practice. This is primarily a practical text but one in which principles, research and theory provide essential support. Two areas that perhaps warrant more attention are firstly, ways to integrate speaking with other skills, and secondly, task-based language teaching. But these are minor quibbles. Overall, Keith Folse has done a fine job of providing a comprehensive guide for effectively teaching conversation classes.

Hanson-Smith, E. & Rilling, S. (Eds). (2006). *Learning languages through technology.* Alexandria, VA: TESOL. ISBN: 9781931185363. 332 pp. $63.99.

Reviewed by Clare Conway, Auckland University of Technology.

Learning languages through technology is a TESOL publication in which the editors present 18 chapters written by language teaching professionals, mainly from USA but also from Asia, Europe, Venezuela, Canada and UAE. The chapters are organised thematically into four sections: Language Development Online which considers the development of the four skills and vocabulary; Content-Based and Task-Based Learning; Authentic Audience in a Web-based world and Constructivism in Professional Development. The book aims to give language teacher educators and pre- and in-service teachers examples of ways they could use technology to create optimal language learning environments for English Language Learners (ELLs).

The editorial contributions make this book more than just a collection of articles, and assist the book in successfully meeting its target audience. There is the usual introductory chapter. This briefly looks at three broad ways in which teachers use technology (administrative, blended and distance) and lists eight conditions for optimal language learning environments. The following chapters in the book are then an attempt to show teachers ways in which they can formulate activities and projects that meet these conditions.

Several other editorial features also add to the success of the book. Each chapter begins with a preview of the contents, and pre-reading questions and concludes with a list of questions and activities for further discussion and study. These features are useful for both individual reader reflections as well as for language teacher educators who want to use a chapter as a reading for a professional development course.

In addition, at the end of each section, the editors have placed an "issues" chapter that explores ideas related to the section's theme. For example, in the final chapter in Section 1 Robb explores learner autonomy and contends that there is a danger of student underutilisation of online activities set up to develop language skills (as described in the preceding chapters) because of "teachers' overly optimistic assessment of students' willingness to do 'outside' work."

An important feature of the book is the 'Challenges and Future Directions' section which ends each chapter. In this part, the authors give a critical

account of the difficulties they encountered in their use of technology and make recommendations. For example, Dahlman and Tahtinen give a particularly honest account of the E-mentoring project they set up to provide ongoing support for graduates of their language teacher education programme. Despite the graduates expressing the need for the support and contributing to the project design, and despite the authors' careful consideration of how to translate their successful face-to-face mentoring into online form, the e-mentoring was not particularly well-used by the graduates. The authors examine why and make recommendations. These honest appraisals give the reader a more realistic idea of the challenges involved in setting up activities for learning language through technology.

Material in the book is made more accessible to the reader through the use of clear layout. Much use is made of tables and boxes to set out key information in a reader-friendly way, and as well there are often pictures of web pages to illustrate content. Even the appendix to each chapter that references useful websites is set out in a table, making it easy to decipher the information. In-text references to scholarly works appear in a combined reference list at the end of the book. There is also a list of contributors and their bio data, and a comprehensive index.

The book contains a very good selection of articles across a wide range of topics, ensuring wide reader appeal. There are chapters on using technology with school age and tertiary level learners in both EFL settings and EAL settings, with teacher educators, with academic English programmes and with learners in content-based courses.

The section on Content-Based and Task-Based Learning contains some interesting chapters. As the editors comment, in such collaborative CALL projects, there is a change in teacher-student roles - a shift in power from 'the sage on the stage to students and student teams.' Gromik gives detailed information on the way in which he gives the students on his Communicative Language Course at his university in Japan the equipment and learning strategies for creating and assessing their own film in English. He provides examples of how students have the opportunity to improve their English language. For example their written language skills are refined through the process of writing a film script, storyboarding, and completing an editing log.

Another chapter in this section, by Kennedy, is less specific about language learning. It contains a long description of The Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) Program set up by The U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the National Science Foundation (NSF) and operating in 109 countries.

Students around the world participating in the programme gather and share scientific information. While this chapter may be of general interest to teachers in schools, it does not offer much specifically to language teachers. It does refer readers to the GLOBE Teacher's Guide with some hints for teaching language, and it refers to a 2005 article by Kennedy which may be of more interest to language teachers. But the article sounds rather like a promotional feature for GLOBE; many paragraphs start with the word GLOBE, and the final section, which mentions GLOBE'S 'proud tradition of success,' is more about the future direction of GLOBE than with language learning through this technology.

However, overall this is a well-conceived and well-produced book that would be a useful acquisition for the library in an educational institute, or for an individual who wishes to deepen their knowledge of ways in which to exploit technology for language learning.

Talcott, C. & Tullis, G. (2007). *Target Score* **(2ⁿᵈ Ed):** *A communicative course for TOEIC preparation.* **Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0-521-70664-3. Student book with test pack.**

Reviewed by Marian Hilder, International Pacific College

The TOEIC Test

The Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) test is an international English language test produced by ETS. It is a multi-choice Listening and Reading test with a writing and speaking test becoming available. It is widely-recognised in Japan and Korea especially. International Pacific College is a private tertiary institution with Japanese owners. As we use the TOEIC test quite extensively, it seemed appropriate to review this book. The book sent for review was the Student's Book only, but I have also procured a copy of the Teacher's Book because a teacher's manual often includes teaching ideas and supplementary activities, not to mention the answers!

1. The Student Book

The Student Book is made up of twelve topic-based chapters. Each chapter has:
- A Snapshot section, featuring four photos on the topic, as used in Part One of the test
- Three listening sections, which target different listening skills and task types

- Two grammar checks, which give a very brief overview of a grammar point followed by (not many) tasks related to that grammar point,
- A vocabulary builder with several associated exercises
- A Viewpoint, which is a reading accompanied by written questions and a discussion
- A Communication section, which is a role-play, supported by role play cards in a Communication File at the back of the book
- At least two TOEIC tips to help students with different parts of the test.

After every three chapters there is a review test which is set out in the form of a short TOEIC test (50 questions instead of 200).

At the front of the Student Book is a map of the book, which gives an overview of what is covered in each section of each chapter. Following this is an overview of the Redesigned TOEIC test. This gives a good analysis of each part of the test and strategies that will be helpful when tackling each part. However, it might have been even more helpful to show both versions of the test, as both are still available although this book is intended for the Redesigned test. At the back is a grammar reference, covering the very basics of the grammar points in each chapter, a TOEIC wordlist with a reference to the page that the word appears on and suggestions for students on how to extend their understanding of the basic item by looking at word families, usage etc, audio-scripts for the listening sections, answer keys for the exercises and the Communication File needed for the Communication section. A separate booklet provides a final full-length practice TOEIC test with CD and accompanying answer key, explaining the rationale behind the correct answer. There is also a full audio script of the test.

2. The Teacher Book

At the front of the Teacher Book is an overview of the TOEIC test (as in the Student Book) but information is also given on the Speaking and Writing tests. At the beginning of each unit is an overview of the unit including the amount of time that each section might take. There is also an introduction to each exercise, explaining the purpose of the exercise including which part of the test it relates to. Much fuller answers are given than appear in the student's book. In addition there are suggestions for practising speaking and writing based on the work in the unit.

At the back of the teacher book are the full answers to the review tests with good explanations. There are also suggestions for extra activities to prepare students for specific parts of the TOEIC test. In addition there is a scoring conversion table, showing how many correct answers students may need to get a certain score – such information is often quite a revelation to teachers

– test-takers get five marks even if they have no correct answers, they can get 10% wrong in listening but still get full marks but only 3% in reading!

What do users think of the book?
A teacher who is currently using the book says: "I really like the style of *Target Score* as it is topic- based, so allows me to brainstorm students' current knowledge on a topic. It spreads grammar lessons through the topics nicely and also has more variety of tasks for students to do, rather than just drills. Although this suits my teaching, it does not suit all students. Some are excited by the activities; others struggle to see the relevance to TOEIC as it does not simply look like parts of a TOEIC test made into grammar drills like other textbooks." This last comment shows the value of outlining in the Teacher's Book exactly which parts of the test each exercise helps with.

Overall, the book looks bright and interesting for students. The topics fit in with the international business focus of the test but use up-to-date examples such as Jelly Belly gourmet jelly beans, fair trade coffee and eco-tourism. The book provides practise for the test in a much more interesting way than merely doing more and more practice tests (a strategy favoured by some of our students). It does not profess to teach basic grammar items but encourages students to utilise the grammatical knowledge that they already have. The only improvement that I would suggest is that the sections at the back would be more easily distinguished if they were bordered in different colours.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Contributions to *The TESOLANZ Journal* are welcomed from language educators and applied linguists within and outside Aotearoa/New Zealand, especially those working in Australia and countries in the South Pacific.

2. Contributions should in general be no longer than 5000 words.

3. Referencing conventions should follow that specified in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (5th Edition). This publication is available in most university libraries. In the text, references should be cited using the author's last name and date of publication. If quotations are cited, the reference should include page numbers (Brindley, 1989, pp. 45-46). The reference list at the end of the article should be arranged in alphabetical order. The reference list should only include items specifically cited in the text.

4. As far as possible, comments and references should be incorporated into the text but, where necessary, endnotes may be placed after the main body of the article, before the list of references, under the heading Notes.

5. All graphics should be suitable for publication and need no change.

6. It is understood that manuscripts submitted have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.

7. Enquiries and draft submissions should be sent by email to the Editor, Dr Susan Gray, University of Auckland, s.gray@auckland.ac.nz . The preferred format is WORD.

8. All submissions should be accompanied by a full mailing address, a telephone number and, if available, an email addresses and/or fax number.

9. Submissions will be considered by the Editor and members of the Editorial Board.

10. Those interested in submitting a book review should contact the Review Editor, Dr Rosemary Wette, University of Auckland, r.wette@auckland.ac.nz.

11. The closing date for the submission of manuscripts for 2010 is **Tuesday 1st June.**