Second Language Learning and Teaching

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Mirosław Pawlak *Editors*

Researching Second Language Learning and Teaching from a Psycholinguistic Perspective

Studies in Honour of Danuta Gabryś-Barker

Springer

Second Language Learning and Teaching

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Preface

The present volume is intended as a tribute to Professor Danuta Gabryś-Barker, who is on the one hand, a dedicated, prolific and internationally known scholar, and, on the other, a mentor, a colleague, a dear friend, or all the three combined, for hundreds of applied linguists in Poland and across the world. Her contribution to the fields of second language acquisition, psycholinguistics, multilingualism, and teacher education, to name but a few, is immense and simply impossible to overestimate. This is evident not only in the multitude of conference presentations, including many plenary talks, her monographs, numerous journal papers, book chapters and the volumes she has edited or co-edited, but also in the fact that she is the co-editor of two journals: *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Routledge) and *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition* (University of Silesia), a member of many editorial boards and a frequent reviewer. The papers included in the present volume, penned by well-known scholars from Poland and abroad, without doubt testify to the great esteem that Professor Gabryś-Barker enjoys in our field. In light of the main foci of her research, it is also fitting that this edited collection brings together publications approaching second language learning and teaching from a psycholinguistic perspective.

Following the definition provided by Garnham (1985), psycholinguistics "(…) is the study of the mental mechanisms that make it possible for people to use language (…)". The scholar elaborates on his definition by explaining the main goal of the discipline which, in his opinion, is "(…) a coherent theory of the way in which language is produced and understood (…)". Carroll (2008) complements the above-mentioned definition and presents two leading questions which he believes to be the heart of the discipline, namely: "What knowledge of language is needed for us to use language?" and "What cognitive processes are involved in the ordinary use of language?" In order to answer the questions posed by Carroll, one must first realize that psycholinguistics is an interdisciplinary domain which encompasses a variety of closely linked disciplines which are in need of thorough investigation. Second, with the geopolitical issues coming into play across the globe, the scope of psycholinguistics is rapidly growing and gradually embracing fairly new issues

which might shape future directions in the study of the discipline. The papers gathered in this volume bear witness to the challenges of this kind and, whether they are theoretical or empirical in nature, they are representative of the state-of-the-art developments in the field. The book has been divided into two main parts, one stressing the contribution of the learner and the other of the teacher.

The first part, *Learner-Related Variables in Second Language Acquisition*, brings together a total of eight contributions. Anna Michońska-Stadnik investigates one of the areas addressed by positive psychology (cf. MacIntyre & Mercer, 2014), namely the characteristics associated with an individual well-being, discussing students' opinions and beliefs concerning the extent to which the language learning process contributes to the development of selected life skills. Also within the framework of positive psychology, Rebecca L. Oxford re-explains the EMPATHICS model and its 18 elements, and, what is perhaps most important, adds to it and elaborates upon three elements, that is identity, investment and imagination, emphasizing that the model should serve the purpose of constantly improving the teaching process. Subsequently, Larissa Aronin and Ulrike Jessner concentrate on the concept of space-time (Aronin, 2014) and its implementation in researching multilingualism in different contexts as it shapes the identity of the individual, stressing the need to approach space-times as complex dynamic systems. Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel reports the results of a study conducted among over 600 adolescent Polish learners of English, which concerned their positive and negative perceptions of the target language, providing evidence for the perceived significance of the English language as a tool for communication in the globalized world. In the following paper, Mirosław Pawlak adopts the lens of the theory of the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2009) in a questionnaire study of Polish university students majoring in English. He manages to demonstrate that although they are in general highly motivated and driven by propitious motives, pedagogic intervention is needed with respect to some areas, such as self-confidence and lack of fear of assimilation. Simone E. Pfenninger and David Singleton shift emphasis to the comparison of the ability of early and late learners to use the target language input and produce output, reporting the findings of a longitudinal study of 200 Swiss learners of English as L3 or L4, which focused on this ability in terms of its relationship to selected memory processes and age of onset. This is followed by a paper by Anna Niżegorodcew who seeks to establish a psycholinguistic profile of senior students learning English as a foreign language at the Third Age University on the basis of teachers' reflections and students' accounts of their experiences. Halina Chodkiewicz elaborates on the model of reading as a psycholinguistic guessing game proposed by Goodman (1967), explaining why it is problematic to assume that L2 readers can understand a text solely through top-down processing or infer the meanings of unfamiliar vocabulary with the aid of selected features of the visual input. Finally, the reprinted paper by the late Janusz Arabski focuses upon five consecutive stages of foreign vocabulary acquisition from a psycholinguistic perspective with reference to concepts touched upon in relevant publications on the subject.

The second part, *Aspects of Teacher Awareness in Second Language Education*, is also made up of eight papers. It opens with the contribution by Hanna Komorowska, who focuses on the role of conversational styles in foreign language education, stressing their importance in personal relations and pointing to the need to raise cross-cultural awareness because mismatches in this respect may generate misunderstandings and mistaken perceptions. Alison Phipps analyzes selected moments represented in the Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication (PIC) project and identifies four different ways in which laughter occurs, evaluating these in the context of the presentation of the self. In the following contribution, Liliana Piasecka zooms in on the issue of teacher job satisfaction, seeking to arrive at a portrait of an average English language teacher on the basis of empirical evidence from the TALIS 2013 survey (OECD, 2014) and data collected from Polish teachers of English as a foreign language. Maria Dakowska revisits the issues of authenticity and the use of authentic texts in teaching English as a foreign language, demonstrating how the psycholinguistic perspective can offer a point of reference for determining the nature and functions of authentic materials and their relevance to teachers. Andrzej Łyda presents the results of a corpus-based analysis of the usage of the words *precise* and *accurate* in academic spoken and written English, showing that this usage is dependent on specific contexts, with the two lexemes sometimes sharing the semantic space. Zbigniew P. Możejko presents selected pre-war materials used for teaching English as a foreign language and demonstrates that they are highly innovative, taking into account the latest developments in foreign language pedagogy. The last two contributions focus on foreign language teacher education, albeit in disparate educational contexts. First, Beata Malczewska-Webb, Alicia Vallero, Christian King, and Simon Hunter touch upon training teachers in virtual environments, presenting the theoretical framework which was developed for the needs of an online MA program at Bond University, Australia, and illustrating how online resources can effectively be used in such circumstances. Second, Eva Vetter, drawing on the work of Danuta Gabryś-Barker, discusses issues connected with foreign language education in Austria and considers the extent to which the concept of multilingualism can become part of the process of teachers' professional development.

We are convinced that the papers included in the volume will be of interest to all of those who are involved in investigating the fascinating phenomenon of learning additional languages, exploring the ways in which this process can be enhanced through instruction, and attempting to ensure that such instruction is provided by dedicated, highly qualified teachers. We are also confident that they will serve as a source of inspiration for a number of future research projects, many of which will build and expand upon the numerous, important contributions that Professor Gabryś-Barker has made to our field.

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Contents

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Contributors

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Part I
Learner-Related Variables in Second Language Acquisition

Foreign Language Learning from the Perspective of Individual Well-Being

Anna Michońska-Stadnik

Abstract Positive psychology is said to: "address three topic areas: the workings of positive internal experiences such as emotions, positive individual characteristics such as traits associated with living well, and institutions that enable people to flourish" (MacIntyre & Mercer, 2014, p. 154). This paper will approach the second topic area. It may be predicted that learning and knowing a foreign language will contribute, in a number of ways, to an individual's well-being. This approach seems to coincide with interpreting language as a life skill, represented mainly by Rogers et al. (2014) in their course book series. Learning a foreign language, apart from providing learners with the necessary skills and abilities to successfully function in a target community, will also assist the development of such useful life skills as assertiveness, logical thinking, memory and problem-solving abilities, negotiation skills, planning and setting goals, and many others. The aim of this paper is to present and discuss students' opinions on the extent to which they believe their language learning process and the knowledge of language contributed to the development of selected life skills which are necessary for any individual to function successfully in the twenty-first century. The findings indicate significant differences in opinions among students representing different social backgrounds.

Keywords Positive psychology · Post-modern reality · Well-being · Key competencies · Life-skills · Student opinions

1 Introduction: Positive Psychology and Post-modern Reality

On the basis of common knowledge and the observation of people's behaviour, the twenty-first-century, post-modern reality can be characterized as uncertain, challenging, fragmented, diversified, media-dependent and unstable. According to

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McGaw (2003, p. vii), in everyday life people experience a tendency towards liberalization and amplified diversity on the one hand, and on the other, trends towards globalization and unified behaviour. This conflict poses serious challenges to societies and individuals. Another challenge is caused by the rapid growth of technology which may cause educational and social inequalities. People with less talent for mastering computer technology and other digital media may feel threatened, frustrated and rejected. Even for those at ease with new technology, the great amount of information offered on the Internet creates new demands. People must learn how to evaluate, make appropriate choices, solve potential conflicts, and become more assertive (McGaw, 2003, p. viii).

Positive psychology appears to be one of the fields of study that seems to offer a promise for well-being to individuals and groups of people in contemporary, diversified reality. It is based on empirical studies concerned with providing better conditions for life in all aspects of human activity, both personal and professional. The most prominent person responsible for the unsurpassed popularity of positive psychology (PP) in contemporary social science studies is Martin Seligman (e.g., 2002, 2011), with a significant contribution from Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, the author of numerous studies on the phenomenon of *flow* (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). According to MacIntyre and Mercer (2014) PP embraces three topic areas: influence of positive emotional attitudes on an individual's behaviour and beliefs; characteristic features of people who believe that they lead a good life; and activities of the various types of institutions which aim to create opportunities for people to develop and thrive. Empirical studies in positive psychology aim at overcoming learned helplessness, pessimism and depression.

For second language acquisition (SLA) studies, PP offers promising opportunities for research. Language acquisition and learning are social and interactive processes that benefit greatly from a learner's generally positive attitude towards the target language itself and its community. As MacIntyre and Mercer argue (2014, pp. 158–159), second language acquisition has for many years concerned itself with the role of a humanistic approach to language teaching and learning (e.g., Stevick, 1990). The alternative teaching methods, such as Suggestopedia, Community Language Learning and Silent Way, emphasised the crucial role of the student in the language learning process, at the same time changing the role of the teacher from that of a mere instructor and controller to that of a facilitator and guide. What is more, the positive role of affective factors in language learning has many times been emphasised by different researchers (cf. Krashen's Affective Filter (1982) or Arnold (1999) volume on affective factors in language learning). Research on the role of individual differences in language acquisition and learning, including personality differences, has also been quite extensive in SLA studies, however they have had inconclusive results. I believe that the development of Key Competencies as described in the following section will contribute to the individual's social and emotional well-being, thus fulfilling the aims of positive psychology, at least to some extent.

The aim of this paper is first to describe the concept of 'Key Competencies' (Council of Europe, 2006) and relate them to the benefits of second language attainment; and secondly, to present students' opinions and beliefs on the significance of their foreign language learning process and language knowledge for the development of selected life skills, which may lead to their successful participation in twenty-first-century society, and consequently their individual well-being.

2 The Concept of Key Competencies

Competencies, as Salganik and Stephens (2003) claim, have been referred to as general goals for education in many countries. In Norway, for example, the aim of education is to develop "integrated human beings, individuals who are spiritual, creative, working, liberally educated, social, and environmentally aware" (Salganik & Stephens, 2003, p. 20). In Germany the Ministry of Education guidelines suggest six fundamental competencies: "intelligent knowledge, applicable knowledge, learning competence, method-related/instrumental key competencies, social competencies, and value orientation" (Salganik & Stephens, 2003, p. 21). Competencies have also been described in relation to employment, business and professional training. We can distinguish competencies in three broad areas: basic professional skills, thinking skills and personal qualities (Salganik & Stephens, 2003, p. 30).

The idea of Key Competencies (KC) for lifelong learning, which is of specific interest for this study, was developed by the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, and published as Recommendation 2006/926/EC on 18 December 2006. The eight Key Competencies are a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for personal fulfilment and development, social inclusion, employment and active citizenship. Possessing the KC will allow individuals to adapt more quickly to constant changes in the globalized world. It is assumed that the KC should be acquired by young people at the end of their schooling in order to prepare them for employment and continuous learning, as well as by adults to make them ready for any changes in life and to update their knowledge and skills. The Competencies are as follows:

- Ability to communicate in the mother tongue.
- Ability to communicate in a foreign language.
- Mathematical competence and basic competencies in science and technology.
- Digital competence.
- Learning how to learn, i.e., being able to use learning strategies.
- Social and civic competencies.
- Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship.
- Cultural awareness and expression.

3 Key Competencies and Foreign Language Learning

The first two competencies seem to be particularly essential for effective functioning in a native and target language community. Communication in the mother tongue involves the ability to express and understand concepts and ideas, emotions, facts and opinions both in oral and written form. What is more, the ability to use the native language efficiently allows people to interact in an appropriate and creative way in a variety of contexts, both personal and professional. Communication in the foreign language, in addition to the possibilities offered by communication in the mother tongue, involves the ability to negotiate meanings, to mediate, and to develop intercultural understanding.

In general, it may be observed that the Key Competencies emphasize the necessity of developing creative thinking, initiative, problem solving abilities, correct risk assessment, appropriate decision-taking and management of emotions. All these are competencies required for effective functioning in contemporary society. It is believed that through foreign language learning, at least some of these skills and abilities can be developed. This may occur because language teaching has a special status in schools—it comprises both subject-matter and skills attainment, thus it is different from other school subjects (Rogers et al., 2014), where teachers concentrate mostly on transferring knowledge. Learning how to communicate in a foreign language may provide students with the professional, academic and personal skills they need for success in life. In this way they can become more emotionally stable and generally less anxious. They may also be able to learn how to negotiate meanings, how to cooperate with others, to listen carefully to others and to present their own arguments.

Consequently, it may be assumed that language learning can contribute to the attainment of the following life skills (Rogers et al., 2014):

- Time management.
- Goal setting and planning activities.
- Logical thinking.
- Problem-solving.
- Memory enhancement.
- Assertiveness.
- Management of change.
- Accepting different points of view.
- Working in a team.
- Decision-making.
- Persuading and negotiating.
- Guessing from context.
- Understanding various text forms.

It could be argued that some of these life skills are essentially learning strategies, e.g., goal setting and planning activities, memory enhancement, guessing from context or understanding various text forms. On the other hand, learning how to

learn has been included in the list of eight Key Competencies, so the existence of learning strategies among the life skills seems to be justified. The survey, which was used in the research described below, was created on the basis of skills included in the Key Competencies, and on Rogers et al. (2014) list of life skills.

4 The Study: Students' Opinions on the Role of a Foreign Language in Developing Selected Life Skills

4.1 The Aims of the Study

The aim of the study was to answer two research questions:

1. Do undergraduate students perceive language learning (English) as an opportunity to develop other skills necessary for a successful personal and professional life?
2. Are there any differences in these perceptions between students from different social environments?

4.2 Participants and Procedures

Two groups of students completed the same survey related to the influence of language knowledge on their perception of a successful life. Group A consisted of 34 undergraduate second-year students in the English Department at the University of Wrocław. Group B was smaller. It included only 10 undergraduate second-year students of the English Department at the state college in Jelenia Góra, a medium-sized town in the district of Lower Silesia in Poland. The state schools of higher education in Poland are usually situated in smaller district towns, outside university centres. They run BA and BSc courses only, and their graduates can apply for master courses at Universities should they wish to continue their studies. The research group consisted of 44 students in total, all of them were 21/22 years old. The survey, which is included in the Appendix, consisted of 20 statements. A participant could produce a maximum of 100 points and a minimum of 20 points for completing the questionnaire, where 5 points meant "a lot" and 1 point "not at all".

4.3 Results

Questionnaire results of group A (university students) and group B (state college students) are presented in Table 1. The table shows the mean value given to each questionnaire statement.

Table 1 The means of questionnaire statements in both groups

No.	Mean in A	Mean in B
1	1.79	3.3
2	2.94	4.0
3	2.18	3.6
4	3.09	3.9
5	2.35	3.5
6	3.94	4.6
7	2.23	3.9
8	3.06	4.1
9	3.53	3.6
10	2.65	3.8
11	2.29	3.7
12	2.59	4.0
13	2.41	3.8
14	2.65	4.3
15	2.41	3.3
16	2.20	3.6
17	3.59	4.0
18	2.76	4.2
19	2.47	3.3
20	2.38	4.1

Table 2 Summary of results

	Minimum score	Maximum score	Range	Mean	SD
A	23	83	61	53.41	15.27
B	65	87	23	76.6	6.23

Presentation of the means is essential for comparing the average values attributed to particular statements in both groups. General summary of questionnaire results can be seen in Table 2.

5 Discussion of Results

Groups differ substantially in their opinions on survey statements. There are only three statements where both University and College students express agreement as regards the high positive influence of foreign language learning on the development of a specific skill. These are opinions number 6, 8, and 17 (developing your memory, being ready for change, and guessing information from context). In other words, both University and College students believe that learning and knowing a foreign language will positively influence their memory capacity, the ability to

guess meanings from context, and their readiness for change. There is only one survey statement where both groups express a similarly negative opinion. This is item number 1, where it appears that both University and College students do not believe in the positive influence of language knowledge on efficient time management.

Apart from these, there are more differences than similarities between the groups, which is perhaps surprising as both consist of adult students of the same age and status; the only differences being their location and type of school. Group A (University students) believed that learning and knowing English would develop their logical thinking (No. 4), memory capacity (No. 6), readiness for change (No. 8), understanding how to learn best (No. 9), and their ability to guess meaning from context (No. 17). Group B (College students) accepted that knowing English would help them to develop their ability to set personal goals (No. 2), to improve their memory (No. 6), to make them ready for change (No. 8), to be able to work more efficiently in a team (No. 12), to discuss alternatives with others (No. 14), to guess information from context (No. 17), to report information more efficiently (No. 18), and to listen patiently to other people (No. 20).

On the other hand, University students (A) did not believe that learning and knowing English would help them with better time management (No. 1) or in better planning (No. 3). They also did not think that English would help them to become more assertive or to negotiate values more appropriately (Nos. 7 and 16). They did not believe that English could help them to learn how to reach compromises (No. 15) or to understand graphic messages (No. 19). Looking at general group descriptions, it is possible to notice that group A (university students) is more heterogeneous (the range of results is 61 points and the standard deviation equals 15.27) than group B (college students), which is definitely more homogeneous (the range of results is only 23 points and the standard deviation equals 6.23). The general mean for group A is only 53.41, but for group B this is much higher, at 76.6. This difference of more than twenty points between the groups indicates that college students clearly perceive learning English as an opportunity to develop other important life skills enumerated in the survey to a greater extent than their University counterparts.

6 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Studies

On the basis of received data it can be concluded that University students gave the highest value to items directly related to learning itself: logical thinking, remembering, learning how to learn, and guessing from context. Only one personal skill (being ready for change) received more significant attention. College students gave the biggest number of points to items related to learning, similarly to University students (memory enhancement, guessing from context, reporting information), but they also appreciated such personal life skills as setting goals, being ready for change, teamwork, discussing alternatives with others, and being able to listen to

others. These results lead to the conclusion that University students seem not to perceive language learning as an opportunity to develop life skills or become more emotionally balanced and less anxious in their professional and personal lives. It might be assumed that they reach their balance and well-being through employing factors other than language knowledge, even though they are students of the English Department. It might be interesting to observe in another study what possible factors can help them to achieve their ultimate potential in everyday life. On the other hand, students from a smaller town perceive language learning as a tool to attain a better quality life. Knowing English is perceived as a good opportunity for them to change their present life, to face more challenges, to cooperate with others, to present arguments, to negotiate and to become less anxious, happier people.

Appendix

Language as a Life Skill—A Survey

Evaluate each skill on a scale from 1 to 5 points, where:

1 means "not at all"
2 means "a little"
3 means "quite"
4 means "significantly"
5 means "a lot"

To what extent, in your opinion, knowing and using the English language helps you to develop the following skills needed for effective functioning in everyday life:

1/ Managing your time
2/ Setting personal goals
3/ Planning your activities
4/ Thinking logically
5/ Solving problems in everyday life
6/ Developing your memory
7/ Being assertive
8/ Being ready for change
9/ Understanding how to learn best
10/ Accepting others' point of view
11/ Taking independent decisions
12/ Working as part of a team
13/ Persuading others
14/ Discussing alternatives with others
15/ Reaching compromises

16/ Negotiating values
17/ Guessing information from context
18/ Reporting information
19/ Understanding graphic messages
20/ Being able to listen patiently to others

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‘Biasing for the Best’: Looking at New Elements in a Model of Language Learner Well-Being

Rebecca L. Oxford

Abstract This chapter builds on EMPATHICS, Rebecca Oxford’s positive psychological model of language learner well-being. Positive psychology focuses on the strengths of human existence and promotes human well-being. It looks for the best in people. In fact, it does exactly what applied linguist Merrill Swain urged language teachers and testers to do more than three decades ago: ‘Bias for the best’, i.e., allow and encourage the best in language learners. In this chapter, Oxford briefly explains why the EMPATHICS model of language learner well-being, originally containing 18 elements but in this chapter recognizing three more, has all the hallmarks of a complex system. Then the chapter moves to its main focus, where three elements of language learner well-being (identity, investment, and imagination) are discussed for the first time as major components of EMPATHICS. The *identity* discussion offers general comments about identity, poststructuralist views of identity, and the link between identity and self-esteem. The *investment* section explains that power relations, beliefs, and autonomy issues are usually at the heart of the learner’s decision about whether to invest in language learning. The *imagination* section not only cites the well-known motivational function of imagination but also highlights imagination in relation to (a) the creative imagination of language teachers and learners and (b) imagined communities. The conclusion synthesizes the main points regarding the three newly incorporated elements of language learner well-being. It also reminds readers to “bias for the best,” use the information found in this chapter to improve teaching, and continue to explore the complex system of language learner well-being.

Keywords Identity · Investment · Imagination · The EMPATHICS model of positive psychology in language learning

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[R]eality is its messy self.
(Byrne & Callaghan, 2014, p. 257[1]).

1 Introduction

What does it take for a language learner to experience *well-being*, that is, optimal experience and functioning (Ryan & Deci, 2001)? What characteristics must the learner develop so that the highly demanding process of language learning will be pleasant and will result in proficiency? My EMPATHICS model of language learner well-being helps to answer these questions from the viewpoint of positive psychology. The model originally listed 18 elements (Oxford, 2016b, c), but three more elements are recognized in the current chapter, creating a total of 21 (see Table 1).

Table 1 Components of the evolving EMPATHICS model of language learner well-being

E: *e*mpathy and *e*motions (2 elements)
M: *m*eaning and *m*otivation (2)
P: three selected *p*erseverance components (hope, optimism, and resilience) (3)
A: *a*gency and *a*utonomy (2)
T: *t*ime (1)
H: *h*ardiness and *h*abits of mind (2)
I: *i*ntelligences, plus three *additional* elements: *i*dentity, *i*nvestment, and *i*magination (4)
C: *c*haracter strengths (1)
S: four selected *s*elf components (self-efficacy, self-concept, self-esteem, and self-verification) (4)

The 18 initial components of EMPATHICS (see Oxford, 2016b, c) are not the focus here. Instead, this chapter dwells on identity, investment, and imagination, the three added elements (see Table 1) that are clearly relevant to language learner well-being. Still other possible elements will be explored in the future. I created the EMPATHICS model because I felt it was important in the development of an overall "positive psychology of language learning" (see MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016). Positive psychology centers on the strengths of human existence and promotes human well-being (Lopez & Gallagher, 2011). Unlike traditional psychology, positive psychology avoids labeling individuals (Oxford, 2016a) and looks for the best in people, as reflected in the title of a four-volume work, *Positive psychology: Exploring the best in people* (Lopez, 2008). Positive psychology does exactly what applied linguist Merrill Swain (1984, in Mendelsohn, 1989, p. 102) urged language teachers and testers to do more than three decades ago: 'Bias for the best', i.e., allow and encourage the best in language learners.

[1]This saying appeared in a longer quotation from Byrne and Callaghan in Dörnyei, MacIntyre, and Henry (2015, p. 3)

Language learner well-being is complex. Before discussing the three additional well-being components, let us look for a moment at complexity.

2 The Complexity of Language Learner Well-Being

The 21 aspects of EMPATHICS, including the three that are the crux of this chapter and the other 18 explained elsewhere (in Oxford, 2016b, c), all interact with each other in incredibly complex, dynamic, and, yes, 'messy' ways, as witnessed by the epigraph. As a result of criteria mentioned in the next paragraph, we can describe language learner well-being as a *complex system.* Phillip Hiver, an expert in complex systems, stated, "What you have explained as language learner well-being satisfies all of the conditions for a complex system (…). A complex system really is the best way of conceptualizing language learner well-being" (personal communication, Nov. 17, 2015).

Hiver synthesized the crucial criteria for complex systems. Complex systems: (a) are composed of multiple interacting parts; (b) exhibit dynamic change that is self-organized (occurring over time through spontaneous interaction of the parts, rather than happening linearly or directionally); (c) sometimes settle into patterns of stability that are "emergent," i.e., they are non-additive in the sense that they cannot be reduced to the sum of parts or the sum of interactions; (d) are frequently situated within a larger context or web of systems; and (e) are open and adaptive to this larger context or web. In addition, to be researchable, complex systems must contain an agent (or agents), such as the language learner, and should be phenomenologically real, e.g., not something like 'interest' or 'goals' (P. Hiver, personal communication, Nov. 17, 2015). We will not go further into complex systems or complexity theory in this chapter. Interested readers can refer to Davis and Sumara (2015), de Bot and Larsen-Freeman (2011), De Villiers-Botha and Cilliers (2010), Dörnyei (2009a), Dörnyei et al. (2015), Ellis (2007), Hiver (2015), Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008), Mercer (2011, 2013, 2014), and Sitte (2006).[2] We now turn to our attention to the three added elements in the EMPATHICS model of language learner well-being.

3 The Added Elements: Identity, Investment, and Imagination

This section deals with identity, investment, and imagination. These three constructs, now part of the EMPATHICS model of language learner well-being, interact with each other in complex ways.

[2]Ellis (2007) pointed out that language itself has been called a complex dynamic system.

3.1 Identity

This discussion deals with general comments about identity, poststructuralist views of identity, and a model uniting identity and self-esteem.

3.1.1 General Comments About Identity

The handbook of identity: Theory and research (Schwartz, Lyuckx, & Vignoles, 2011) asks whether people have a single identity or multiple identities, whether identity always in flux or generally stable, whether identity is individually or collectively oriented, and whether it is personally or socially constructed. In response, the handbook argues that the picture of identity is more complex than such dichotomies can reveal. Many theories of identity are included in this handbook. For example, Waterman (2011) described eudaimonic identity theory, in which identity is seen as self-discovery.[3] Heppner and Kernis (2011) discussed self-esteem in relation to identity (see also Reasoner's model in Sect. 3.1.3). Gregg, Sedikides, and Gebauer (2011) explored self-enhancement and self-assessment as dynamic aspects of identity.

In a four-volume compilation on positive psychology, Lopez (2008) included a vast range of identity-related theories such as these: First, a given individual possesses many social identities (see Sect. 3.1.2). Second, social identity combined with a sense of belonging can lead to social integration and generativity. Third, positive emotions broaden identities. Fourth, ego identities relate to developmental stages. Fifth, life narratives reflect identities, goals, beliefs, and behaviors.

3.1.2 Critical Poststructuralist Views of Identity

Poet Walt Whitman wrote, "I am large, I contain multitudes," referring to his many different social identities (1855, sec. 51). Not too differently, critical poststructuralists strongly contend that individuals have multiple identities and that these identities are closely connected to social contexts. Weedon (1997) described socially contextualized, identity-related conversations that reflect multiple subjectivities, i.e., conscious and unconscious emotions, thoughts, and self-perceptions of individuals.

Ushioda's (2009) *person-in-context* relational view of emergent identity and motivation emphasizes the importance of context for language learners.[4] Because every person is made up of many selves associated with varied contexts and communities of practice, identity is a complex system, even for monolinguals. Identity becomes increasingly complex as a learner gains proficiency in another language and

[3]Elsewhere, Ryan and Deci (2001) asserted that the eudaimonic approach focuses on meaning, self-realization, and well-being defined as full functioning, in contrast to the hedonic approach, which focuses on personal happiness, pleasure, and pain avoidance.

[4]Ushioda's person-in-context relational view clearly reflects an orientation to complex systems but also links well with a critical poststructuralist perspective.

culture (Pavlenko, 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Ushioda, 2009).

Much poststructuralist work on identity, including language learner identity, has focused on migrants, who are facing tremendous changes in their social contexts and thus must renegotiate or reconstruct their identities. The general term *migrant* refers to a person who moves, either temporarily or permanently, from one area or country of residence to another. *Immigrants* are people who are moving into a country from another and who plan to stay permanently, but they, unlike *refugees,* are not defined as moving based on a fear of persecution. Under international law, including the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, refugees are those who are outside their country of habitual residence, have a well-founded fear of persecution (due to religion, race, nationality, group, or political status), and, because of fear of persecution, are unable or unwilling to return to the country of habitual residence. People who are displaced due to natural disasters are not given refugee status under international law (Labbé, 2014; United Nations High Commission on Refugees, 2011), even though their needs are great.

In new contexts, immigrants and refugees typically face unequal power relationships vis-à-vis members of the receiving community, so their identity construction becomes a site of struggle (Noels, Yashima, & Zhang, 2012; Norton, 2001, 2010, 2014). A similar theme is that language learning involves a struggle for participation and identity in a "symbolically mediated world" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 155). Block (2003, 2006) also noted struggles in language learner identity. He depicted identity construction as an ongoing negotiation that involves reshaping oneself in lifestyle sectors, communities of practice, discourse communities, and discourses, all of which are sites of struggle among complex, contradictory interpretations of who we are in relation to others.

Immigrants and refugees usually want to be accepted by the more influential receiving communities, but these communities frequently do not understand or accept newcomers' cultures, languages, or needs. Evidence of this situation comes from observations, narrative studies, and studies linking language use to identity negotiation (Block, 2006; Kanno, 2000; Norton, 2001; Noels et al., 2012). The desired identities of immigrants and refugees are often not endorsed by receiving communities (Noels et al., 2012). These communities frequently ignore the talents, abilities, and experiences that newcomers offer their new communities. Anti-immigrant and anti-refugee prejudices become very frequent if refugees or immigrants are part of massive human waves arriving all at once, as is happening now in Europe, North America, and elsewhere.

Noels et al. (2012), like others mentioned earlier, emphasized that identities are contingent on context. They further explained that context is inseparable from the person's lived experience and from any communicative use of language. Newcomers are expected to learn the dominant language of the receiving community as soon as possible, but if they are in a weak, marginalized sociocultural identity position, they might have fewer opportunities to practice the new language communicatively in all four skills (Norton, 2014). In addition, many migrants face a lack of material resources, a deficiency which influences identity construction, social practices, and learning. Attention to opportunities, resources, identities, and practices can improve language learning contexts of newcomers (Norton, 2014).

Compared to other immigrants, certain very fortunate immigrants are able to appropriate more favorable identity positions, which offer greater agency and more interaction in the target language. Such was the case of Zeta, the daughter of Chinese immigrant parents in the U.S. (Zhou, Oxford, & Wei, 2016). When her parents arrived they had few possessions, but they had cultural capital because of their fluent English, prior teaching experience, and educational promise as accepted Ph.D. students. Zhou et al. (2016) analyzed the parents' involvement in Zeta's education in a highly multicultural, immigrant-friendly community. She started with studying English as a second language; was soon mainstreamed into classes with native English speakers and accepted by peers of many backgrounds; experienced spectacular confidence, success, and honors throughout her school career; and developed strong, positive academic and social identities. To facilitate all of this, Zeta's parents created an intense, demanding, literacy-rich (in English and Chinese) home context for their daughter, thus supporting the efforts of school teachers. The authors noted that "much literacy acquisition can happen outside of school and that immigrant parents can become agents of their child's education by providing a home literacy environment, opportunities for second language literacy learning, and direct teaching of literacy skills" (p. 38). Obviously the highly favorable identities that Zeta developed are not experienced by all immigrants.

Studies disclosed that language confidence, defined as lack of anxiety when communicating in the second language, was important to immigrants' life satisfaction and psychological adjustment, while immigrants with low language confidence tended to feel stress (Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). High language confidence was associated with immigrants' frequent use of the second language, not only with native speakers of that language but also with first language peers, sometimes to the detriment of first language skills (Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996 in Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). Moreover, compared with less confident international students, more confident international students acculturated and adjusted more rapidly (Yu & Shen, 2010) and had more contacts in their first language group and their second language community (Swagler & Ellis, 2003). Such findings suggest a lively interaction of confidence, adjustment, identity, and language contact.

3.1.3 Identity and Self-esteem

Identity is one of the dimensions of Reasoner's (1982) model for building self-esteem. Rubio (2014) applied Reasoner's model to language learning and asserted that language teachers can support and enhance learners' unique identities by demonstrating acceptance and care and helping learners build awareness and positive self-images. In addition to support for identity development, other dimensions of the model include: (a) the sense of security or emotional and physical safety; (b) the sense of competence or of having the needed aptitude and ability; (c) the sense of purpose or of having objectives and a direction; and (d) the sense of belonging or acceptance by a group.

3.2 *Investment*

Investment is learners' historically and socially constructed relationship to the target language, along with their frequently conflicted feelings about whether and how to learn and practice the language (Norton, 2010). The construct of investment connects (a) a learner's desire and commitment to learn the target language and (b) language practices of the community or classroom (Norton, 2014). As shown below, power relations, beliefs, and autonomy issues are usually at the heart of the learner's decisions about investment.

3.2.1 Power Relations, Beliefs, and Investment

Investment is based largely on learners' sense of identity in the context of sociocultural power relations around them. Learners respond to and act upon perceived power relations, which might marginalize them or, in some cases, welcome them (Norton, 2010, 2014). The choice to invest in learning the language usually reflects autonomy and agency. Investment is also associated with the belief that something important will be gained through learning the language. "When learners invest in learning a new language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will enhance their cultural capital, their conception of themselves, and their desires for the future" (Ushioda, 2008, p. 24).

In short, the positive decision to invest in learning another language is most easily made when (a) learners perceive that the current sociocultural power relations are welcoming and (b) they believe that the effort will result in resources that ultimately enhance cultural capital, identity, and future desires. On the other hand, learners might choose to resist language learning, i.e., *not* to invest, when (a) and (b) do not apply. If learners view the sociocultural power relations as acting against their own identity needs, and if they perceive that investing in learning will not result in additional resources or capital that they desire, they will likely feel ambivalent or negative about investing in language learning.

3.2.2 Autonomy and Investment: A Potential Paradox

Benson (2011) defined autonomy as "the capacity to control or take charge of one's learning" (p. 14). Oxford (2008) described autonomy as fundamentally "taking responsibility" for one's own learning (p. 43). Paradoxically, although the decision to invest in language learning usually signifies autonomy, in other cases the decision *not* to invest indicates autonomy. Regarding the latter situation, if learners perceive that inequitable power relations exist and that desired resources will not be accessible, they might show realism and autonomy by resisting rather than investing in language learning (see Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001; Oxford, 2011).

3.3 *Imagination*

Imagination allows us to see things and people, including ourselves, in new ways. It is "a process of expanding our self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (Wenger, 1998, p. 176). Here I not only mention imagination as part of the motivational self system (Sect. 3.3.1), as I did in a prior discussion of EMPATHICS (Oxford, 2016b), but I also highlight imagination in its own right with regard to the creativity of language teachers and learners (Sect. 3.3.2) and to diverse ways of understanding imagined communities (Sect. 3.3.3).

3.3.1 Imagination and Possible Selves

Imagination can take us into the future, to which we can project fresh images and energies. With imagination we can help shape who we will become and can therefore influence what might happen. Imagination defines a trajectory that connects our present actions to an extended, projected identity (Wenger, 1998). However, imagination is not just future-oriented. It can allow us to examine and reframe our past selves and to change our perceptions and actions of our present selves. In helping us to re-envision our possible selves, imagination contributes to creating identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) and opening up possibilities.

Possible future selves are the imagined selves most often considered by psychologists and language learning researchers. Ryan and Irie contended that for an imagined future self to have consequences in behavior, there must be an expectation that this future self is plausible, can actually be realized, and can even be 'experienced' in the present. Focusing on future selves, Markus and Nurius (1986) described three *possible selves*: what the individual might become, what he or she would like to become (ideal self), and what he or she is afraid of becoming (feared self). Higgins (1987) centered on two self-guides: the *ideal self*, or hoped-for attributes, and the *ought self*, i.e., the last being an extrinsically-oriented combination of characteristics that the individual dutifully believes, based on others' wishes, he or she is 'supposed to' possess. Building on Higgins' theory and adapting it to language learning, Dörnyei (2009a) developed the L2 Motivational Self System. The first element of this system is the L2 learning environment and experience. Two other elements are future self-guides: the ideal L2 self (the L2-specific aspect of the person's ideal self) and the ought-to L2 self (corresponding to Higgins' ought self). For the ideal L2 self to be an effective motivator, it must be both a vision of oneself in a future state and a knowledge of how to attain that state. Each of these three components or subsystems of the motivational system —environment/context, ideal L2 self, and ought-to L2 self—can serve as a coordinating influence on behavior, but the cumulative effect will be greater of these three are harmonious (Dörnyei, 2009a, b).

Ryan and Irie (2014) provided practical applications of imagined selves. First, to sustain a sense of agency, i.e., the power to act volitionally to influence outcomes,

learners should beware of setting implausible, unrealistic, or impractical goals. Second, to help transform their mental images into goal-directed behavior, learners could benefit from explicitly describing their ideal L2 selves with others. Third, to help learners achieve success, teachers could help them retrain their attributions for failures and successes, focusing more on the factors that learners can personally control rather than on external factors that are beyond their control. Finally, because possible selves relate to identity, the imagination aids language learners in developing and negotiating their identities.

3.3.2 Creative Imagination of Learners and Teachers

Creative imagination is often present when individuals use learning strategies, such as seeking out language practice partners, identifying foreign language media sources, searching for a native speaking informant who can explain language pragmatics, inferring or predicting from the context, or using images to help with vocabulary learning. Learners are particularly creative when they use metacognitive strategies, which allow them to plan, organize, monitor, and evaluate their own language learning and become more independent (Oxford, 1990, 2011). Learners might generate their own learning strategies or develop them with the help of the teacher, the textbook, or formal strategy instruction, but under every circumstance these strategies reflect and expand creative imagination during the learning process. In short, I contend that any form of increased strategic self-regulation signifies the use of creative imagination for taking personal control over learning.

Teachers also use creative imagination. John Fanselow's (1987) book *Breaking Rules* calls for language instructors to objectively, nonjudgmentally observe their own teaching and then do the opposite, i.e., discover new, creative, adventurous instructional alternatives. He did not mean that what teachers were doing was necessarily wrong or boring, but he wanted teachers to open up new portals of creative imagination and establish exciting, communicative, learner-centered classrooms in which much incidental learning occurs. Building on Fanselow's ideas, Maley (2010) encouraged teachers to try new alternatives. He spoke about the creative "designer methods" like Suggestopedia, as well as the imaginative ways ordinary teachers can enhance their own language teaching through a knowledge of NeuroLinguistic Programming, neuroscience, multiple intelligences, creativity theory, and the psychology of consciousness.

3.3.3 Imagined Communities

Imagination also touches upon communities. The term *imagined communities* is a shape-shifter, with various definitions over time. When Benedict Anderson (1991) introduced the term *imagined communities*, it referred to a feeling of nationhood with others whom one would probably never meet. A nation "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their

fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991, pp. 6–7).

The term *imagined communities* entered the language learning field later. In the language field it initially meant communities that immigrants hoped to enter but to which they did not have access (Norton, 2001). These immigrants had little power and had to face many identity struggles, as noted earlier. For Murray (2011), the term *imagined communities* encompasses a range of imagined language learning contexts beyond learners' immediate networks. Norton (2014) described a target language community as "a community of the imagination, a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (p. 62).

4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented three important components of language learner well-being, i.e., identity, investment, and imagination, which were not yet included as key themes or dimensions in the earlier version of EMPATHICS (Oxford, 2016b, c). These three elements have many interrelationships. For example, learners' identities, which are frequently a site of struggle, help shape decisions about investment in second or foreign language learning and use, while investment decisions also affect their identities. Imagination affects identity and investment, with imagination depicting possible future selves. For at least some learners, the ideal future self would optimally be invested in learning and using the language. In a different sense, identity and investment affect the amount of imagination the learner uses and the possible selves the learner might allow himself or herself to see. In other ways of looking at imagination, learners and teachers can use creative imagination to enhance the language learning process, and learners can experience a desire for an imagined community.

This chapter suggests that language learner well-being is a complex system reflected in the EMPATHICS model. This evolving model started with 18 components (Oxford, 2016b, c), but this chapter recognized three more components. Readers who are interested in discussing the model or helping to validate it should contact the author. Let us all remember to 'bias for the best', apply the information found here to improve teaching, and continue to explore the complex system of language learner well-being.

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Spacetimes of Multilingualism

Larissa Aronin and Ulrike Jessner

Abstract Multilingual speakers, bilingual and more often multilingual, are diverse in many ways. They undergo different kinds of experiences in a variety of social spaces, in particular when undergoing changes in their linguistic environments. This article suggests a conceptual tool to examine the various contexts in which multilingual speakers emerge and re-establish their identity: the concept of spacetime. The concept of spacetime allows analytical vision of the circumstances and actors. It can be instrumental in teasing out the mechanisms by which new linguistic practices appear both in local settings and globally. From the complexity perspective, each spacetime of multilingualism is an emergent, dynamic and self-organizing system that cannot be understood simply by understanding its separate parts, but by exploring their interaction in complex and non-linear ways. It is the interaction between the many elements of each spacetime that makes it unique. The spacetime approach takes into consideration both space and time. Thus the understanding of multilingualism becomes more realistic and more attuned to the diversity and unpredictability of each particular sociolinguistic situation.

Keywords Spacetime · Multilingualism · Complexity · New linguistic dispensation

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1 Introduction

The crucial points that repeatedly have attracted attention when dealing with multilinguals are as follows. The most prominent one is the diversity of cases. Multilingual speakers are diverse in many ways. They are exposed to diverse conditions and influences in a variety of spaces, and often they originate in places far away from where they become multilingual. Hence one of the most challenging questions concerns the question of conceptual tools to examine all cases and henceforth arrive at comparable typologies applied to different contexts. The task of conceptualization involves considering the following points:

- context is paramount;
- the time aspect has to be taken into consideration;
- conceptualizations should help stakeholders to respond to particular challenges that emerge unpredictably;
- typologies are required.

How can we pinpoint the context which is of overriding importance? How can we take the time aspect into consideration, and deal with uncertainty, fuzziness and diversity? To our mind, the solution is to employ the concept of spacetime.

The aim of this paper is to offer some theoretical grounds for the empirical findings on multilinguals received to date. We suggest a conceptual tool to examine the various contexts into which multilingual speakers emerge and re-establish their identity: the concept of spacetime (Aronin, 2014). In this paper we would like to introduce, modify, and adapt a concept of spacetime, and show the benefits for employing it in multilingualism research.

2 Spacetime

First we would like to discuss the concept of spacetime itself as it is in other disciplines. This theoretical construct, abstract and scholarly as it is, gives us a more realistic way of dealing with reality.

2.1 Philosophical and Sociological Considerations: What Is Spacetime?

The concept of spacetime (or timespace) is used in philosophy, physics, and of late, in sociology. Laypeople in natural sciences are acquainted with the notion that space consists of three dimensions, length, width and height. This is what is called *Euclidean space* perspective in physics. Time is seen as one separate dimension, and is now increasingly called the ‘fourth dimension’. These space dimensions are

described by mathematical models. In what is called classical mechanics, time is treated as universal and constant, independent of the state of motion of an observer.

From relativistic point of view, in cosmology (the study of the origin, evolution, and eventual fate of the universe), the notion of spacetime is interpreted so as to combine space and time into a single interwoven continuum, a four-dimensional unity. Typically three spatial dimensions (length, width, height), and one temporal dimension (time) are seen as a single abstract universe. And it is space time that represents the arena of events: "[s]pace by itself, and time by itself, are doomed to fade away into mere shadows, and only a kind of union of the two will preserve an independent reality" (Minkowski, 1952, p. 75).

Now, if in the Euclidean perspective, a location in space can be defined as the crossing point in a coordinate grid (e.g. latitude and longitude on the globe) and this is enough to uniquely locate the point, how can 'space and time' be a single location as specified? In spacetime, the four-dimensional universe with time as an additional dimension, the coordinates locate *events* rather than just points in space. How does the four-dimensional 'grid' specify *where* and *when* events occur? Let us again compare the perspectives. In the classical Euclidean paradigm, in order to determine the distance between the two points (and this distance is purely spatial) one has to measure it between these points. When locating an event [and speech IS an event at all times], it is not sufficient to specify its position in ordinary three-dimensional space. The time at which the event occurred must also be known.

In spacetime, the separation between two *events* is measured by the so called interval, *invariant interval*. The interval, s^2, between two events is defined as:

$s^2 = \Delta r^2 - c^2 \Delta t^2$ (spacetime interval), where c is the speed of light, and Δr and Δt denote differences of the space and time coordinates, respectively, between the events.

Invariant interval is a mathematical analogue of distance (in three dimensional Euclidean perspective) in four-dimensional space-time. The '*invariant interval*' between the two events, takes into account not only the spatial separation between the events, but also their temporal separation.

Philosophers and sociologists have given new applications to the concept of *timespace* (Castells, 1997; Cilliers, 2005; Sklair, 1999; Urry, 2003) as they argue that that the old dimensions of time and space do not exist singly, but only as a hybrid process (May & Thrift, 2003). Slevin (2007) points out that sociologists "see social life as not just being "in" time-space, they see time-space as central to all social interaction. The 'situatedness' of social life involves time-space as a constitutive feature in the construction and reconstruction of what people do and in the way they do things together. The ordering of social life comes about because social practices are routinely made to come together across time-space as shared experiences. This binding of time-space is expressed in the ways in which societies, institutions, and individuals organize time-space.

And it is a common knowledge now that since approximately the mid-20th century they (societies and institutions and individuals) organize their lives very differently to how they used to formerly. The condition of late or post modernity

(Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Habermas, 1981; Lyotard, 1984) altered ideologies and brought substantial shifts in how humans see their roles and behaviors. Changes in basic social institutions such as medicine, transportation, banking, family have occurred. These, together with drastic changes in technology have inevitably resulted in global changes in language use. We are now experiencing *the new linguistic dispensation* (Aronin, 2007; Aronin, 2015; Aronin & Singleton, 2008a, 2012).

Spacetime is a contemporary representation of globalization and postmodern socio-linguistic arrangements, accommodating not only space, locale, but also time. It seems appropriate and advantageous to use it for multilingualism studies, and in particular, for the study of new speakers. As a working metaphor, the concept of a spacetime can refer, not only to global situation, but can also delineate local niches, segments of a time/space continuum, thus defining smaller and larger territories, along with shorter or longer time spans as one sociolinguistic unit or event. The size or depth of an event—that is, spacetime, where human activities happen along with language use, depends on the choice of the researcher or other interested parties. We can zoom into a situation with a chosen scale and precision relating to both space and time.

2.2 *Complexity*

The global changes taking place in Western society are conceptualized in systems terms, that is, they are treated as a complex system (Castellani & Hafferty, 2009; Urry, 2005). Multilingualism, as part and parcel of these new conditions, increasingly relies on complexity theory, too. Therefore it seems appropriate and advantageous to look at spacetime through the lens of complexity. Thus spacetime could be fittingly described and studied in the framework of complexity (see the previous studies in complexity of multilingualism Aronin & Singleton, 2008b; Aronin & Jessner, 2014, 2015; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2008, 2013; Larsen-Freeman, 2002, 2006).

Complexity is a comparatively new paradigm for understanding the world, in the words of Nobel Laureate Prigogine "a science that is no longer limited to idealized and simplified situations but reflects the complexity of the real world" (Prigogine, 1997, p. 7).

Instead of the belief that one can understand the world by breaking things down into their components and ignoring the relationships between the subsystems out of which a system is composed, complexity thinking perceives the world as an integrated whole. The whole is not the sum of its parts, and the world around us is characterized by irregularity, fragmentariness, fuzziness and is on the verge of chaotic. The main object of attention in complexity studies are interactions. The concepts of complexity vision of the world include multiple agents, complex interactions, sensitivity to initial conditions, scaling properties and emergent qualities. Emergent phenomena are the products of the interactions between the

parts of a system, but they are not only the sum of their parts. Emergent phenomena acquire properties that are different from the properties of their parts (see e.g., Cilliers, 1998). Examples of emergent phenomena are plentiful in organic and physical nature: bacterial infections, and evolution, hurricanes, sand dunes, flocks of birds, schools of fish, communities of ants, and crowds of people—they all show unpredictable behavior.

The multilingual phenomena abundantly display all the properties of complexity. The varieties of global English are yet another example of emergent phenomena, as well as localization, and representation in each particular trilingual-multilingual brain. Each multilingual is an emergent phenomenon, of which the outcome is the result of complex interaction and sensitivity to initial condition. From countless individual interactions *emergent* properties evolve. In the multilingualism domain, emergent phenomena could be the atmosphere in a particular multilingual school, identities of multilinguals, a mini-community of a multilingual family, and certainly, the contexts in which new speakers emerge (spacetimes) and new speakers themselves.

Spacetimes are dynamic emergent phenomena. How do we study spacetimes in the complexity framework? In line with current visions of the world, it would be sensible to heed the complexity guru, Capra (2005, pp. 33–34):

> The difference between a living organism and a dead lies in the basic process of life – in what sages and poets throughout the ages have called the "breath of life". In modern scientific language, this process is called metabolism. It is the ceaseless flow of energy and matter through a network of chemical reactions, which enables a living organism to continuously generate, repair and perpetuate itself.

If we want to investigate the life of languages and the people using them 'in vivo,' rather than interpreting static pictures, we have to identify and study the 'breath of life' itself. The interactions, those metabolic processes of multilingualism, are realized by tangible and intangible phenomena and processes. The breath of life derives from the interaction between languages, people, material environments, and other carriers of societal energy and matter—linguistic, cultural, informational, emotional, political and others.

3 Spacetime in Multilingualism

The *spacetime* concept accommodates the view of complexity and the multilayered structure of communication in multilingual settings. From the complexity perspective, each spacetime of multilingualism is an emergent, dynamic, and self-organizing system that cannot be understood simply by understanding its separate parts, but by exploring their interaction in complex, and non-linear ways. It is the interaction between its many elements that makes each spacetime unique. The concept of spacetime allows zooming into a situation of a desired scale with precision. Another definition would be: *a spacetime of multilingualism* is a

multidimensional cross-section of reality in reference to a speaker(s), the languages involved, and the environment, in which time is its essential dimension. Unlike 'space', the dimension of time is scarcely researched in relation to multilingualism (Blommaert, 2010; Singleton, Aronin & Carson, 2013), except for, linguistic studies dealing grammatical tenses, expression of temporality in the lexicon and in discourse (Klein, 1994; Porter, 2006).

Being comprehensive, a spacetime framework is different to just a "thick description" used in qualitative sociology studies, in that the concept of spacetime necessarily presupposes analytical vision of the circumstances, and a clearly defined framework of what to look at. The additional dimension of time categorically delineates the temporal borders of a segment of reality, and brings it into a sharp focus. Thus, the concept of spacetime is apposite for multilingualism and multilingual speakers.

4 What Is the Concept of Spacetime Good for?

How can this vision of multilingualism through the lens of spacetime be useful for research and practice? How will it contribute to, and enhance traditional ways of investigating multilingualism? How can this vision of multilingualism through the lens of spacetime be useful for research, and for practice of multilinguals? And finally, what will change if the spacetime concept is employed? The following would be different from the traditional approaches:

- The point of departure, the frame of reference; every particular situation will be seen as a unique spacetime of multilingualism, as a whole and emergent unit.
- *Events* are compared rather than situations, in terms of separate geographical places or separate time periods.
- The focus of research will be more on interactions, the 'breath of life', rather than on decomposing, looking into separate parts, and then putting them together again.
- Methods of study will expand, and will include complexity methods (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009). For example, carrying out computer simulations, and pondering fractal images. Complexity methods offer us insights into the development of a system.
- Looking into spacetime through the complexity lens will allow using productive complexity concepts, such as attractor, scaling properties, multiple agents, sensitivity to initial conditions. We have to learn how to detect the crucial points and thresholds (attractors) after which the system changes to an emergent one. For example, we would like to know which interactions of which factors impact the cross-linguistic interaction in particular contexts.
- The time dimension is crucial and will be studied in more depth. There will be a certain shift of vision and attention towards the time aspect, bringing it into sharp focus. More its aspects will be explored in relation to multilingual

practices. Such treatment of the time dimension will be more relevant for today, and more efficient for language teaching and language policies. Among other things, a new understanding of time in multilingual contexts entails realization that time is not really defined by the clock, but by intensity and rhythms (Zerubavel, 1979, 1989).

- The scope, form and essence of the outcomes we expect from a study would be somewhat different from the traditional ones. Researchers will have to aim at interpreting instability, rather than looking for stability where there is none. It follows from the above that instead of looking for rules and exact predictions, a researcher of complex multilingual reality has to discover the patterns and significant interactions. That is, we do not have to change the whole complex system of education. For example, we cannot change many things, such as historical time or a political regime, but improving essential connections would be both practical and relevant in many cases. Looking at emergence as a result of irregular patterns of behavior, it is possible to come to terms with the unpredictability of patterns, and discover new ones. The complexity view sets the limits of predictability for events, in traditional terms, but suggests new ways of dealing with uncertainty.
- Treating a notion of spacetimes as a framework, we can create a typology of circumstances where various kinds of multilinguals appear.

5 Conclusion

With the employment of the spacetime concept, the understanding of multilingualism becomes fuller, truer to life, and more attuned to the diversity and unpredictability of each particular sociolinguistic situation. The concept of spacetime takes into consideration time as an important dimension of sociolinguistic reality which has not yet been adequately addressed in multilingualism. It will allow going beyond a one-dimensional, 'flat' and simplistic picture of multilingualism towards a more comprehensive approach which would be in tune with the complexity paradigm. The complexity approach persuades us that to understand current multilingualism means, first of all, to accept the fact that it is complex, rather than simply complicated.

Multilingualism is a challenging field, both because of the complexity stemming from diverse interdisciplinary interests and because of the number of variables involved in multilingualism. But although by now a more realistic view of multilingualism appears to be established as a norm, the monolingual yardstick is still prevalent in most methodologies used in bi- and multilingualism studies. The spacetime construct will enable grasping a multilingual situation of local groups, however small they are, as well as more immediately detecting the rapid changes, flow, and dynamics of current linguistic dispensation. It seems to fit extraordinarily well as a platform for research on multilinguals in multilingual Europe looking into

each particular context, time and combination of actors. Employing the concept of spacetime might help multilingual practices in a variety of contexts helping them to become more sensitive and informed through the impact on attitudes, policies, and practices.

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Polish Adolescents' Perceptions of English and Their Desire to Learn It

Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel

Abstract In the process of foreign language learning the way in which students perceive the language may have a strong facilitative impact on their language acquisition process, especially when this perception is positive (Despagne, 2010). Unfortunately, it has not yet been clearly established whether the relationship between perceptions and foreign language achievement can be explained by the moderating power of the student's desire to learn the foreign language. For the purpose of this paper it is hypothesized that the learner's perception of the foreign language is strongly related to the desire to learn it, leading to higher achievement in cases of positive perception. In order to corroborate this hypothesis, 609 secondary grammar school students responded to a questionnaire including Kissau's scales of *Perception of English* (2006) and *Desire to Learn English*. The results of the study show that students who have a negative perception of English do not feel a need to learn it, and vice versa. This finding supports the view that a positive perception of a foreign language induces a greater desire to learn it. In the case of English the reasons for this opinion can be traced back to the overpowering dominance of English as a *lingua franca*. Moreover, positive perceptions of a language are connected with higher final grades, owing to the social impact of this form of assessment. However, self-perceived levels of foreign language skills appear to be unrelated to perceptions of English. This result can be traced back to the effects of institutionalized learning, as well as the clash between the school reality and mythologized allure of this language.

Keywords Perception · Desire · Foreign language · Final grades · Self-perceived levels of foreign language skills

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1 Introduction

The English language is quickly becoming a means for global communication (Headley, 2006), used freely in the following six *worlds*—"transnational companies, internet communication, scientific research, youth culture, international goods and services, and news and entertainment media" (Seaton, 1997, p. 381). On the one hand, the ability to communicate in the world's *lingua franca* creates opportunities for work, travel and entertainment that may not be accessible to those who do not know English. "Proficiency in English has become something of a commodity, valuable both because of its utility, (…) as well as for its image as 'a form of cultural capital'" (Johnson, 2009, p. 133). Also, in Polish society English seems to be of high importance. The latest report of the Education First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) demonstrates that in 2015 Poland was in the group of highest ranked countries with adult English proficiency, rated as very high ("EF English Proficiency Index—Downloads", n.d.), in the ninth place among 70 countries from all over the world. For Poles the English language seems to be extremely alluring, exerting its influence on various aspects of the mother tongue, but also on society itself (Przygoński, 2010). By achieving a good command of English, Poles are convinced that they will be able to improve their financial status and chances in the national and international job markets (Śliwa, 2008).

The aim of this paper is to shed light on the relationship between perception of the English language and desire to learn it in Polish secondary grammar school students. For this purpose, the paper opens with a discussion of the relevant terms placed in the context of formal foreign language learning: perception and desire. Next, there is a presentation of the empirical study and its results. The article closes with a discussion of the results and their implications for FL classroom practices.

2 Perception of a Language

Perception is usually defined in Psychology as "the process by which the brain organizes and interprets sensory information" (Wade & Tavris, 1993, p. 156). The factors shaping these signals from the nervous system are learning, memory, expectation and attention; in this way knowledge and experience gained over time aid in human development (Bernstein, 2010, p. 126). At the same time, the notion of perception is also an interdisciplinary concept that refers to sociology, anthropology, sociolinguistics, and social psychology (Despagne, 2010). Language learning can be perceived as a combination of these disciplines, whereby perception, memory and learning interlock. As cognitive theories of learning propose, the essence of learning and changing is the individual's cognition, that is: perception, thought, memory, and the ways information is processed and stored. From this point of view, the process of learning, mostly directed by the individual, entails information perception, interpretation of what is already known, and then

reorganization into new insights or understanding (e.g., Anderson, 2009). Also, social constructivists stress the link between perception and learning, being influenced by a myriad of factors, such as ethnicity, social class, gender, family life, past history, self-concept, and the learning situation itself (e.g., Shapiro, 2002). It follows that in any setting individuals may have differing, even conflicting perceptions of reality. Every person operates on the basis of her or his exclusive representations and interpretations of a situation, which have been strongly influenced by that individual's social and cultural practices (Slavin, 2006).

In the process of foreign language learning, as Barbot and Camatarri (1999) state, the construct of perception may refer to a cluster of attitudes and ideas, even stereotypes that the individual transmits in an unconscious way, thus affecting the student's learning process (in Despagne, 2010, p. 58). It follows that positive perceptions enhance learning, while negative ones are likely to diminish it. Because perceptions originate from the individual's experience with the outer world, as constructivists propose, it may be inferred that perceptions of a foreign language are modified by the social context—often represented by parents, peers and teachers.

The perception of the status of a foreign language can be explained on the basis of a model of social changes in language use proposed by Strubell (2006). Here it is postulated that the status of a foreign language is primarily prompted by a social need to relate to its environment. Apart from that, this need is augmented by products and services rendered in that language. Last, but not least, proficiency acquired in that language may be perceived as an advantage in the labor market. This set of logical steps demonstrates how a growing number of people who are convinced that a given foreign language is useful prompts an increase in the number of foreign language users (see Fig. 1).

On the example of the Catherine wheel model presented above, it may be speculated that the constantly growing popularity of the English language in Poland

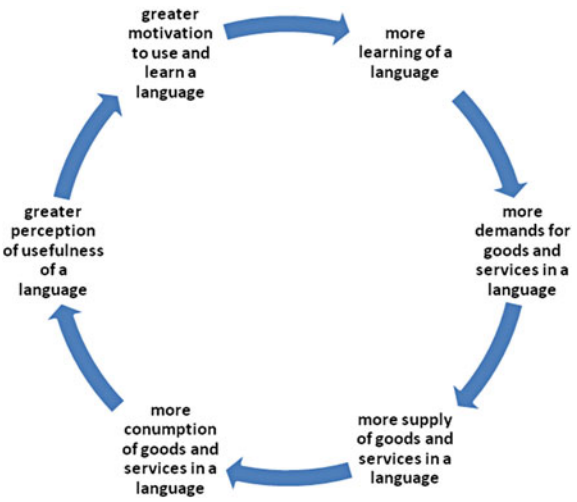

Fig. 1 Social changes in foreign language use (adopted from Strubell, 2006). Published with the consent of the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy of the Basque Government (ref. no 2016/000310)

may be attributed to the need to relate to the English language environment, as well as to the growing demand for goods and services in English. This all induces more consumption, ultimately bolstering motivation to learn this language. In this way the momentum of the wheel, that is, the speed at which English advances in status and use, grows faster (Earls, 2013). The perception of English as a high status language is directly connected with the prestigious rank of its speakers. Consequently, minority language speakers are likely to be perceived as having an inferior status (Shannon, 1995).

The high prestige of English has been acknowledged in many studies carried out worldwide. In the research on the status of Hispanic children's recognition of languages and perceptions about speakers of Spanish, English, and Chinese (Stafford, Jenckes, & Santos, 1997), it was found that the prior experiences students had with a language was a primary cause for more positive perceptions of the status associated with the language, as well as for more favorable attitudes toward the language, and solidarity with speakers of the language. Aside from that, both English and Spanish monolingual speakers expressed more positive opinions about English than about Spanish and Chinese. Similarly, in a study of French university students' perceptions of the English language, the respondents appeared to globally approve the idea that they study English, because it is useful and because it is an international language (Leistiko, 2014). It follows that their positive perceptions of English are inherently connected with the perceived usefulness of English. The prestige and vitality of English as a foreign language in Brazil from the perspectives of adolescents was also investigated by El-Dash and Busnardo (2001). It was found that, in comparison to Portuguese, English was perceived more favorably by the majority of the participants. The reason was that they acknowledged English as an international language associated with more privilege and prestige. At the same time the adolescent Brazilian respondents' positive opinion about English was rooted in their conviction that the use of English was identified with their age group. Also, Turkish university students positively assessed learning and using the English language. To them, English was a beautiful language, both at the aesthetic and utilitarian levels. On the other hand, they viewed it as a danger to their cultural and linguistic identities, because they felt it threatened their patriotic feelings about Turkish (Erdemir, 2013). Similarly, Mexican university students perceived English negatively, mostly due to its association with economic, political and sociocultural problems between the US and Mexico (Despagne, 2010). These results clearly show that negative perceptions may be the origins of problems in the learning process, which can be explained by the fact that most of the students were not attracted to the foreign culture, and showed high levels of extrinsic motivation. Also, similar results were found in the study by White (2002), who examined Fijians using English in exchanges with peers, and the extent to which peer culture valued or devalued the use of English. It was found that for many Fijians English was as a language of another culture, while its usage in informal contexts was considered unsuitable. The finding was attributed to the general sociocultural tension produced by the mounting popularity of the English language in the country. As far as Poland is concerned, in the study by Bielak (2011) the analysis of the

status of English among Polish teachers and students of English substantiated the influential position of English. That finding related to the influence of the native English language community on the development of world historic events, as well as to the role of the English language in global scientific-technological-economic development. Whereas, the status of Polish was found to be lower in these categories. The dominant role of English was also confirmed in research by Paczuska, Kutyłowska, Gajewska-Dyszkiewicz, Ellis, and Szpotowicz (2014), carried out in Polish middle schools (*gymnasium*). The teenage students declared their positive opinion about English, the language most frequently chosen to study as an obligatory foreign language.

3 Desire to Learn a Language

The construct of *desire* usually has a double meaning. It may be seen as a positive experience or a force that cannot be manipulated. Apart from that, desire can be viewed as an instigating force that allows the individual to make independent decisions (Cameron & Kulick, 2003). It is also often regarded as an impulse "that is automatically translated into action" (Ryan, 2012, p. 38). Such views on desire allow this alluring concept to permeate various domains, education being one of them. Here, the term *desire to learn* is used to denote the psychological state in which the learner has a need and wish to learn. It can also be understood as "a broad, open-minded curiosity, and its main preference is for information that is both important and reliable" (Baumeister & Bushman, 2007, p. 87). It can be stipulated that this curiosity brings about a need that may not be controlled, simultaneously empowering the learner to seek satisfaction by themselves through studying. Their craving for a deeper understanding is thus realized through acquisition of information. In this view, desire to learn is seen as a series of actions, intentions, and values, quenching the learner's thirst for knowledge (Piechurska-Kuciel, 2012). In educational studies desire to learn has always been an important aspect of motivational theories (e.g., Brophy, 2004), giving way to various models that aim to capture the multifaceted nature of the concept, for example Waugh's model, where desire to learn was defined by the sub-aspects of interest, learning from others, and responsibility for learning (Waugh, 2002).

In the field of foreign language learning the importance of desire to learn has been recognized in the most influential motivational theories. Motivation to learn a foreign or second language is defined as "the incentive, the need, or the desire to achieve proficiency that the learner feels to learn the second language" (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982, p. 47). As Gardner proposes, it is "the extent to which an individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). This conceptualization delineates the construct of desire to learn as a need and wish, whose satisfaction induces a deeper understanding of a given foreign language and its community (Piechurska-Kuciel, 2012). Hence, desire to learn is an indispensible

part of motivation, because, as Gardner (1985, p. 10) puts it, the latter "refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning plus favorable attitudes towards learning"; that is, the aggregate of three factors: affect, want and effort. By acknowledging desire's rightful place in his motivation model, Gardner was able to display it in action, as Dörnyei (1998) ascertained. The reason is that desire "directly taps into the individual's wish to perform the action" (p. 122).

In order to scrutinize foreign language learning motivation in a greater detail Gardner and Lambert (1972) introduced the term of integrative motivation in reference to language learning for personal development and cultural enrichment. From this point of view the learner desires to learn a foreign language to integrate successfully into the target language community or, as a consequence of globalization, to integrate "with the global community" (McClelland in Dörnyei, 2005, p. 109). Their behavior may be characterized by: positive attitudes toward the learning situation (the teacher and the language course), the target language community, and the learning process. Aside from that the student demonstrates genuine interest in foreign languages in general, as well as this specific language (Piechurska-Kuciel, 2012). An intrinsically motivated learner understands the value of knowing a foreign language, and learns it to participate more fully in the foreign language community. At the same time pragmatic reasons for learning the language, such as getting a better job in future, are also likely to operate. In this view desire is directly connected with the importance of knowing the language for instrumental and integrative reasons, as shown by Young and Gardner (1990). The researchers postulate that the value of knowing English is not only dependent on the readiness to fully participate in the foreign language society, but also on purely pragmatic reasons, such as getting various types of rewards.

The empirical research carried out for the purpose of understanding the learner's desire to study a foreign or second language demonstrates that one of the factors responsible for choosing English as a foreign language is its popularity, as in the case of FL learners in Sudan (Humaida, 2012). Also, Filipino FL learners are highly motivated to learn English because of economic and career opportunities. Their desire to learn a foreign language is mostly connected with pragmatic gains, such as getting a better job and even employment abroad; however, they are also willing to communicate and affiliate with foreigners (Gonzales, 2011). Iranian students learning English show a great desire to learn that language, because they believe that English is an important international language, and its mastery is necessary when one wants to visit other countries (Chalak & Kassain, 2010). At the same time, they recognize the importance of knowing English for integrative reasons. Nevertheless, this is not quite the case with Libyan high school students, as 70 % of them want to learn English, demonstrating "the need to be relevant in the global world" (Youssef, 2012, p. 372). The remaining part of students are convinced to get employment in their home country, which stresses the instrumental reasons for most Libyans to study English with no intention to use the language in future. Similarly, Iranian students display high levels of desire to learn English, mostly for the sake of integrative reasons, as well as for finding a good career (Shirbagi, 2010). The situation of English in Poland is quite similar. It is the most widely studied foreign

language in the country (Kasztalska, 2014). In the case of English teacher trainees, who evidently display a great desire to learn that language, both integrative and instrumental reasons for learning the language can be observed (Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Bielak, 2014). They appreciate its international character (English as *lingua franca*), and, at the same time, consider emigrating to an English speaking country. Also, secondary school students present a great desire to study English (Paczuska et al., 2014). They justify their judgment on the basis of internal reasons (e.g., personal satisfaction), as well as external ones (e.g., good future prospects or school requirements). In all the studies quoted above it is clear that the desire to learn English is grounded in one's pursuit of greater economic well-being and a stronger sense of belonging. It follows that students all over the world pursue English to expand their multilingual identities and to optimize their economic and socio-cultural opportunities.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the relationship between perception of English and the desire to learn it in the Polish educational context. The paper was prompted by a growing interest in understanding the status of English in Poland, which, like almost every other country, is influenced by English language and culture. This impact is often said to be 'planetary', due to the fact it covers many of life's dimensions, such as "mores, morality, dress and a hierarchy of values" (Miłosz, in Przygoński, 2010, p. 238). This being the case, the dominant status of English is bound to enhance the Americanization of Polish culture and the Englishization of the Polish language. For the purpose of this research it is speculated that perceptions of a foreign language (in this case: English) are strongly related to the desire to learn it. It follows that a learner convinced of the high status of that language will tend to hold it in high regard. This in turn should lead to their stronger desire to learn it, as outlined in the figure in Sect. 2 (Strubell's model). Hereby it is posited that more positive perceptions are conducive to a greater desire to learn, facilitating the foreign language learning process. For these reasons, the main working hypothesis proposed for the purpose of this study is:

> H1: Students with a more positive perception of a foreign language (English) demonstrate a greater desire to learn it in comparison to those with a negative perception.

It is also expected that, following the Catherine wheel model (Strubell, 2006), these perceptions will bring about greater learning effects, both in the case of the student's internal (subjective) assessment of their foreign language learning skills (speaking, listening, writing and reading), but also in terms of objective (external) assessment, such as final grades. The basic reason is that the desire to learn may indeed stem from the student's desire to learn for the sake of learning, which generates enjoyment and personal experience. Personal commitment to learning also produces the ability to use knowledge and skills, at the same time developing social competencies. This integrative aspect of the desire to learn a foreign language also caters for personal development, boosting the learner's confidence and self-image, when their curiosity is satisfied with challenges language learning offers. Nevertheless, the pragmatic (instrumental) by-product of the desire must also be taken into consideration. Owing to a good command of the foreign language, the

learner is able to achieve future career aspirations, gain qualifications or increase employability, etc. Last but not least, it is worth considering the personal effects of language mastery. Obviously, in order to consume goods and services provided in the foreign language, the individual (student) needs to be prepared and possess a repertoire of capabilities. Thanks to English language proficiency, the learner is able to fully enjoy the latest technical innovations, have access to relevant Internet sites, or relax with their favorite movies or music. For this reason, a supporting hypothesis is offered:

> H2: Students with a more positive perception of a foreign language (English) demonstrate higher levels of internal (self-perceived levels of foreign language skills) and external assessment of their foreign language abilities (final grades).

4 Method

The description of the study carried out for the purpose of this paper is described below in the following three sections.

4.1 Participants

The group researched comprised 609 students from 23 classes of the six secondary grammar schools in Opole, southwestern Poland (384 girls and 225 boys). Their mean age was 17.50. They were all second-grade students with three to six hours a week of English instruction (proficiency at the intermediate level). The other compulsory language was French or German with two lessons a week. 426 respondents did not take any extracurricular English language instruction, while the others (183) did during the research procedure.

On the basis of the participants' results in the scale of *Student Perception of English* (Kissau, 2006) the sample was divided into quartiles. The lower one, dubbed LP (≤21 points on the scale), comprised 180 students (106 girls and 74 boys) whose perception of English was negative, and the upper, HP, accommodated 179 students (91 girls and 88 boys) with positive perception (≤25 points). The middle quartiles were excluded from further analyses.

4.2 Instruments

The basic instrument used in the study was a questionnaire. In the first part it explored demographic variables, such as age, gender (1—*male*, 2—*female*), and

information about the student's participation in extracurricular English classes (1—*no*, 2—*yes*).

The main part of the questionnaire included the *Student Perceptions of the French Language* scale (Kissau, 2006), where French was replaced with English. The aim of the scale was to assess the student's perception of the English language by means of five items placed on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The sample items are: *English is a gentle and pleasant sounding language* or *I am afraid of what people will think of me if I study English.* Negatively worded items were key-reversed, so that high scores denoted positive perception of the language. The minimum score was seven, the maximum: 35. The scale's reliability was $\alpha = 0.88$.

The next scale was the *Desire to Study French*, also adopted from Kissau (2006) after Gardner, Clément, Smythe, and Smythe (1979). It included ten items measuring the student's desire to study the English language with sample items, like: *If it were up to me, I would spend all my time learning English* or *Speaking English isn't really an important goal in life*. Again, negatively worded items were key-reversed, so that greater desire to learn English was reflected in high scores. The minimum score was ten, the maximum: 70. The scale's reliability was $\alpha = 0.87$.

Finally, two types of FL achievement tools were applied: external (final grades) and internal (self-assessment of the foreign language skills). As far as *grades* are concerned, the participants disclosed the final grades they received in their first grade, in the first semester of their second grade, and their prospective final grade. All these grades were given on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*unsatisfactory*) to 6 (*excellent*), and later aggregated. The scale's reliability was $\alpha = 0.86$.

The last measurement used in the study was a scale assessing *self-perceived levels of FL skills* (speaking, listening, writing and reading). It was an aggregated value of independent self-assessments of the FL skills on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*unsatisfactory*) to 6 (*excellent*), with a reliability of 0.87.

4.3 Procedure and Analyses

During the data collection procedure, in each class, the students were asked to respond to the questionnaire. The time designed for the activity was 15–45 min. The participants were asked to give true answers without taking too much time to think. A new set of items in each part of the questionnaire was preceded with a short statement introducing it in an inconspicuous manner.

The design of the study was mainly differential—it quantified the relationship between the main variables by comparing group behavior. The independent variables in the study were levels of perception of English, while the dependent ones were formulated by a desire to learn it and for FL achievement, which was operationalized as final grades and self-perceived levels of FL skills. All the variables were operationally defined as questionnaire items.

The data were computed by means of the statistical program STATISTICA, with the main operations being descriptive statistics; i.e., means, standard deviations (*SD*), and correlations. Then an independent *t*-test was applied to compare the performance of two groups (students with positive and negative perceptions of English) on the scale measuring their desire to learn it, as well as self-perceived levels of foreign language skills and final grades.

5 Results

The basic descriptive results are presented in Table 1. In the next step the correlations between the variables were computed. As far as the relationship between the perceptions of English and the desire to learn it was concerned, the *r* level turned out to be quite low, though statistically significant. This finding suggests both concepts to be related, but not identical. Perception was weakly correlated only with final grades, while the desire—very strongly with self-assessment of foreign language skills and with final grades (though in this case the correlation is slightly weaker) (see Table 2 for the results).

Table 1 Summary of the descriptive statistics results (N = 609)

Variable	M	SD
Perception of English	22.84	3.06
Desire to learn English	35.49	7.47
Self-assessed FL skills	3.98	0.87
Grades	3.82	0.76

Table 2 Correlations between the study variables (N = 609)

Variable	Desire to learn English	Self-assessed FL skills	Final grades
Perception of English	3.52^{***}	0.38	2.64^{**}
Desire to learn English	–	10.89^{***}	6.54^{***}
FL skills	–	–	11.84^{***}

(** denotes $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$)

Finally, the Student's *t*-test for independent samples was carried out in order to scrutinize the relationships more closely. Its results showed that there was a significant difference between the groups with a positive and negative perceptions of English in their measurements of not only desire to learn the language, but also the participants' final grades. However, no such differences were spotted in the levels of self-assessment of the four language skills (see Table 3).

Table 3 The between-group comparison of students with low and high levels of perception of English

Variable	HP (N = 179)		LP (N = 180)		*t*
	M	SD	M	SD	
Desire to learn English	37.74	7.61	34.67	7.38	−3.89***
Self-assessed FL skills	3.86	0.98	3.88	0.86	−0.17
Final grades	3.80	0.72	3.59	0.81	−2.58*

(* denotes $p < 0.05$, *** denotes $p < 0.001$)

6 Discussion

The primary aim of the study is to explore the relationship between perceptions of the foreign language (English) and the desire to learn that language. First, the study sought to corroborate the hypothesis: *Students with a positive perception of a foreign language (English) demonstrate a greater desire to learn it in comparison to those with a negative perception.* The results of the empirical study fully corroborate the hypothesis, showing quite a strong, statistically significant correlation between the two factors. These findings can be explained by means of the motivational models, e.g., Gardner's (1985) or Waugh's (2002). Desire is directly connected with perceptions, because a positive perception of a foreign language induces a greater desire to learn it. Consequently, it can be inferred that the participants in the study who scored high on the perception scale stress the value of speaking English. The origins of this finding can be traced back to Strubell's (2006) model, elegantly explaining the relationship between the interest in learning English and the individual's functioning in the global world. The influx of goods and services in English constitutes a significant basis for that language to induce a need to study that language. Obviously, aside from students who express their positive perception of English, there is as opposing group with negative perceptions of that language. It can be seen, then, that the researched sample is not homogenous in their opinion about the value of English; there are students who do not consider it important, like its melody or stress, or perceive any value in speaking it. Their negative perception of English is in turn connected with a low desire to study it. The reasons for such an opinion can be traced back to the overpowering dominance of English as a *lingua franca*. It may be deduced that an appreciation of the language may sometimes be replaced by a negative perception of the language due to the ethnocentric views of some students (Piechurska-Kuciel, 2013), or by simple reluctance to study yet another school subject. Moreover, this aversion may have conflicting origins. It is likely that some of the unwilling students are aware of the massive intrusiveness of English, which they do not approve of. On the other hand, there may also be those who are unable to take advantage of their school education in that area to foresee being able to use of their linguistic capabilities in an out-of-school context. It may follow that their visions of the future do not include

English being important. Such being the case, perceptions of the foreign language may not explicitly generate a desire to learn that language.

Other important findings pertain to the second hypothesis presented in this paper: *Students with a negative perception of a foreign language (English) demonstrate higher levels of internal (self-perceived levels of foreign language skills) and external assessment of their foreign language abilities (final grades).* The results received failed to fully corroborate this, as the only statistically significant differences were observed in the case of final grades. Therefore, learners who value English have high external assessment, which can be attributed to their desire to learn that language, though it would be virtually impossible at that stage to determine which type of motivation drives their behavior—instrumental or integrative. It is only possible to speculate that this inclination to learn the language may be strongly connected with their social standing, as well as the effects of instrumental motivation. Final grades reveal the students' progress and give them further motivational incentive. Obviously, for many students grades may be the reward worth working for, yet their perceptions stress the importance of the social aspect of the language study process. For this reason it would be difficult to speculate about the value of the instrumental effects of their perceptions. Nevertheless, it needs to be observed that in this case a strong desire to demonstrate competence when compared to others can be observed (Dompnier, Darnon, & Butera, 2009).

The situations appears to be strikingly different in the case of self-perceived levels of foreign language skills, as there are no statistically significant differences between the students with positive and negative perceptions of English. Consequently, both groups of students self-assess their language skills at a virtually similar level, irrespective of final grades. This observation can be rooted in the status of English as a global language, as well as in the integrative or personal reasons for learning it. Both groups researched appear to be convinced that their language proficiency is comparable most probably due to a variety of motives pushing them to study. First of all, institutionalized learning may bring about the effect of the students' approximate proficiency, even in spite of varying external feedback (final grades). Moreover, the effect of positive perceptions may often be eliminated by the experienced clash between school reality and mythologized allure of the language. As far as negative perceptions are concerned, again, the language learning classroom may offer strong instrumental rewards that may be hard to resist, in effect leading to unexpected proficiency gains observed at the personal level.

7 Conclusion

The results of the research above confirm the theoretical research conducted concerning the generally positive perception of English, mostly induced by its spread and prestige. Again, it has been confirmed that English is a valuable tool in today's globalized world. There are several implications of the study that need to be

mentioned in reference to the foreign language classroom. It seems clear that negative perceptions may constitute significant barriers to effective language learning. For this reason the teacher needs to bear in mind that students can achieve more if they positively perceive the language. Hence, discussing with students the utility value of learning any foreign language should constitute an effective way to make it meaningful and personally valued. A focus on the present and future advantages of speaking the language should lead to more sustained engagement in learning activities. Aside from that, students need to be aware that language mastery is connected with achieving better social relationships and even success in life beyond school. Creating more opportunities for learning and loving the language through additional attention, instruction, and support for those who need it may compensate, at least partly, for the learner's personal drawbacks. As research suggests, "motivational factors can override the aptitude effect" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 65). This may be the reason why connecting to life outside school and taking care of student interests have a great potential to give way to engagement in learning (e.g., Cavenaghi, Bzuneck, & Rufini, 2013). Aside from that, a pace of instruction accommodating needs and abilities of students, positive feedback, and boosting students' self-efficacy may be of great value. The teacher should also allow students to exercise control of their own learning by advising them on choosing the most appropriate tasks or strategies for an activity. Furthermore, they should be encouraged to set goals for themselves; by being instructed how these goals may be achieved, what strategies to use, and in what groupings. Most of all, a warm and friendly teacher, authentically interested in students' problems, may be at the very center of positive learning effects.

This study is not free from limitations that need to be addressed. Although its results undoubtedly prove the link between perceptions and desires, it still remains unclear what types of incentives are behind language success approached from the personal and social perspectives. This is why it is necessary to design an instrument to measure this link explicitly, taking advantage of the latest trends in motivational research. It would also be desirable to opt for more objective and controlled data measuring actual performance in the foreign language, like the number of points gained in an oral exam, which is a form of external measurement that supplements measures of self-perceived levels of foreign language skills. Their inclusion could shed more light on the social implications of the relationship under scrutiny. Moreover, a longitudinal design allowing for more confidence in the temporal ordering of constructs would be of a greater use instead of the presently applied cross-sectional design. Finally, other culture-specific contexts need to be addressed, because "bilingualism is a treasured tool of enhanced human interaction and communication" (Stafford et al., 1997, p. 117). Thanks to catering for heritage languages intercultural mindsets can be created, leading to intercultural understanding, and controlling the impact of the hegemony of English on various life domains in other cultures.

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Investigating Language Learning Motivation from an Ideal Language-Self Perspective: The Case of English Majors in Poland

Mirosław Pawlak

Abstract Motivation is without doubt one of the most important factors in successful language learning, not least because it can to a large extent compensate for deficiencies in language aptitude, irrespective of the ways in which it is conceptualized. It is thus not surprising that this individual difference variable has been subject to numerous empirical investigations undertaken from a range of theoretical perspectives. As Dörnyei (2005) explains, such research has entered a process-oriented period, where motivation is viewed as a dynamic phenomenon, constantly undergoing fluctuations in response to an array of influences. One recent theory representing this approach is the theory of the ideal language self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, 2014), according to which motivation to learn a foreign language largely stems from a desire to reduce the distance between one's actual and imagined skills and abilities. The theory provided a point of reference for designing a questionnaire used for the purpose of the study reported in the present paper and administered to 220 Polish university students majoring in English. The tool, which included 40 six-point Likert-scale statements, sought to tap into such aspects of motivation as interest in international vocation or activities, encouragement from parents or significant others, intended learning effort, instrumentality, L2 self-confidence, ideal L2 self, lack of fear of assimilation, attitudes to learning English, interest in foreign languages and lack of ethnocentrism. The results indicate that the participants are highly motivated to learn English and provide important insights into the nature of their motives.

Keywords Motivation · Theory of L2 motivational self-system · Ideal L2 self · Ought-to self · English majors

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1 Introduction

Explaining the importance of motivation in second language (L2) learning, Dörnyei (2005, p. 65) writes: "It provides the primary impetus to initiate L2 learning and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious process. (…) Without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement". Williams, Mercer and Ryan (2015, p. 117), in turn, comment that "[a]lthough we cannot claim that motivation directly leads to proficiency, we can be more confident in putting forward the argument that low levels of motivation impede successful learning. For this reason alone, an awareness and understanding of motivation must be a primary concern". Given the immense contribution of motivation to the process of language learning evident in these pronouncements, it is clear why this individual difference variable has become the focus of so much theorizing and empirical investigations aiming, among others, to better understand its nature, shed light on how it can lead to success in L2 learning, pinpoint factors responsible for its emergence and sustenance, trace its fluctuations over time, or identify the most effective motivational strategies (see Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2014; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2014).

In state-of-the-art overviews of key issues related to L2 motivation, the relevant research is typically divided into three phases: (1) the *socio-psychological period*, associated with Gardner's (1985, 2000) motivation theory and Clément's (1980) theory of linguistic self-confidence, (2) the *cognitive-situated period*, during which cognitive theories in educational psychology came to the fore and a situated, context-dependent view of motivation was adopted; the most influential theoretical positions included self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002), attribution theory (Weiner, 1992), and theory of task motivation (Dörnyei, 2002; Dörnyei & Kormos 2000), and (3) the *process-oriented period*, which focuses on motivational dynamics and is manifested in the model of L2 motivation proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) or recent interpretations of this attribute as a complex dynamic system (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015). A theoretical position that is also predicated on the assumption that motivation is in a state of flux, both with respect to the motives driving learners' efforts and the intensity of their involvement, is the theory of the L2 motivational self system (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, 2014; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005). It is this theory that provided an impetus for the study of the motives of Polish university students majoring in English reported in this paper. Although the investigation allowed only a static snapshot of such motives rather than providing insights into their evolution, such information is urgently needed in view of the fact that the characteristics of students in foreign languages departments in Poland have undergone substantial changes in the last decade or so, with the effect that commonly held assumptions about their goals, needs or visions call for urgent

revision. The paper opens with a brief overview of the main tenets of the theory of L2 motivational self-system as well as selected research projects that have been conducted within this framework. This is followed by the description of the current study, the presentation and discussion of its findings and, finally, tentative proposals for how degree programs in foreign languages can be modified and suggestions for future research.

2 Literature Review

As Dörnyei (2005, 2009) elucidates, the theory of the L2 motivational self system stems from two significant theoretical developments, one in the field of second language acquisition studies and the other in the domain of personality psychology. When it comes to the former, it pertains to the extremely influential concept of integrativeness, which was first introduced by Gardner and Lambert (1959), thereby initiating research on L2 motivation and marking the beginning of the social-psychological period. The latter concerns the outcomes of research on the self conducted in mainstream psychology, which generated the perception of motivation in terms of constantly evolving self-representations, leading to the emergence of the concept of *possible selves* or *future self-guides* (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Dörnyei (2005, 2009) justifies the need for a reformulation of the widely-accepted construct of motivation proposed by Gardner and Lambert (1959) and then further developed in Gardner's (1985) theory with reference to three observations: (1) learning a foreign language is not only confined to acquiring a new code for communication but also has a profound effect on one's identity, (2) the notion of integrativeness is difficult to apply to situations in which learners have little real contact with native speakers, as is the case with the majority of foreign language contexts, and (3) intricate relationships can be identified among such variables as integrativeness, instrumentality, attitudes and motivated learning behavior (cf. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei and Csizér 2002). Placing the concept of possible selves at the core of this reconceptualization is reflective of the fact that they "(…) offer the most powerful, and at the same time the most versatile, motivational self-mechanism, representing the individuals' ideas of what they *might* become, what they *would like* to become, and what they are *afraid of* becoming" (emphasis original) (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 98). Williams et al. (2015, p. 114) stress that possible selves represent the visions, positive or negative, of ourselves in the future and explain that the main premise of this framework is that "(…) we are guided to make efforts to move from our current state towards becoming the person we hope to be and to protect ourselves from becoming the feared self".

In light of these considerations, the concept of integrativeness can be reinterpreted as the L2-specific aspect of the desired future vision of ourselves because, as Dörnyei (2005, p. 102) argues, "[i]f one's ideal self is associated with the mastery of an L2, that is, if the person that we would like to become is proficient in the L2, we can be described as having an integrative disposition". In other words, the most

conducive to learning an additional language is a situation when a learner strives to minimize the gap between the actual and ideal L2 self, irrespective of whether the learning process involves frequent contacts with native speakers in second language contexts, where attitudes towards this group may play a crucial role, or whether it is primarily confined to the classroom in foreign language contexts, in which case it is instrumentality that may be of paramount significance. Basing upon such stipulations, the conceptualizations of the notion of motivation proposed by Noels (2003) and Ushioda (2001), as well as the recognition of the impact of the learning environment, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) identifies three dimensions of the L2 motivational self system: (1) *ideal L2 self*, which is related to the image that learners have of themselves as target language users (e.g. the skills they would like to possess), and can be linked to integrative or internalized instrumental motives, thus representing what Higgins (1998) terms a *promotion focus,* (2) *ought-to L2 self*, which pertains to the need to meet the expectations of significant others (e.g., parents, teachers, peers), often in order to avoid adverse consequences, with extrinsic motives reflective of what can be referred to as a *prevention focus* (Higgins, 1998) coming into play, and (3) *L2 learning experience,* which is a situation-specific factor, representative of the immediate environment in which learners function, shaped, among others, by the teacher, the curriculum, the instructional techniques used, or group dynamics. As Ushioda and Dörnyei (2014, p. 400) illuminate, "[a] basic tenet is that if proficiency in the target language is integral to one's *ideal* or *ought-to* self, this will serve as a powerful motivator to learn the language because of our psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between current and future self states" (emphasis original). What needs to be stressed at this juncture is the role of vision in creating future self-guides and the emphasis on the dynamism of the L2 motivational self-system. With respect to the first of these, Dörnyei (2014, p. 10) emphasizes the fact that possible selves "(…) involve images and senses (…) [and] are represented in the same imaginary and semantic ways as the here-and-now selves", a quality that can be harnessed in enhancing motivation since visions of this kind are resistant to everyday influences and special classroom activities can be devised to generate and sustain such long-lasting images (see Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014). As regards the second issue, the three components of the self system are assumed to evolve over time in response to a host of variables, which might involve elaboration of the visions subsumed under the ideal language self or even gradual internalization of the extrinsic motives forming the ought-to self (cf. Dörnyei, 2005). Grounding his considerations within the framework of complex dynamic systems, Henry (2015a) points out that possible selves can be revised both upwards and downwards, as the case might be when learners become more or less ambitious in their future visions in reaction to tangible evidence of progress or repeated failure, respectively. He also argues that future self guides can be subject to modification as a consequence of interaction with other self-concepts, such as self-evaluation of performance on a specific language learning task or ongoing comparisons with others.

Since limitations of space preclude a detailed overview of studies inspired by the theory of the L2 motivational self-system, only the most important lines of inquiry will be highlighted in the remainder of this section. At the outset, the bulk of such empirical investigations, such as most of those included in the book edited by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009), were quantitative in nature and aimed to validate the model in a variety of contexts. They most often took into consideration such aspects of the self system as motivated learning behavior (i.e., effort and persistence in learning), ideal L2 self (i.e., learners' perceptions of themselves as successful users of the TL), ought-to L2 self (i.e., expectations or opinions of significant others), attitudes (i.e., towards a particular foreign language or its speakers), the influence of the family (i.e., the role of parents in encouraging language learning), instrumentality (i.e., both with respect to its promotion and prevention dimensions), knowledge orientation (i.e., the perception of the TL as a tool leading to extension of world knowledge), international posture (i.e., attitudes towards communication with foreigners) and L2 learning experience (i.e., the extent to which contextual factors support the learning process) (see Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Lamb, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009; Yashima, 2009). More recent quantitative research has attempted to link different aspects of the self system to other concepts or attributes important for successful L2 learning, such as, for example, autonomy (Csizér & Kormos, 2014), self-regulation (Kim & Kim, 2014), vision (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013), anxiety and self-efficacy (Piniel & Csizér, 2015). Qualitative studies were initially much less common, notable exceptions being the studies by Ushioda (2009), who made an effort to reconcile the concept of possible selves with a person-in-context view of motivation as emerging from relations between individuals in interactions, or Lamb (2009), who explored the motivational trajectories of two Indonesian learners over the period of two years and applied the L2 self-system to the interpretation of the data in tandem with a socially-oriented approach. The qualitative paradigm has been gaining ground in more recent research projects which have focused, among others, upon emotions (Miyahara, 2014), willingness to communicate (Yue, 2014), evolution of self-concept (Lyons, 2014), motivational strategies (Magid, 2014), learning experience (Waninge, 2015), or changes in L3 motivation (Henry, 2015b), often adopting the complex dynamic systems perspective. Although the study reported below relies upon quantitative data and it only provides insights into the role of the different components of the English motivation self system at a particular point in time, thus departing from the prevalent research tendencies, it makes an important contribution to the field by investigating Polish students majoring in English, a group that was not targeted by previous empirical investigations and has undergone key transformations in recent years.

3 The Study

3.1 Aims and Research Questions

As mentioned above, the main aim of the study was to provide insights into advanced learners' motives for learning English as a foreign language within the framework of the theory of the L2 motivational self system. More specifically, the following research questions were addressed:

1. What is the participants' overall level of motivation to learn English?
2. Which of the factors believed to comprise the L2 ideal self-system contribute the most to shaping the participants' motivation?

3.2 Participants

The participants were 220 Polish university students majoring in English, 174 females and 46 males, enrolled in a three-year BA program and a two-and-a-half-year MA program in two institutions of higher education in Poland. The BA group consisted of 171 students, 43 in year 1, 37 in year 2 and 91 in year 3, while the MA group comprised 49 students, all of whom were third-year students who were just about to obtain their master's degree and graduate from the program. As regards the participants' command of the target language, it could be described as falling between B2 and C1 according to the *Common European framework*, with the caveat that it varied not only according to the type of program, or the level in the program but also across students in the same year. Another indication of the participants' proficiency in English was the final grade in an intensive practical English course, comprising, depending on the level, classes in pronunciation, grammar, speaking, writing and integrated skills. The mean equaled 3.29 on a scale from 2 to 5, typically used in Polish institutions of higher education, which, also taking into account the value of standard deviation (0.65), testifies to the fact that the students in most cases only just managed to meet the course requirements, requirements which, it must be admitted, were quite high. With several exceptions of students in the MA program, the participants had limited access to English outside of their course of study and it mainly took the form of watching television, surfing the Internet or, in the case of teachers, using it in the classroom, only very infrequently involving contacts with native speakers or proficient TL users. The BA and MA programs were typical representations of such program taught across Poland and, in addition to the intensive course in English, they included, among others, courses in linguistics, literature, culture and language pedagogy, most of which were taught in the TL. An important point to be made is that the MA program was intended to complement BA programs completed in various institutions and to prepare students for writing their theses in different areas, with the effect that the main focus was on seminars, supplementary seminars or electives, and the role of English classes as

such was diminished. In addition, it was an extramural program, with meetings being spaced two weeks apart, classes being massed over two days and most of the students having regular jobs, which placed quite different demands on the participants than a regular course of study.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected by means of a questionnaire designed by the present author which was aimed to offer insights into the participants' motives for learning English and was employed in his earlier study on the dynamic character of L2 motivation (Pawlak, 2012). Apart from several demographic queries needed for the description of the students, the instrument contained 40 six-point Likert-scale items, where 1 indicated complete disagreement and 6 stood for complete agreement. It was based on the tools developed with the purpose of investigating motivation from the stance of the theory of the ideal L2 self in studies conducted by Ryan (2005), Taguchi et al. (2009), and Csizér and Kormos (2009). The items it included were intended to tap the following ten correlates of motivation: (1) interest in international vocation or activities (i.e., travel orientation), (2) encouragement from parents or significant others (i.e., the role of other people in boosting L2 motivation), (3) intended learning effort (i.e., students' attempts to enhance their mastery of the TL), (4) instrumentality (i.e., regulation of learning goals so that pragmatic gains can accrue or adverse consequences can be avoided), (5) L2 self-confidence (i.e., the extent to which anxiety is likely to be manifested in various contexts), (6) ideal L2 self (participants' visions of themselves as effective TL users), (7) lack of fear of assimilation (i.e., the impact of English on the status of the mother tongue), (8) attitudes to learning English (i.e., the degree to which participants perceive the learning of English as an enjoyable experience), (9) interest in foreign languages (i.e., the extent to which students experience affinity with the TL), and (10) lack of ethnocentrism (i.e., interest in and respect for other cultures). In order to avoid potential misunderstandings and in recognition of varied proficiency levels, all the items were worded in Polish.

The tool was administered in two forms, either as a pen-and-paper version, in which case time was allotted during specific classes for the students to fill it out, or electronically, where the completed forms were returned to the researcher's e-mail address. The internal consistency reliability of the instrument was established for all the statements by calculating Cronbach's alpha, which amounted to 0.84, a value that can be regarded as highly satisfactory (see Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). In general, with several exceptions, the same can be said about the subscales included in the questionnaire since the Cronbach's alpha values were as follows: (1) interest in international vocation or activities—0.79, (2) encouragement emanating from significant others—0.85, (3) intended learning effort—0.73, (4) instrumentality—0.74, (5) L2 self-confidence—0.77, (6) ideal L2 self—0.58, (7) lack of fear of assimilation—0.58, (8) attitudes to learning English—0.54, (9) interest in foreign languages—0.46, and (10) lack of ethnocentrism—0.51. While fully recognizing

Dörnyei's (2007, p. 207) cautionary note that "(…) even with short scales of 3–4 items we should aim at reliability coefficients in excess of 0.6; if a Cronbach Alpha of a scale does not reach 0.60, this should sound warning bells", some of the scales had three or fewer items (i.e., 5, 7, 8, 9, 10) and the instrument still represents work in progress that will need to be amended in response to accumulating empirical evidence. This point will be further elaborated upon in the discussion section. The data collected by means of the instrument were subjected to quantitative analysis which consisted in tabulating means and standard deviations for the bundles of items corresponding to the different elements of the L2 motivational self-system.

3.4 Findings

As illustrated in Table 1, which includes the means and standard deviation for the correlates of motivation included in the questionnaire, the highest values, approaching 5.00 or even slightly exceeding it, were observed in the case of the following subscales: ideal L2 self (5.13), lack of ethnocentrism (5.10), intended learning effort (4.99), interest in foreign languages (4.99), and attitudes to learning English (4.85). The lowest means were recorded for encouragement from parents and significant others (3.36) and L2 self-confidence (3.75), with the averages for the remaining factors slightly exceeding 4.00 (interest in international vocation and activities—4.36, lack of fear of assimilation—4.17, instrumentality—4.13). What surely deserves attention are the relatively high values of standard deviation for some of the subscales, in particular those related to encouragement from parents and significant others (1.47), L2 self-confidence (1.37), instrumentality (1.30), interest in international vocation and activities (1.27), and lack of fear of assimilation (1.17). These results indicate that there was considerable individual variation with respect to the significance of these motives for different participants, a point that will be elaborated upon in the discussion section.

Table 1 Means and standard deviations for the subscales included in the questionnaire (N = 220)

No.	Subscale	Mean	SD
1	Interest in international vocation or activities	4.36	1.27
2	Encouragement from parents or significant others	3.36	1.47
3	Intended learning effort	4.99	0.92
4	Instrumentality	4.13	1.30
5	L2 self-confidence	3.75	1.37
6	Ideal L2 self	5.13	0.96
7	Lack of fear of assimilation	4.17	1.18
8	Attitudes to learning English	4.85	0.93
9	Interest in foreign languages	4.99	0.87
10	Lack of ethnocentrism	5.10	0.78
Total		4.42	1.14

Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 present the means and standard deviation values for all the items making up each of the ten subscales included in the instrument. As regards interest in international vocation and activities/travel orientation (Table 2), the students were cognizant of the fact that good command of English is important in traveling and makes the experience more pleasant (M = 4.61 and M = 4.58 for items 1 and 37, respectively), but they were less willing to envisage lengthy stays abroad for academic or vocational purposes (M = 4.11, item 29).

When it comes to encouragement from parents and significant others (Table 3), the participants recognized the presence of family support in general terms (M = 4.15 for item 2), but indicated that it may not always take concrete forms

Table 2 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing interest in international vocation and activities/travel orientation (N = 220)

No.	Interest in international vocation or activities	Mean	SD
1	Learning English is important to me because I want to travel	4.61	1.15
24	Learning English is important to me, because without it I won't be able to travel much	4.12	1.28
29	Learning English is important to me because I want to spend quite a long time abroad studying or working	4.11	1.37
37	I am learning English because this will make traveling more pleasant	4.58	1.29
Total		4.36	1.27

Table 3 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing encouragement from parents or significant others (N = 220)

No.	Encouragement from parents or significant others	Mean	SD
2	My parents encourage me to learn English	4.15	1.45
12	I am learning English because my friends think it is important	2.64	1.30
13	My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to speak English	3.84	1.53
23	I must learn English in order not to fall short of my parents' expectations	2.79	1.43
27	My parents encourage me to study English in my free time	3.34	1.51
38	My parents encourage me to get extra language teaching (tutorials, courses, etc.)	3.37	1.61
Total		3.36	1.67

Table 4 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing intended learning effort (N = 220)

No.	Intended learning effort	Mean	SD
15	I am trying to learn English very hard	5.21	0.84
28	I am ready to get very much involved in learning English	5.20	0.88
39	I can honestly say that I do everything possible to learn English	4.56	1.05
Total		4.99	0.92

(e.g., encouraging them to study in their free time, signing up for additional classes). Additionally, they did not seem to be much concerned with meeting the expectations of parents or friends (M = 2.79 and M = 2.64 for items 23 and 12, respectively), which may speak to their independence in this respect. In regard to intended learning effort (Table 4), the students manifested considerable willingness to learn English (M = 5.21 and M = 5.20 for items 15 and 28, respectively), but were also aware that they could become even more involved in this process (M = 4.56 for item 39).

Moving on to the subscale indicating instrumentality (Table 5), while it is obvious that the participants were driven by pragmatic motives to a considerable extent, not all of these were given the same weight. This is because while the students apparently perceived learning English as an important investment with respect to employment opportunities and success in future jobs (M = 5.45, M = 4.97 and M = 4.30 for items 5, 16 and 34, respectively), they showed much less concern for grades, exams or others' aspirations (e.g., M = 2.84 and M = 3.39 for items 36 and 21, respectively). What comes as surprise is the fact that the participants were not greatly self-confident about the use of the TL (Table 6), as evident in the fact that they would be rather anxious when meeting a native speaker (M = 4.00 for item 33) and a certain degree of anxiety was also likely to be exhibited in classroom situations (M = 3.61 for item 20). As regards the ideal L2 self (Table 7), the students appeared to have formed very strong visions of themselves as proficient users of the TL with respect to different skills (means substantially exceeding 5.00 for items 17, 18, 30, 31), with the caveat that the image of themselves living abroad was clearly less vivid (M = 4.22 for item 7). This, however, can be attributed to reasons going beyond the development of communicative competence (e.g., perceived lack of suitable opportunities).

Table 5 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing instrumentality (N = 220)

No.	Instrumentality	Mean	SD
5	Learning English is useful because one day it will help me to get a job	5.45	0.79
9	I have to learn English because if I don't get a passing mark I won't get promotion to the next year	3.80	1.64
16	Learning English is important to me because the knowledge of this language will be necessary in the future to get promotion at work	4.97	1.04
21	I have to learn English because I don't want to get low grades	3.39	1.55
34	I have to learn English because otherwise I will not succeed in my future job	4.30	1.36
36	Learning English is necessary because people around me expect it	2.84	1.40
Total		4.13	1.30

Table 6 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing L2 self-confidence/English anxiety (N = 220)

No.	L2 self-confidence	Mean	SD
10	I would be anxious when talking to an English or American person in English	3.64	1.41
20	I am anxious and make mistakes when I speak English in class	3.61	1.32
33	If I met an English or American person I would be anxious	4.00	1.38
Total		3.75	1.37

Table 7 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing ideal L2 self (N = 220)

No.	Ideal L2 self	Mean	SD
7	I imagine myself living abroad speaking English	4.22	1.45
17	I believe that I will be able to read and understand most English texts if I keep on learning the language	5.57	0.56
18	I can imagine a situation in which I talk to foreigners in English	5.32	0.79
30	I am sure that if I keep on learning English I will easily write in it	5.33	0.80
31	I imagine myself speaking English in the future	5.22	1.08
Total		5.13	0.96

As for lack of fear of assimilation (Table 8), it is obvious that the students were concerned to some extent about the negative impact of English, in particular viewing it as a potential threat to national values (M = 4.94 for item 32) and, to a less extent, realizing its deleterious influence on their mother tongue (M = 4.00 for item 19). Importantly, the students manifested positive attitudes to the experience of learning English (Table 9), with the lowest mean in this subscale equaling 4.49 (item 3) and largely favorable opinions being expressed about engagement in the process of learning English, the atmosphere during English classes and readiness to participate in classroom interactions (means exceeding 4.6 for items 11, 22 and 35).

Table 8 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing lack of fear of assimilation (N = 220)

No.	Lack of fear of assimilation	Mean	SD
8	In the era of globalization there is a threat that Polish people will forget how important their own culture is	3.58	1.27
19	I think that under the influence of English Polish is deteriorating	4.00	1.24
32	Learning English negatively affects Polish national values	4.94	1.02
Total		4.17	1.18

Table 9 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing attitudes to learning English (N = 220)

No.	Attitudes to learning English	Mean	SD
3	I am excited when I hear someone speaking English	4.49	1.25
11	I like the atmosphere during English classes	4.61	0.88
22	I think that learning English is interesting	5.34	0.70
35	I am always eager to take part in English classes	4.95	0.90
Total		4.85	0.93

Table 10 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing interest in foreign languages (N = 220)

No.	Interest in foreign languages	Mean	SD
14	I take interest in the way English is used in conversation	4.86	0.95
25	I think that the differences between English and Polish vocabulary are interesting	4.38	1.07
40	I like the sound of English	5.74	0.58
Total		4.99	0.87

Table 11 Means and standard deviations for specific items included in the subscale representing lack of ethnocentrism (N = 220)

No.	Lack of ethnocentrism	Mean	SD
4	I am very much interested in other cultures' ways of life	4.79	0.89
28	I respect the values and ways of life of other cultures and nations	5.42	0.68
Total		5.10	0.78

What also bodes well for overall L2 motivation is the participants' considerable interest in English (Table 10) with respect to how it sounds, how it is used in conversation, and how it differs from Polish in terms of lexis (M = 5.74, M = 4.86 and M = 4.38 for items 40, 14 and 25, respectively). The same could be said about lack of ethnocentricism (Table 11) since, on the one hand, the participants turned out to have a lot of respect for the values and ways of life of other cultures and nations (M = 5.42 for item 28) and, on the other, were also positively predisposed to getting acquainted with conventions, customs and traditions represented by foreigners (M = 4.79 for item 4).

4 Discussion

As signaled in the introduction, the present-day English majors in Poland differ from those of, say, a decade ago, with these differences mainly manifesting themselves in lower proficiency levels, easier access to the TL, both because of the

ubiquitous presence of the media, easy access to information and computer technology, and greater travel opportunities, and the growing expectation that English studies will focus on language skills rather than linguistics, literature or culture. Without doubt, changes of this kind constitute sufficient justification for exploring students' motives for learning English because such awareness may help administrators design courses that better respond to candidates' needs, with and the theory of the L2 motivational self system being perfectly suited to the interpretation of these motives. When it comes to the first research question, the participants can be regarded as equipped with relatively high motivation to learn English, which is evident, for example, in the mean results for the statements included in the subscales concerning the ideal L2 self (5.13), intended learning effort (M = 4.99), interest in foreign languages (M = 4.99) and attitudes to learning English (M = 4.85). This demonstrates that not only do the students have vivid images of themselves as successful TL users, which is closely related to favorable views of English and positive appraisals of the learning experience, but also that they are determined to go to great lengths to transform those images into reality. What is also interesting is the fact that the values of standard deviation for these subscales were among the lowest in the instrument, oscillating around 0.9, which indicates that the students were to a large extent unanimous in their views.

With respect to the second research question, concerned with the structure of the students' motivation, what should be emphasized is, again, their strong vision of themselves as proficient TL users, a certain degree of fascination with English, favorable perceptions of what transpires in English classes as well as respect for and, to a lesser degree, readiness to get to know other culture and ways of life. All of these are powerful motivators that are bound to boost students' involvement in the learning process. Somewhat less important turned out to be such factors as instrumentality (M = 4.13), international vocation and activities (M = 4.36) and encouragement form parents and significant others (M = 4.36), with the caveat that responses to specific items were more varied in these cases. For example, while instrumental motives played a huge part with respect to job-related issues, their importance was considerably diminished when it comes to expectations from others or evaluation criteria. Similarly, even though it was admitted that the command of English would be beneficial when traveling, the students were much less likely to recognize the prospect of using it during prolonged stays abroad. Finally, with respect to external encouragement, participants reported receiving support from their parents in general terms, but found it difficult to associate such support with specific actions. A possibly negative impact on the process of learning English was noted in the case of lack of fear of assimilation, as the participants were visibly concerned about the potential threat of the TL to their mother tongue and, more importantly, to national values. Another obstacle to successful learning could be a certain level of anxiety, not only when it comes to real-life encounters with native speakers but also with respect to classroom situations. What should also be emphasized is considerable individual variation, evident in the high values of standard deviation for some subscales as well as specific statements, particularly those where the positive contribution to motivation was less pronounced or an

unfavorable impact could be anticipated (e.g. parental encouragement, lack of self-confidence, instrumentality). This indicates that areas whose contribution to motivation is less straightforward are also likely to be more contentious, which should caution program administrators and teachers against adopting convenient, one-size-fits-all solutions.

Although the picture that emerges from the study is quite positive and suggests that not only are English majors quite strongly motivated to master the TL but also that they are mostly driven by most propitious motives, these findings should be interpreted with circumspection due to some weaknesses involved in the design of the research project. For one thing, in contrast to current trends, the study was quantitative in nature and cross-sectional, it relied on a single source of data and did not aspire to trace changes in L2 motivation over time. The lack of triangulation seems to be particularly acute as some of the items were worded in quite general terms, with the effect that responses on a Likert-scale were not very revealing, as is evident, for example, with the statements: "I am trying to learn English very hard" or "I like the atmosphere during English classes". While similar items have been employed in many of the studies cited in the literature review, it is clear that in-depth interviews or observations could have yielded much more precise information about what "trying hard" involved or what facets of 'the atmosphere' of English classes were the most conducive to learning. Finally, a major cause for concern are the low values of Cronbach's alpha for some of the subscales, which might indicate that their composition should be amended, a problem that can be rectified by means of factor analysis when more data have been obtained from English majors. Clearly, all of these issues will need to be addressed in future research.

5 Conclusion

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the research project provided valuable data about the motivation of English majors in Poland as well as the structure of this motivation. Given the changes in the characteristics of such university students indicated in the previous section, these insights are of pivotal importance as they may serve as a powerful impetus to introduce major modifications into BA and MA programs so that they are better suited to respond to students' needs or to address the deficits that they exhibit. Although any definitive proposals are clearly premature at this juncture, it would seem, for example, that greater emphasis should be placed on the development of intercultural competence, particularly with the purpose of allaying fears about the negative impact of the TL and the culture it represents, and more weight should be given to the enhancement of students' self-confidence in using English in different situations. For such recommendations to be more specific, further research is needed into English majors' L2 motivational self-systems, particularly such that would employ mixed-methods designs, thus providing richer, more precise and finer-grained information about the motives

driving students in their efforts to master the TL. Equipped with such vital information, administrators, program coordinators and university teachers will be better prepared to confront the realities of successfully implementing degree programs in departments of English studies.

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Reading for Remembering: On the Long-Term Impact of Starting Age on Retention and Recall of Target Language Input

Simone E. Pfenninger and David Singleton

Abstract In the current paper, we home in on the question as to how early and late learners of English as an L3 and L4 use new target language (TL) input to produce sentences by investigating the possible relationships among the reconstructive nature of some memory processes, age of onset (AO), and TL proficiency in terms of the effects that these factors have on how much of the TL input learners can accurately retain and recall. Based on the assumption that learners with higher levels of TL proficiency are better able to process and retain TL input, the research to be discussed here considers the question of whether early starters make more accurate use of available English input than late starters in written production tasks. Using longitudinal data from 200 Swiss learners over a period of five years we found that (1) the attempts at using words or paraphrases are often not successful in verbatim accuracy; (2) reproducing written input is more than mere parroting of the words; and (3) there are in fact considerable differences between the two AO groups at the beginning of secondary school: because of their higher level of lexical proficiency (as measured by three productive and receptive vocabulary tasks), the early starters were able to retain a good deal more of the TL input in memory than the late starters were. However, these differences disappeared over the course of secondary school. We suggest that the origin of this can be found in contextual factors (e.g. cohort effects) as well as the fast lexical development of the late starters in the early stages of FL learning.

Keywords Age factor · Working memory · Input · Retention · Recall

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1 Introduction and Goals

The investigation on which this paper focuses is part of a large-scale longitudinal project, undertaken in Switzerland between 2009 and 2016, which analyzes unexplored issues regarding the effects of age of onset (AO) in relation to the learning of English which emerge in the course of secondary school. In this chapter, we home in on the question of how early and late FL learners use new target language (TL) input to produce sentences by investigating the possible relationships among the reconstructive nature of some memory processes, AO, and TL proficiency in terms of the effects that these factors have on how much of the TL input learners can accurately retain and recall. On the basis of the assumption that learners with higher levels of TL proficiency are better able to process and retain TL input (see e.g., Jarvis, 2015) our research considers the question of whether early starters make more accurate use of available English input than late starters when producing argumentative essays. Specifically, does AO (and co-occurring length of TL instruction) affect the path from input to comprehension to recreation and production? The evidence will show that such influence is strong, but only in the short run.

2 Background to the Study

2.1 The Optimal Age Debate

Discussion concerning the age-related dimensions of the learning of additional languages has been a prominent feature of both classroom-oriented and naturalistic second language acquisition research. The issue of the starting age for L2 (second/foreign language) learning has attracted a considerable amount of attention from SLA researchers and language teachers alike. Research focusing on (1) whether younger learners learn L2 faster or slower than older learners and (2) the proficiency level eventually attained by early starters relative to that attained by late starters indicates that the patterns identified in the naturalistic setting do not necessarily correspond to those identified in the classroom setting.

Findings concerning the age factor in naturalistic settings speak in favour of an early start to L2 learning in these settings. Subjects with several years' naturalistic experience of their L2 whose exposure to the L2 began early in childhood generally tend to outperform those whose exposure began later. Even though there is an initial rate advantage on the part of older starters in naturalistic settings, robust and longstanding findings point to a tendency towards an eventual long-term advantage on the part of younger starters (Hyltenstam, 1992; Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979; Patkowski, 1980). Worth attending to in this connection is the fact that within the naturalistic context the younger = better tendency is just that—a tendency. It is not the case that *everyone* who begins an L2 in childhood in an informal setting

ends up with a perfect command of the language in question (Montrul, 2006); nor is it the case that those naturalistic learners who begin the L2 later in life inevitably fail to attain the levels reached by younger beginners (Kinsella & Singleton, 2014).

Research in formal instructional L2 learning settings has confirmed the finding relating to the initial faster rate of older starters (e.g. Álvarez, 2006; Cenoz, 2003; Mora, 2006), but has not confirmed the long-term benefits of an early start when younger and older starters have had the same number of hours of instruction (Muñoz, 2006, 2008; Náves, 2009). Classroom studies in a range of countries have shown not only a rate advantage for late starters over early starters but also very few linguistic advantages to beginning the study of a foreign language earlier in a minimal input (i.e., normal instructional) situation (see e.g. Larson-Hall, 2008; Muñoz, 2011; Myles & Mitchell, 2012; Unsworth, de Bot, Persson, & Prins, 2012). Actually, such negative findings regarding the effects of early instruction go back a long way. Thus the idea of introducing L2 instruction into primary schools in the 1950s and 1960s was dealt a severe blow by the findings of research in the 1970s (Burstall, Jamieson, Cohen, & Hargreaves, 1975; Carroll, 1975; Oller & Nagato, 1974), which cast doubt on the capacity of early instruction to deliver higher proficiency levels as compared with later instruction.

Some recent studies that have conducted comparisons of long-term results (Al-Thubaiti, 2010; Harada, 2014; Huang & Chang, 2015) have found that starting age does not have as strong an influence as amount and type of input. Even in situations of total immersion in the target language, an early start does not confer the kinds of advantage one might expect. Immersion students who experience intensive exposure much later are apparently able to catch up in reading and writing skills, and lexical and grammatical knowledge (Genesee, 1987, 2004; Harley, 1986).

2.2 *Impact of Starting Age on Retention and Recall of Target Language Input*

Myriad studies on the cognitive construction during recall of linguistic input (be it written or spoken) have propounded that productions in response to linguistic input involve more than just mimicking the input: changes in the repetitions from the input that language learners have experienced show that such input is not so much copied as reconstructed. For instance, in assessing empirical work on repetition in child language research, Slobin and Welsh (1973) conclude that "sentence recognition and imitation are filtered through the individual's productive linguistic system" (p. 496). In a discussion of both L1 and L2 research, Natalicio (1979) likewise stresses that repetition and dictation require "the full comprehension and production processes—the internalized grammar of expectancy" (p. 169). For Natalicio and for Slobin and Welsh, the products evident in dictation and repetition tasks often reflect comprehension processes, and the errors seen in the products can offer insights about how the developing language system interacts with what learners understand.

Processing and retaining new TL input is a complex and difficult process, as the reader must first decode the letters, phonemes and words in a text and then interpret and hold in working memory (WM) the meanings of the propositions that have been decoded from the surface level; then the reader must apply their world knowledge to make sense of the individual propositions and finally understand subtle contextual meanings and infer information that is not directly stated (Rai, Loschky, Harris, Peck, & Cook, 2011, pp. 188–189).

There are of course many important factors that determine whether TL input will be apperceived, whether apperceived input will be comprehended, whether comprehended input will become intake, and so forth (Jarvis, 2015). In the realm of transfer, Odlin (2015) examined how often and how accurately Finnish speakers make use of available L2 input compared to Swedish speakers when producing written descriptions of a silent film in English. Swedish speakers, whose L1 is related to English, appeared to be able to remember the titles from the film better than the Finnish speakers, whose L1 is unrelated to English. This finding is in line with what Ringbom (2006) has said about how cross-linguistic similarity enhances comprehension.

Another prominent factor at work is the learners' prior language knowledge, which not only includes their knowledge of the L1 but also what they have already acquired in the TL. According to Jarvis (2015), we know that "learners with higher levels of TL proficiency are better able to process and retain TL input" (p. 31). One reason is that executive WM resources are less taxed when FL proficiency is higher (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Service, Maury, & Luotoniemi, 2002; Van Den Noort, Bosch, & Hugdahl, 2006). In other words, TL proficiency affects how efficiently and effectively a learner can process and retain TL input in WM—although WM capacity may also produce these effects (e.g., Goo, 2010; Kormos & Sáfár, 2008; Rai et al., 2011).

From the above we would predict that late FL learners (with less instructional time and thus lower proficiency level and fewer WM resources) will have lower accuracy and retention scores during recall of linguistic input than early learners. How long the early starters can profit from their advantage, however, is an open empirical question.

3 This Study

3.1 Subjects

The present study is part of a larger investigation conducted in Switzerland between 2008 and 2016 on the effects of age and age-related factors. 200 Swiss secondary school students (89 males and 111 females) took part in the longitudinal component of this project; they were tested at the beginning and at the end of academically oriented high school when they were 13 and 18 years old respectively. Table 1 shows information about the subjects.

Table 1 Subjects participating in the study

Group	Number of subjects	Age at time of testing (mean)	Age of onset (year of starting EFL)	Length of instruction (years)	Length of instruction (h)
ECL_1	100	13–14 (13;8)	8–9 (2)	5.5	440
LCL_1	100	13–14 (13;4)	13–14 (7)	0.5	50
ECL_2	100	18–19 (18;8)	8–9 (2)	10.5	1,170
LCL_2	100	18–19 (18;9)	13–14 (7)	5.5	730

Note ECL_1 = early classroom learners at Time 1; ECL_2 = early classroom learners at Time 2; LCL_1 = late classroom learners at Time 1; LCL_2 = late classroom learners at Time 2

The participants belonged to two AO groups: the early classroom learners (henceforth ECLs) were instructed according to the new model and learned Standard German from first grade onwards, English from 3rd grade onwards and French from 5th grade onwards, while the late classroom learners (LCLs) were instructed according to the older system without any English exposure at primary level, learning only Standard German from first grade and French from 5th grade onwards. At no point were early starters mixed with late starters in the same class. The two groups were controlled for L1 (Swiss German), additional FLs learned (Standard German, French), SES, teaching method and weekly hours of EFL instruction received. The 200 learners were nested within 12 classes that were nested within five schools in the canton of Zurich. Given that they had the same biological age, both groups can be taken to have had attained broadly the same state of neurological and cognitive development and the same level of L1 proficiency. Thus, neither learner group can be said to have been characterized by cognitive advantages, which is imperative in a study where test-taking is the main measure.

However, at the beginning of secondary school, the ECLs were at an advantage with respect to their knowledge of TL vocabulary. In a pre-test (see Pfenninger, 2014) we found that the ELCs had significantly higher scores on a receptive vocabulary task (Schmitt, Schmitt and Clapham's (2001) Versions A and B of Nation's Vocabulary Levels Test) and measures of written lexical richness (Guiraud Index). Five years later, these differences between the two AO had disappeared.

3.2 Task and Procedure

The first test series was administered after six months of EFL in secondary school, that is, after 440 h (ECLs) and 50 h of instruction (LCLs) respectively. The second data collection took place five years (680 h) later, briefly before the learners graduated. In this paper, we will examine written production data. In one of the written production tasks, the participants were asked to write an English argumentative essay on the pros and cons of (reality TV) talent shows, a topic that was deemed suitable for adolescents and was found to elicit different semantic and syntactic contexts (see Pfenninger, 2011, 2013).

Just before the argumentative essay task at Time 1 our subjects were presented with the following title for approximately one minute on OHP: "Casting shows—Career opportunity or public humiliation?" Since it was assumed that the learners would be familiar with words such as *opportunity* and *humiliation* by the end of secondary school, the prompt read as follows five years later at the second data collection time: "Casting shows—the fine line between exultation and human debasement". Instead of avoiding learners' use of words and syntactic structures from the title because of the strong possibility that this might simply reflect their memory of the language they were exposed to during the task rather than being generated from their own knowledge of the target language (see Jarvis, 2015), we specifically focused on the participants' ability to remember words and chunks from the title, on the basis of the idea that learners' prior language knowledge has an effect on how well they are able to analyze and make use of L2 input (e.g., Gass, 1997). We made sure that (1) the number of words in the title was not too large (see Natalicio, 1979 for a discussion of this) and (2) some of the words were familiar (*casting shows, public* and *career* at Time 1, and *casting shows, fine line,* and *human* at Time 2), while others were new (*opportunity* and *humiliation* at Time 1, and *exultation* and *debasement* at Time 2); i.e. the learners had no receptive understanding of what the unfamiliar words mean, and these nouns were not part of their productive vocabulary. Upon being presented with the title of the essay the students were informed about the meaning of the words, and they were encouraged to use the words in the essays. It has to be mentioned that despite the fact that the examiner 'gave' subjects everything required for complete and accurate responses, deviations from model stimuli regularly occur, and these deviations often follow systematic patterns which in turn tell us a great deal about the learner's transitional language competence (Natalicio, 1979, p. 169). Furthermore, even though the participants did not have to make inferences about the missing connections between separate propositions in the prompts, they had to demonstrate their contextual knowledge of the chunks in question by incorporating them in appropriate context. In so doing they had to call upon their general, non-linguistic knowledge of the world. They also had to allocate much attention to overall planning processes owing to the lack of pre-task planning and the lack of a clear inherent macrostructure of the task (argumentative essays do not have a clear beginning, development/time sequence and conclusion compared to narrative essays), which increased the processing burden and made it difficult for them to allocate attention to more local problems in their writing (e.g. language form) in a sustained manner (see Skehan & Foster, 1999).

3.3 Method

In the analysis we then counted and analyzed cases where the information given by the student indicated a use of the particularities of the title. As for the statistical analyses, we used multilevel modeling (a subgroup of linear mixed effects

regression modeling), which is an attractive option for our data analysis, considering that the classes and schools that students come from represent another set of clusters in our data that we had to take into account in order to make accurate statistical inferences (see Cunnings, 2012; Cunnings & Finlayson, 2015; Pfenninger & Singleton, accepted). We used R (R Development Core Team 2014) and *lme4* (Bates, Maechler & Bolker, 2014) to perform multilevel analyses of the relationship between AO and TL achievement, using restricted maximum likelihood. Fixed effects included main effects of AO and time as well as the interaction between AO and time. We later added fixed effects for class size and the scores on the receptive and productive vocabulary tasks. Visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious deviations from homoscedasticity or normality. Random intercepts for classes and schools were included, as were random slopes for time varying by students, classes and schools, using a maximal random effects structure. We used log-likelihood ratio tests to test whether the inclusion of an additional model parameter improved model fit in comparison to a less complex model without the parameter. Statistical significance was assessed by calculating *p*-values based on likelihood ratio tests. Given the lack of degrees of freedom with mixed models, we refrain from reporting df.

4 Results

The first step in analyzing the learner-supplied information in the titles was to determine who used the title information at all. In general, the words of the title made an impression on many learners who attempted to quote them or to use at least some of the words in reported speech, as Table 2 shows.

Table 2 Information from title used or not by numbers of ECLs versus LCLs

	Time 1		Time 2	
	ECL_1 (%)	LCL_1 (%)	ECL_2 (%)	LCL_2 (%)
Used	88	59	96	93
Not used	12	41	4	7

What is more, there were age-related differences at Time 1: in the case of the LCLs only 59 % reproduced the words of the title verbatim, compared to 88 % of the ECLs who managed to reproduce the words of the title. At Time 2, the results for the two AO groups look more or less the same.

Table 3 gives examples of the reproductions with grammatical and mechanical errors of the information in "Casting shows: Career opportunity or public humiliation" (Time 1) and "Casting shows—the fine line between exultation and human debasement" (Time 2) respectively.

At Time 1, 91 % of the errors in the ECL data and 88 % in the LCL data were produced on unfamiliar words (*opportunity* and *humiliation*). One indication that the

Table 3 Inaccurate reproductions of the title (mean and SD)

Type of error	Example	Time 1		Time 2	
		ECLs	LCLs	ECLs	LCLs
Spelling errors (incl. capitalization)	1. *Casting Shows are on one part career oportinitys and other public humilitation.* (07_EL61_M_ARGw) 2. *Public humiliaton* (07_EL14_F_ARGw) 3. *Public humiliatio* (07_LL05_M_ARGw) 4. *Career opporunity* (07_LL83_M_ARGw)	0.87 (1.02)	1.58 (1.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Semantic errors	5. *At Saturday's i watch sometimes with the famili "The X Factor". My sister watches "Germany's Next Topmodel". My father watches Public humiliation.* (07_LL76_M_ARGw) 6. *But the opunity that you are the looser and that it's a public humilation is bigger than the opunity that you win, and have a career opunity.* (07_LL57_F_ARGw)	0.19 (0.39)	0.46 (0.66)	0.10 (0.36)	0.08 (0.28)
Translations	7. *I think "Die grössten Schweizer Talente" was not a good idea. I have watched this and it was terribel. That was a Demütigung.* ['humiliation'] (07_EL61_M_ARGw)	0.09 (0.29)	0.10 (0.30)	0.02 (0.14)	0.04 (0.20)
Communication strategies	8. *It's a way of having career* (for *career opportunity*) (07_LL32_M_ARGw) 9. *casting shows are so popular because some people blame themselves in public* (for *public humiliation*; from German *blamieren* 'embarrass yourself') (07_EL02_M_ARGw)	0.44 (0.83)	1.38 (1.44)	0.05 (0.22)	0.07 (0.26)
Wrong article usage	10. *While it can be career oportunity for the winner, a lot of them are forgotten after a little while.* (07_LL14_M_ARGw)	0.32 (0.51)	0.77 (0.99)	0.05 (0.22)	0.03 (0.17)
Errors concerned with lexical categories	11. *You will cry a lot of tears, when Heidi Klum humilitation you and the chance to be the Germanys next top model is very small so circa one to hundred.* (07_LL42_F_ARGw) 12. *We can be after a show very public humiliaton and successful but we often wird bloss gestellt.* (07_LL22_M_ARGw) 13. *It's all very ppunity.* (07_EL35_M_ARGw)	0.52 (0.77)	1.34 (1.33)	0.02 (0.14)	0.03 (0.17)

ECLs and LCLs made different use of the information is the different rates of occurrence of spelling errors (examples (1)–(4), $\beta = 0.70 \pm 0.27$, $t = 2.60$, $p = 0.013$*), semantic errors (examples (5)–(7), $\beta = 0.26 \pm 0.11$, $t = 2.35$, $p = 0.022$*), and communication strategies (examples (8)–(9), $\beta = 0.94 \pm 0.17$, $t = 5.65$, $p < 0.001$**). ECLs and LCLs also differed significantly in the use of (incorrect) definite and zero articles (example (10), $\beta = 0.43 \pm 0.17$, $t = 2.52$, $p < 0.016$*). There were 61 references with a zero article in the LCLs (which might correctly reproduce the zero article in the title but is ungrammatical in a full sentence), thus about 29 % of the total 212 articles, while there were 16 references with a definite article (8 %) and 135 references with an indefinite article (the correct article choice), and thus about 64 % of the total. In the ECLs, errors with a zero article constituted 11 % of the total, while definite articles constituted 5 %. The percentages of tokens showing the correct indefinite article are larger: 84 %. As Table 3 indicates, the ECLs far more often produced the correct indefinite article in the same references and their sentences rarely show errors involving either definite articles or zero articles. Given the learners' L1, their partial or complete incomprehension is not attributable to L1 influence. It is unlikely that these learners have not yet understood the meaning difference between *a* and *the* (see also Pfenninger, 2013). The incomprehension seems to arise from insufficient awareness of the new items, i.e., the omission of the in/definite article by several LCLs suggests that they did not understand the meaning of *humiliation* and/or *opportunity* and/or their syntactic status as nouns. On the one hand, this hypothesis is supported by the analysis of errors concerned with lexical categories: the LCLs used those nouns as verbs or adjectives significantly more often than the ECLs. On the other hand, the scores on the receptive vocabulary task[1] and the written productive vocabulary task[2]—which yielded an advantage for the ECLs at Time 1 (see above)—had a significant impact on the learners' retention scores (except for translations). In light of the fact that at Time 2, we did not find any age-related differences with respect to receptive and productive vocabulary anymore, it is not surprising that none of the results of our reproduction task here revealed significant between-group differences at Time 2.

Table 4 then shows how AO influences the change in proficiency over time, i.e. the interaction of "AO" and "Time" in the model.

[1]Spelling errors: $\beta = 0.35 \pm 0.12$, $t = 2.26$, $p = 0.023$*; semantic errors: $\beta = 0.63 \pm 0.22$, $t = 6.41$, $p < 0.001$**; translations: $\beta = 0.004 \pm 0.003$, $t = 0.74$, $p = 0.682$; communication strategies: $\beta = 0.41 \pm 0.12$, $t = 6.07$, $p < 0.001$**); wrong article usage: $\beta = 0.40 \pm 0.11$, $t = 3.99$, $p = 0.004$**; lexical categories: $\beta = 0.39 \pm 0.11$, $t = 2.09$, $p = 0.045$*.

[2]Spelling errors: $\beta = 0.30 \pm 0.17$, $t = 2.42$, $p = 0.002$**; semantic errors: $\beta = 0.39 \pm 0.12$, $t = 2.55$, $p = 0.008$**; translations: $\beta = -0.003 \pm 0.01$, $t = -0.37$, $p = 0.641$; communication strategies: $\beta = 0.59 \pm 0.11$, $t = 2.79$, $p = 0.035$*; wrong article usage: $\beta = 0.17 \pm 0.12$, $t = 3.11$, $p = 0.003$**; lexical categories: $\beta = 0.21 \pm 0.14$, $t = 2.70$, $p = 0.010$*.

Table 4 Impact of AO on growth

	Estimate ± *SE*	*t*	*p*
Spelling errors	−0.71 ± 0.16	−4.48	<0.001**
Semantic errors	−0.31 ± 0.01	−3.45	0.001**
Translations	0.01 ± 0.005	0.21	0.835
Communication strategies	−0.94 ± 0.17	−5.57	<0.001**
Wrong article usage	−0.48 ± 0.11	−4.18	<0.001**
Errors concerned with lexical categories	−0.80 ± 0.15	−5.20	<0.001**

Table 4 shows that in the long run, growth was clearly influenced by AO in favor of the late starters for all measures except for translations. In other words, the late starters made more progress within a shorter period of time, as illustrated in Fig. 1 for spelling errors.

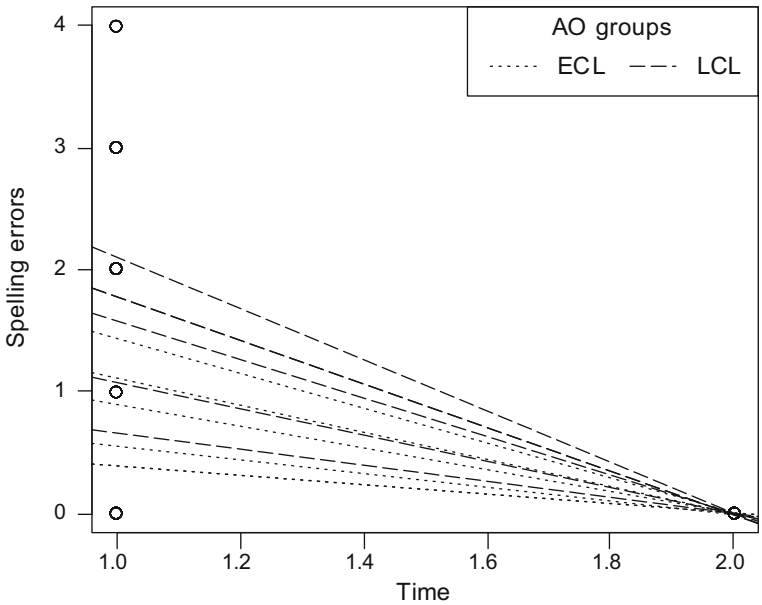

Fig. 1 Growth of the written production of spelling errors for the 12 classes

The slopes for the six late AO classes (long-dash lines) are much stronger than the slopes for the six early AO classes (dotted lines), which reflects the fast progress of the LCLs. What is more, while the LCLs did not produce more translations, they used significantly more communication strategies (circumlocution) to get the meaning across. Finally, in contrast to the ECLs, who occasionally took risks by

attempting to create a verb out of the provided nouns (e.g. *lots of singers just humilate themselves* (07_LL61_M_ARGw)), none of the LCLs produced such conversions.

The learners' performance was also heavily influenced by clustering effects across all six measures. In other words, classroom effects such as class size raised or lowered the outcome for a given classroom, as Fig. 2 shows for spelling errors.

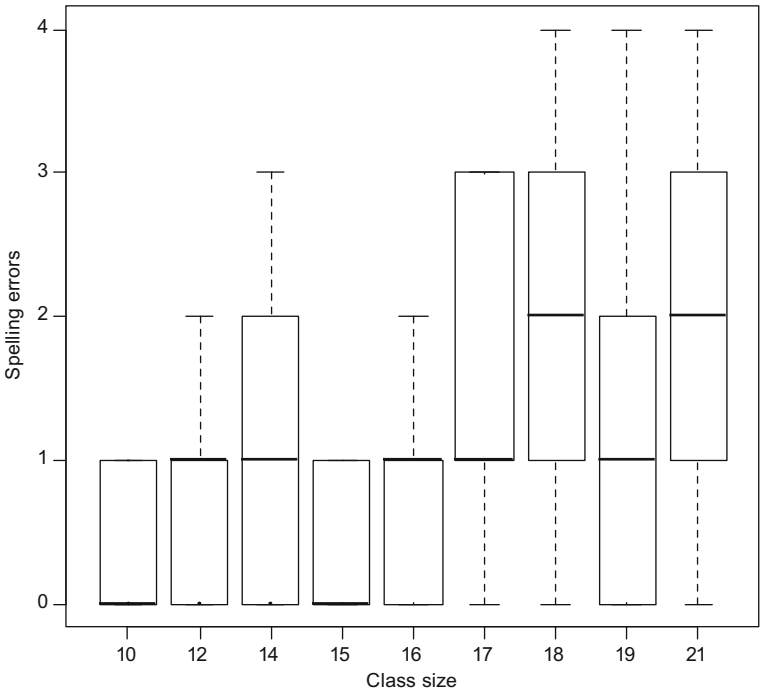

Fig. 2 Impact of class size on written spelling errors at Time 1 (β = 0.13 ± 0.03, t = 5.10, $p < 0.001$**)

As becomes evident from Fig. 2, the larger the classes the less accurate the reproduction is. Across all measures, we found significant random effects, i.e. between-class differences, as Fig. 3 illustrates.

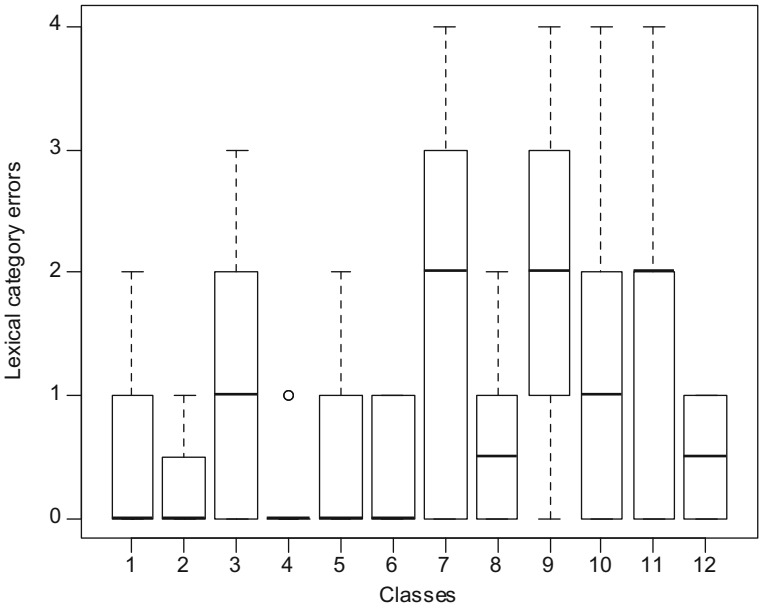

Fig. 3 Variation across classes for errors concerned with lexical categories (variance = 0.17, SD = 0.41, p = 0.002*)

5 Discussion

The main empirical findings of this small analysis involve the different patterns of reproduction of the same target language input at the beginning of secondary school, with the different patterns reflecting differences between ECLs and LCLs. These patterns include:

1. The ECLs did better in reproducing the title of the task.
2. There were also significant differences in the production of spelling errors between the two AO groups.
3. There were fewer cases of errors involving articles among the ECLs in contrast to frequent errors among the LCLs, for instance in the inappropriate use of definite articles and zero articles.
4. There was greater (incorrect) use of the target nouns as verbs and adjectives among the LCLs.

The ECLs also showed a greater tendency to take risks in terms of their larger number of attempts to use and incorporate the chunks in question, while the LCLs tended to avoid them more frequently. Although the source of avoidance is in dispute, there is a general consensus (see e.g., Ringbom, 2006) that learners avoid using a certain word or chunk because they do not feel at ease using it. Gass and Selinker (2008) suggest that avoidance is a common L2 strategy used when a

syntactic construction is recognizably beyond one's reach. Arguably because the LCLs had to expend considerable processing resources simply to decode the surface levels besides holding in WM the meanings of the propositions, there were fewer WM resources left to understand their grammatical relationships and attend to details in their form (e.g. spelling), thus making the repetition task even more challenging. In contrast to the LCLs, who had only had six months of EFL instruction, the ECLs could profit from their extended learning period of 5.5 years—if only temporarily.

The error patterns are also consistent with a general proficiency interpretation in the area of lexico-semantics at the beginning of secondary school in that the many errors in the LCLs reflect their poorer lexical knowledge at Time 1. Thus, years of study aided in comprehension of the title at Time 1 in that it proved helpful in processing target language input and avoiding errors in production. For the LCLs, the shortness of the EFL instruction time (six months) seems to have impeded processing and to have occasioned more errors. Also, as with earlier research on dictation and repetition testing (see e.g. Natalicio, 1979; Rai et al., 2011), the results in this investigation do not support any claim that reproducing titles involves just mimicry. For instance, the nature of the errors point to the constructive nature of comprehension processes as well as the very complex issues of memory.

However, we have to be careful not to make strong claims about whether these effects are to be understood more in terms of short-term memory, WM or long-term memory. As in the case of narrative tasks, which are often used in analyses of cognitive construction during recall of linguistic input, the demands for recall exceed normal short-term memory (STM) capacities in an argumentative task, in contrast to regular dictation and repetition tasks, where much of the performance depends on STM capacities (see e.g. Odlin, 2015). The recall of the words of the essay title would be affected not only by the students' planning and organizing content but also by the intervals given to students to write their compositions (20 min)—although Odlin (2015, p. 222) cautions that "perhaps a learner's retention of the title information remains in working memory for a longer period than what a conventional model of STM might predict".

6 Conclusion

In sum, the results of the analysis indicate that (1) the attempts at using words or paraphrases are often not successful in verbatim accuracy, but virtually every attempt offers insights (similar to the results in Odlin, 2015); (2) reproducing the information of the title is more than mere parroting of the words; and (3) there are in fact considerable differences between the two AO groups at Time 1: arguably because of their higher level of lexical proficiency (as measured by three productive and receptive vocabulary tasks), the ECLs were able to retain a good deal more of the TL input in memory than the LCLs were. However, these differences have been washed out over the course of secondary school. We suggest that the origin of this

can be found in cohort effects (vast between-class differences) as well as the fast lexical development of the late starters in the early stages of FL learning, as a consequence of which L1 and FL interference decreased in the late AO data within a shorter period of time (6 years) than in the early AO data (11 years).

As the FL became more automatized for the LCLs (and their vocabulary increased) during secondary school, it required fewer central executive resources, thus leaving more WM resources available. Considering the high impact of lexical proficiency on input retention, the disappearance of age effects over the period of five years is likely to be due to the fact that the LCLs managed to catch up to lexical performance of the ECLs. The reasons for their faster learning rates are manifold (see Pfenninger & Singleton, in prep.), but the significant role that the random effects played in the model indicates that we have to continue our quest in the realm of social, personal and affective variables, such as motivation, that have been found to be under the influence of situational variables (e.g. classroom effects).

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Studying English in Senior Years: A Psycholinguistic Perspective

Anna Niżegorodcew

Abstract The objective of the present paper is to provide psycholinguistic profiles of senior students attending a course of English as a foreign language at a Third Age University. The analysis consists of the teacher's reflections on the course, and the participants' accounts of their life experiences in foreign language learning, as well as of their motivation to study English in senior years. The analysis of the accounts and the teacher's reflections indicate that senior students are differentiated both in terms of the length and intensity of studying English as well as in their cognitive strengths. However, their motivation to study English has a common thread, which is senior students' desire to socialize and to take advantage of their knowledge and experience.

Keywords Third age education · Senior students' profiles · Teaching English to senior students · Senior students' needs

1 Introduction

Senior students have become recently a popular foreign language instruction target in Poland. The first monograph book on teaching foreign languages to senior students was published in Poland only 3 years ago (Jaroszewska, 2013). A detailed description given by Jaroszewska of an intensive course of German as a foreign language (GFL) for international senior students in Germany provides invaluable information on how people in their late adulthood approach language learning and what foreign language instructors teach them. Other Polish quantitative studies concerning teaching students in their adulthood and late adulthood (Kucharska, 2011; Łęska, 2011) provide a more fragmented and less positive picture of the foreign language learning process in senior years than in the case of Jaroszewska's extensive study.

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The aim of this paper is to compare Jaroszewska's international senior students' descriptive data from a GFL course with my small scale descriptive data from an English as a foreign language (EFL) course for Polish senior students. My EFL course for senior students at the intermediate level of proficiency was conducted at a Third Age University (TAU) in one of the big Polish cities in the academic year 2014/15. The students provided additional data in their oral and written accounts concerning foreign language study motives and challenges they faced in studying English in senior years.

The term "senior student" may mean a middle aged person (so-called 50+) or a person well over 60. For the sake of convenience, the term is used here to denote a person who has joined a foreign language course organized specially for people in their late adulthood.

Reflecting on the available data, one can pose the question to what extent and in what respects teaching seniors is, or rather should be, different from teaching other age groups. In my opinion, the answers to this query should be based, firstly, on senior students' specific needs, resources they can draw on and opportunities they face as distinguished from other age groups' needs, resources and opportunities. Secondly, the specificity of teaching senior students should also involve the realization that they have different aims and require different means to achieve them from those relevant in teaching other adult students. Finally, teaching senior students may be compared to teaching young students, in the sense that the teacher should depend on the students' capabilities and strengths to a much greater extent than is the case in teaching younger adults.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, mostly based on Jaroszewska's research, senior students' cognitive and affective needs in foreign language study are briefly analyzed. Following it, senior students' capabilities are outlined, with a special focus on their strengths and weaknesses in foreign language learning. Next, the teaching approaches described by Jaroszewska in the observed international GFL course are discussed. In the second part of the paper, on the basis of the described EFL course for senior students, my teaching approach is outlined and psycholinguistic profiles of a few senior students are provided. The concluding remarks stress the role of teaching foreign languages to senior students with reference to the Lifespan Learning Model (Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 2006), as well as in the context of demographic and social changes in the contemporary Polish society.

2 Polish Senior Students' Needs

Apart from the descriptive data based on her observational study in Germany, Jaroszewska (2013, pp. 257–261) provides extensive survey data on Polish senior students' expectations and motivation in foreign language study. Her population of

senior students under research was very large (2145 participants) and heterogeneous in terms of age (from 48 to 94 years) and institutions in which language courses were organized (52 different institutions). Most frequent answers given by the respondents to the questions concerning senior students' motivation and expectations stress the role of foreign language study for the preservation of intellectual skills and its usefulness in travelling abroad and communicating with family and friends abroad. These most popular explicitly stated reasons why senior students join language courses organized by Third Age Universities (TAU) and other similar institutions indicate two underlying motives. Firstly, senior people realize that in order to preserve intellectual skills they need to practice them, secondly, they would like to take more advantage of travelling abroad by being able to use local languages and to be able to communicate with members of one's family and friends living abroad. In other words, senior people have a strong need to be active, both mentally and physically. There are also other strong social and affective motives for joining language courses senior students realize, such as filling in the time they have at their disposal after retirement and socializing with other people at a similar age.

The respondents also claim that they have joined courses of the languages they studied in the past. However, the data show that a great number of senior students who are studying English and German at present did not learn these languages in the past. Conversely, very few of those who had to study Russian in the past have joined courses of Russian in their senior years.

How can senior students meet the above needs in foreign language courses? In this respect, the respondents are realistic, underlining factors which help them study and those which interfere in the process. Interestingly, in the eyes of the senior students, it is the teacher who is the most significant factor in the language study process since it depends on the teacher how the process is organized, what skills are practiced, what is the rate of the activities and how many times the learning material is reiterated. The students also appreciate the support of the group in which they study, which should not be too numerous and should be approximately of the same age.

Thus, senior students' answers show both their cognitive and affective needs in the foreign language learning process. They would like to meet the cognitive needs in using their memory in language learning and overcoming limitations stemming from age they perceive in their intellectual functioning, such as the impairment of sight and hearing and a general decrease of intellectual abilities. The affective needs seem to be even more significant. Senior students have more time at their disposal after retirement, they may feel redundant and marginalized. Foreign language study, as other Third Age University courses, helps them feel younger and more active. They look for such forms of activity which would let them socialize with other active people at their age. It seems that senior students' affective needs clearly demonstrated by Jaroszewska's respondents contradict one of the age categories which describes people over 50 as a "non-mobility age" generation.

3 Senior Students' Strengths and Weaknesses in Foreign Language Learning

The factor which naturally affects individual differences in language study by senior students is their age. While younger senior students, between 50 and 60, may not suffer yet from any limitations associated with aging, those over 60 usually face them. Drawing on Paul Baltes' Lifespan Model, Jaroszewska (2013) provides an exhaustive description of senior students' physiological and psychological characteristics, which are either conducive to foreign language study in late adulthood or which may interfere with the language learning process (pp. 84–87).

The Lifespan Model (Baltes et al., 2006) has become particularly useful as a theoretical basis for the lifelong learning policy propagated by the European Union, facing its aging population and social and demographic changes. According to Baltes' Model, selection and compensation strategies lead to human beings' optimal functioning during their whole lifespan. The negative effects of the inevitable aging process may be significantly slowed down if senior students take advantage of the knowledge and experience they have accumulated during their whole lifetime, in order to actively recreate their study objectives and to use optimal learning strategies. Such an approach is based on wisdom, which has traditionally been associated with the old age.

Thus, senior students' strengths and weaknesses depend not only, and not primarily on how old they are, but on their study objectives and learning strategies. The stress put on the whole lifespan makes the model particularly suitable in accounting for senior students' individual differences in foreign language study. While some people are able to select areas of optimal functioning in late adulthood to compensate for limitations stemming from aging, others use ineffective learning strategies and are not able to take advantage of experience. Apparently, the use of language learning strategies in the sense given to the concept in Oxford's (1990) or O'Malley and Chamot's (1990) classifications of strategies is not sufficient in a more holistic lifespan perspective, where individual differences are not considered as stable individual traits but rather they are studied in situations in which language learning takes place (Dörnyei, 2005).

Consequently, senior people who can take advantage of their experiences gained during their lives can optimize the language learning process by recreating their language study objectives. Such an approach to language study is a strength, while pursuing unrealistic goals which do not take into account psychophysiological limitations is a weakness. For instance, the students who study languages first of all in order to preserve intellectual skills and to affiliate with other people are more likely to find satisfaction in senior courses because they can meet their needs more easily than those who are primarily focused on high achievements in language learning. Unrealistic goals may also stem from purely instrumental motivation, such as willingness to communicate with members of one's family living abroad, coupled with the lack of interest in the target language and culture (Łęska, 2011).

Additionally, senior students who join foreign language courses usually have their own conceptions on language study, which cannot be easily altered since they are based on lifelong experiences and fixed strategies in language learning. For instance, senior students who became accustomed in former language courses to memorize lists of words, are reluctant to study vocabulary in context. In turn, those who translated every word into their mother tongue and learned grammar primarily according to the traditional grammar-translation method are unable to tolerate ambiguity and induce grammatical rules from particular instances of their use. Such ineffective fixed learning strategies characteristic of some senior students are their definite weaknesses and one of the reasons why teaching people in late adulthood is particularly challenging.

Obvious correlates of the involvement of senior people in language study are their relatively good health, good material status, as well as positive past experiences in foreign language learning and intercultural communication. Facilitation is to be expected among those senior students who have joined language courses because they have been interested in the target language and culture and those who have had frequent and satisfying intercultural experiences, including experiences in foreign language study and use.

Moreover, the factors which facilitate foreign language learning in senior years are certain personality characteristics, such as students' extroverted and risk-taking personalities, which are conducive to openness and coping with new experiences. On the other hand, introverted and risk-avoiding people find language study more challenging since they are less likely to open up to new experiences.

The above considerations concerning the language learning process in senior years must lead to the conclusion that differences between students in their early and middle adulthood, and senior students are more profound than it is usually admitted by teachers and students. As has been said, senior students, similarly to young learners, are a special group of students, whose strengths and weaknesses must be taken into account by the teachers to a much greater extent than in the case of teaching other adult learners.

4 Teaching GFL to International Senior Students

Although Jaroszewska (2013) carried out the above described large scale survey research on Polish senior students' language learning motivation and expectations, she did not describe foreign language teaching and learning in class in Polish settings. Instead, she supplemented the quantitative data obtained from Polish senior students by an account of an intensive GFL course for international senior students in Germany. The teaching process in two groups of senior students attending the course has been described and analyzed in detail. The groups were initially assessed on the basis of a placement test as, respectively, the A2 and B1

level. Each group was taught by a different native teacher. The 2-week course involved both regular classes (four 45 min classes per day) and optional activities.

Jaroszewska's daily analysis of her observation data provides invaluable information on methods and techniques used in teaching senior students. Apart from the analysis of the teaching process, the researcher provides psychological profiles of the participants, based on her observations and results of a questionnaire and language portraits she received from some of them.

The researcher also formulates critical remarks, which should be taken into account by any institutions and teachers involved in teaching senior people. Those insightful critical remarks deal not only with deficiencies in the language teaching process itself but also with inadequacies in the course setting, such as, for instance, the lack of lifts in the school building.

Let us analyze, on the basis of Jaroszewska's account, approaches to teaching GFL of the two teachers who were involved in the course. For the sake of convenience, the teacher of group A2 will be referred to as A, and the teacher of group B1 as B. Both were middle-aged women with quite a long experience in teaching German to foreigners. The difference between them was the experience in teaching senior students. While B had already had such experience, A had never taught senior people before the described course. The researcher describes B as an experienced teacher of senior students, who had designed her own teaching materials for students in late adulthood, while A is characterized as a novice in teaching senior students.

Both groups were heterogeneous, as far as age, proficiency in German and experience in foreign language learning are concerned. There were eight students who participated in course B1, half of them came from the United States and the remaining four from France, Italy, Great Britain and Japan. They had studied German as a foreign language for different periods of time and with different intensity. Some of them had relatives in Germany. Apart from German, they usually spoke at least one more foreign language, in the case of Americans it was Spanish or French, and in the case of the remaining students, English or French. One of the participants had studied six foreign languages and lived for longer periods of time in different foreign countries. One participant was bilingual (Greek/Italian).

As far as their proficiency in German is concerned, on the basis of her observations, the researcher assessed them as being on very different levels of proficiency, from A1 to C1. Nevertheless, they were all considered by the school as B1 students. It was probably done since the school had planned only two levels of proficiency—A2 and B1. The age of the students in group B1 ranged from 55 to 79 years. The majority of them were retired from different professions.

Group A2 was slightly more numerous since there were 12 students in it, half of them from the United States and the remaining ones from Great Britain, Norway, Italy, Canada and Japan. Similarly to group B1, they had studied German as a foreign language for different periods of time and with different intensity. Apart from German, most of them spoke at least one foreign language and two of them

more than one foreign language. In the case of Americans it was Spanish and French, one student declared that he spoke Spanish, French, Italian and Japanese (for family reasons). Two senior students from Canada were bilingual speakers of French and English, while the remaining Europeans spoke English as a foreign language and one person declared that she spoke fluently Greek (for family reasons), French, English and Russian.

Similarly to group B1, on the basis of her observations the researcher assessed senior students who joined the group as being on very different levels of proficiency, from A1 to B2. Nevertheless, they were all considered by the school as A2 students, including three students who were assessed on the basis of the placement test as more proficient than the A2 level but who insisted on being placed in group A2. The age of the students in group A2 ranged from 52 to 79. Most of them were retired, including a few former teachers.

What surprised the researcher the most was the lack of a course syllabus, integrated coursebooks and assessment procedures, which made great demands on the teachers' inventiveness. They were supposed to find the balance between teaching the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), as well as between teaching grammar and vocabulary and developing cultural awareness and communicative competence. In the absence of integrated coursebooks the teachers could rely on, they had to find appropriate teaching materials for their classes.

The researcher observed that teacher A developed mainly reading and writing skills, paid little attention to listening and speaking and focused primarily on teaching grammar. Although she declared that she followed the communicative approach, the researcher observed the opposite, particularly, the lack of speaking practice in pair-work, little reference to students' actual experiences and purely formal grammar practice. The teacher did not take advantage of numerous opportunities for authentic communication with native speakers. In consequence, some students from group A2 complained, especially as they were overburdened with grammatical home assignments, which even led to a nervous breakdown in the case of the oldest participant of the course.

Contrary to the above evidently ineffective teaching, teacher B focused mainly on the development of listening, speaking and reading skills. Although she paid considerable attention to the explicit teaching of grammar rules and grammar practice, she also introduced authentic communicative activities, while drawing on students' past experiences and real situations. The teacher participated in some optional activities accompanying the course, which enabled the students to communicate with native speakers and to become acquainted with the cultural heritage of the town in which the course was organized and its neighbourhood. All in all, B's teaching was described as fully professional and effective. The question remains, however, to what extent teaching can be called effective without its evaluation, since neither the students nor the instructors were assessed or self-assessed at the end of the course (pp. 191–203).

5 Teaching Polish Senior Students: An Action Research Study

5.1 Aim and Description of the Study: The Ordinary Course

As has been said, my small scale action research was inspired by Jaroszewska's qualitative research study. The aim of the action research study was to reflect on my EFL course for Polish senior students and to create psycholinguistic profiles of some selected students against the background of Jaroszewska's description of the GFL course for international senior students she observed in Germany. The course I conducted at a Third Age University in one of the big Polish cities in the academic year 2014/15 had been proposed as a conversational EFL course at the intermediate (B1/B2) level, to be taught for 75 min once a week for 25 weeks. After the course, five participants organized its continuation in the form of an intensive summer course, in which I taught them EFL for 6 h per day for 6 days. The following psycholinguistic profiles describe the students who participated in the intensive course. Their names have been changed.

Approximately 15 senior students joined the conversational EFL course without initial assessment of their proficiency (which is part of the TAU policy) and, as could have been expected, their proficiency levels varied, in my opinion from A1 to C1. Consequently, after a few meetings the class was divided into two proficiency levels, corresponding to B1 and C1 levels. I did not intend to conduct beginner and pre-intermediate courses since such courses were taught by other teachers. I assumed that the students themselves would be able to self-assess their proficiency in comparison with other students and would choose the appropriate group or move to groups taught by other teachers.

I chose the integrated skills coursebook *Global* at two levels of proficiency, intermediate B1 (Clanfield & Robb Benne, 2011) and advanced C1 (Clanfield & Jeffries, 2012) with the accompanying recordings. *Global* is a six-level course of English as an international language for adults, which integrates the development of language skills through interesting intercultural and scientific topics with focusing on grammar, vocabulary and language functions practice. I also chose the *Global* course since its topics are universal (e.g. Friends and Strangers, Law and Order, Love and Hate) and the course includes numerous short extracts from literature (e.g. from *The Hobbit* by JRR Tolkien, *White teeth* by Zadie Smith, *1984* by George Orwell, *Great expectations* by Charles Dickens, *Romeo and Juliet* by William Shakespeare).

My attempt to divide the students according to their proficiency in English was not fully successful since some students insisted either on staying at the higher level, even if their actual proficiency was lower, or on moving to a lower level although their proficiency was higher. In other words, I observed the same phenomenon Jaroszewska describes in her study, that senior students tended to choose the group in which they wished to learn rather for social and affective reasons than on the basis of their actual level of proficiency. On the other hand, the students who

were at a much lower level (A1/A2) and a few other students who did not attend the course regularly dropped out during the academic year. Consequently, it was necessary to combine the two groups in the second semester. Afterwards, since only two students seemed to be at the higher (B2/C1) level and they did not object to changing the coursebook, I taught all the remaining students in one group using the *Global* intermediate (B1) coursebook. Such a solution seemed justified since the majority of the students were satisfied and there was also a possibility of providing more difficult optional tasks for the higher level students.

On the basis of this experience I have come to the conclusion that teaching in a mixed ability group, not only in the sense of the students' individual differences, such as their heterogeneity described above, but also in the sense of teaching students at very different levels of target language proficiency, is one of the most characteristic features in teaching senior students, which seems to be inevitable. In consequence, the teacher should follow a flexible syllabus and use differentiated activities to match students' different abilities, preferences and proficiency levels.

As has been said, the primary aim of the course was the development of listening and speaking skills. Some reading and writing practice was also involved but reading and writing skills were to be developed individually in home assignments supporting oral practice, only to be presented in class. During the first meeting I asked the students about their expectations as far as the main focus of the course was concerned. Most of them, as I had assumed, expected the course to develop their speaking skills and vocabulary, there were also some students who preferred grammar practice. After a few meetings based on the coursebook texts and activities, I asked the students for their opinions on the content and form of them. All the opinions were very positive. The students particularly liked personalized activities in which they could refer to their knowledge and experience and I chose such activities from the coursebooks, omitting some others, which seemed less interesting (e.g. reading and writing activities about languages in Iran or about Caribbean English).

Apart from the literature extracts included in the *Global* course, I introduced some other literary pieces in two language versions, English and Polish, in order to make students aware of translation equivalents and to stimulate further discussion on interesting topics (e.g. the poem *Dar/Gift* by Czesław Miłosz, the first scene from *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare). The following discussions on feeling happy, in the case of Miłosz's poem, and on the celebration of Halloween, in the case of the scene with the three witches, involved different opinions expressed by nearly all students. I realized that senior students appreciated the activities in which they could read authentic pieces of literature and express their opinions on relevant topics.

With regard to the lack of student final or interim assessment, which was the policy of both the TAU and the German school, I agree with Jaroszewska that such an approach should be reconsidered. On the one hand, senior students may be discouraged when they realize that they make no progress or even that they regress. On the other hand, however, assessment plays not only summative but also a formative function. It may provide students with invaluable information on their

strengths and weaknesses in language study. Consequently, while teaching my TAU groups, I did not formally assess them but I regularly gave them feedback on their oral and written errors in their class and home assignments.

5.2 The Study Results: The Ordinary Course

The question arises in what way my students developed during the course, whether they acquired more English, in terms of structures and vocabulary, if they developed accuracy and fluency in English or whether they learned about other people, countries and phenomena through English. Another question arises if their social and affective needs were met.

Since the students were not formally assessed by means of written language tests, oral interviews or opinion surveys, the only way to assess their language development and to analyze their satisfaction from the course was to reflect on their language use and behavior in class, as well as to talk with them before and after classes. I observed that the students were generally willing to talk in English, even if they were aware of their grammatical and lexical errors. Those who were not willing to talk were either students on a low level of proficiency (A1/A2) or those who did not attend the course regularly.

There was also one participant who evidently was at a loss in class, she could not answer the teacher's questions and could not find the required teaching material in the textbook, although her proficiency level in her written home assignments seemed much higher. In consequence, she was either withdrawn or spoke in Polish. I tried to pair her with other students but she was not willing to co-operate with anybody. Probably her problems were due to her deteriorating health. Jaroszewska' description of the oldest participant of the German course corresponds with the observations of that senior student in my course.

As far as the students' accuracy was concerned, I was not able to observe any noticeable improvements in the correctness of spontaneous utterances. Some more proficient students insisted on more grammatical theory and practice, since, as they claimed, they needed them. I noticed that although the majority of the students were able to be accurate in form-focused tasks, in the case of one student even explicit grammar rules did not have any positive effects on the correctness of her answers in the following form-focused practice.

On the other hand, some improvement in fluency of some students' spontaneous utterances could be observed during the course, e.g., when they used the functional language which had been practiced earlier in class. Nevertheless, since such subjective observations are bound to be unreliable, I would not like to claim that their fluency was considerably developed as a result of the course. However, it might have been the case, especially if some of them had spent much more time studying at home.

A tentative conclusion which can be reached on the basis of my observations of senior students' progress during the course is that such a low intensity course

(75 min per week, 25 sessions per academic year), which corresponded to 3 units from the coursebook (out of 10), without obligatory assignments or assessment, cannot lead to high achievements in terms of acquiring considerably more English vocabulary and structures and developing accuracy and fluency matching a higher proficiency level than that before the course. It is probably possible to refresh the skills and proficiency level the students developed earlier (even much earlier) and to provide them with the sense of purposeful intellectual activity and agreeable social contacts.

As regards learning through English about the world, it is well known that senior people usually have quite an extensive knowledge in different fields, even if it is slightly outdated, particularly in their own former professional areas. In consequence they can easily draw on that knowledge in learning through English about familiar topics. I observed some of the students who were chemists easily grasp a difficult text on solar energy since they knew the subject. As far as the assessment of senior students' progress in this respect is concerned, short quizzes could be used as a way of assessing students' knowledge on a topic combined with the assessment of new vocabulary items. Another way of indirect evaluation of students' progress could be presentations prepared by particular students. Individual presentations were used by the teachers in the German school and the students enjoyed them.

Finally, as was found by Jaroszewska in her large scale survey study, socioaffective motives play a significant role in undertaking and continuing foreign language study in late adulthood. I did not ask my students directly if they enjoyed the course but the feedback I received from those who attended the course till the end ("we like the course and we like you, and that is why we would like to continue and attend the course you will be teaching next year"), as well as the feedback from the course organizer, showed that my course was effective in this respect. What I also observed were some friendships which were formed during the course. Some students joined the course as pairs of friends and, as was mentioned, wished to stay in one group with their friends even if their proficiency levels were different. Similarly, those who dropped out of the course were followed by their friends.

All in all, both the teacher's personality and her/his teaching techniques, as well as the rapport between the teacher and the students, and between particular students seem to be the most significant factors affecting the effectiveness of foreign language courses for senior students. The difference between the effectiveness in teaching foreign languages to adolescents and younger adults and teaching senior students consists in different criteria of effectiveness, the development of language proficiency in the former and the refreshment and preservation of the students' proficiency combined with meeting their socioaffective needs in the latter. As is the case with young learners, who are not able to achieve high levels of foreign language proficiency in formal settings but who can, nevertheless, benefit from the teaching/learning process, senior students' language learning is effective not in terms of the development of language proficiency but mainly when it maintains their intellectual skills and meets their socioaffective needs. Besides, obviously, some senior students may develop their language proficiency although the process is usually slower than in the case of younger students.

5.3 Aim and Description of the Study: The Intensive Course

Six of my senior students were willing to continue learning English after the ending of the regular course in the form of an intensive 6-day course. Finally, five of them participated in such a course, which was organized in a small tourist village on the Polish/Slovak border. The course involved 32 h of contact teaching, evening activities and students' individual assignments. In fact, the participants were immersed in the target language all the time, since English was also used during the meals and walks. The aim of the intensive course was to practice all language skills, with priority given to the speaking skill, to improve accuracy and fluency and to create an English speaking 'island', in which it would be possible to work on some intracultural projects. The idea of intracultural projects, that is, projects focused on one's own culture (in this case the Polish culture), was adopted from the intercultural project DICE: *Developing intercultural competence through English: Focus on Ukrainian and Polish cultures* (Niżegorodcew, Bystrov, & Kleban, 2011).

Consequently, I used various teaching materials focusing on interesting and relevant topics which enabled the students to talk in pairs and to give oral presentations, as well as to listen to native and non-native speaker recordings and to read various texts in order to answer comprehension questions, for further discussion and for writing practice. The following teaching materials were used in the course:

1. The *Global* intermediate coursebook (Clanfield & Robb Benne, 2011) Unit 4.
2. *Developing intercultural competence through English: Focus on Ukrainian and Polish cultures* (Niżegorodcew et al., 2011): Chap. 5.1 *A Ukrainian folk tale*, Chap. 7.1 *Gender roles* and Chapter 12 *Polish standards of politeness*.
3. *Typical errors in English: An essential guide to getting the language right* (Hartopp, 2014).
4. Photocopied materials (mini sagas, anecdotes, stories, poetry, songs) from various sources.
5. Students' intracultural projects.

Students' written projects were based on their research on aspects of the local culture. Projects were researched individually by particular students who had chosen the topics, worked on them throughout the course and presented them orally during the last session. Among the topics were: "Local food" (including local recipes), "With and without a border" (local problems following the Schengen Treaty) and "Local skiing facilities and infrastructure". The students planned to have the texts published as a souvenir book. I was to play the role of a proof-reader. The project is still in progress.

According to the TAU course policy, I did not formally assess the students' progress but I gave them feedback on their strengths and weaknesses. Likewise, the students gave me their feedback on the course. The opinions were very positive. Finally, the students received certificates of attendance with the specification of

types of practice and number of study hours. The teacher was also given a "diploma of recognition" by the students.

5.4 Results of the Study: Psycholinguistic Profiles of Senior Students

In my opinion, the intensive course met the students expectations since they were able to continuously engage in purposeful and motivating activities, in which they were given a considerable degree of autonomy. Besides, they practiced English in a small circle of supportive people they knew quite well from the regular course. Finally, the course was organized at a very attractive place and the accommodation was comfortable. All in all, it seems that intensive courses, when their participants stay together away from their daily routines and are able to focus all the time on target language study, are the best forms of senior student education, on condition, obviously, that they are well organized and taught by professionals. A similar opinion is also indirectly expressed in Jaroszewska's account.

The following student profiles have been drawn on the basis of my observations during the regular and the intensive course, the information from the students and from the TAU organizers.

Marek is 78. He is a retired university professor in the field of chemistry. He is the oldest and the most proficient participant of the course. He stresses that English is his "second language". He has been studying it "throughout his life". Apart from English, he studied Russian and German earlier in life and French for professional reasons later in life. He even lectured in French. He assesses his present proficiency in French as "very poor" and his command of Russian and German as purely "passive". As his main motivation to study English at the TAU, Marek points to "his fading memory" and his wish to "grasp all the opportunities to refresh" his proficiency in English.

In my opinion, Marek is a talented learner of foreign languages and studying four foreign languages during his lifespan must have helped him in mastering his most proficient language—English, which must be his favorite one. In spite of his claims that his memory is failing him, he uses correct English, demonstrating a very rich vocabulary knowledge and an accurate grammatical knowledge. He always tries to use sophisticated vocabulary, in consequence at times his language sounds bookish. He is also curious about the English language and he frequently enquires about the meaning of words and grammatical rules. He claims that he would mainly like to refresh his grammatical knowledge. Marek seemed to me to be at C1 level at the beginning of the regular course and I did not notice any further development in his high and stable proficiency during the intensive course. Probably he had already reached the peak of his abilities. Marek is a sociable and kind person. Since he is the only male student in the intensive course and the most proficient student in the

group he has a privileged position although he does not try to be the group leader. He attends the course together with his close friend (and a pet).

Barbara is 72. She is a retired judge. Her level of proficiency is quite high. She stresses that she is "in love with English". She also expresses her admiration for the teacher. She studied English at the secondary school for 4 years. She adds that she had a very good English teacher. Later she studied English during her university studies. In the 80s she spent 2 years in the United States and she worked there for some time at a bank. She also spent a couple of months in Scotland, staying at an aristocratic residence. Apart from English, she studied Russian for a long time at school and she assesses her proficiency in Russian as good. The third foreign language she learned was Serbo-Croatian. She learned it because she "loved that language". Later in the 90s, after the Balkan Wars, she used Serbian and Croatian as two separate languages when she worked in the Balkans. Barbara stresses affective reasons for her motivation to learn foreign languages. She studies English at the TAU to refresh her proficiency because she realizes that at her age she may forget it. The greatest challenge for her is English grammar.

Barbara is right in her judgement that she has some problems with correctness since she makes numerous grammatical errors. On the other hand, her spoken English is very fluent. She is the most fluent person in the intensive group but she is not always willing to speak, probably, because she is aware of her grammatical errors. In my opinion, her fluency places her at least at B2 level. However, her errors may lower her proficiency level.

Her fluency in English must be due to her staying and working in the past in English speaking countries. She may have also taken advantage of her past travels abroad and her proficiency in two other foreign languages. In Barbara's account, it is clear that emotions have played a considerable role in reaching high levels of proficiency in foreign language studies. Barbara is a kind and emotional person. She attends the course together with her close friend.

Zofia is 72. She is a lawyer. She started learning English when she was 3 years old. However, she was not taught very effectively. First, she had private lessons of French and English given by an impoverished aristocrat. Probably, the lady did not know how to teach foreign languages to children. From the age of 11, she learned Russian, which was an obligatory school subject, for 11 years. Later in her life, she visited the Soviet Union, where, according to her, she could easily communicate in Russian. In secondary school, she was taught English for 4 years by "a bad English teacher", who did not teach her much. Simultaneously, she started studying German, which she enjoyed, she frequently visited Germany and exchanged letters in German with a German girl. At the same time, also at the secondary school, she studied Latin and Italian, both for 4 years. Finally, as an adult she visited a few times Hungary and learned some Hungarian. She also studied Hebrew before her visit in Jerusalem. She claims that among all the foreign languages she has studied, her proficiency in German is the highest. She places her proficiency in English at a lower level than in Italian and Russian.

As could be expected from her foreign language learning account, Zofia's proficiency in English is low. In my opinion, she is at most at A2 level. It seems that

with such an impressive foreign language learning history, Zofia should have been able to develop effective language learning strategies to self-correct and compensate for her deficiencies in English. Yet, she does not take advantage of error correction. She does not seem to be able to self-assess her proficiency level in comparison with the group. She even believed at the beginning of the course that she should join the higher level. Similarly, she does not seem to realize that the grammatical structures in English and in Polish are different and she tries to translate word for word from Polish into English. She says that the greatest challenge for her is English grammar.

Zofia is an interesting case as far as foreign language learning is concerned. While speculating on the reasons for Zofia's deficiencies, I paid attention to what she said about her motivation in attending the TAU English course. She said that "English is an international language at present and all educated people in the 21st century should know English". In other words, her motivation is purely rational. She had never had a more personal attitude to the English language and English speakers.

Zofia plays the role of the group leader and she is very efficient as a manager. She is energetic and ambitious. It seems that those personality features may also make it difficult for her to realize what her actual level of proficiency is. She attends the course together with a close friend, who is at a much higher level of proficiency.

Maria is 63. She is a sociologist. She worked as a journalist and at present she works as an organizer of cultural events. Her account is very brief. She says that she learned English for some time from the age of 6 and that it was her grandfather who insisted that she should have private English lessons. Probably she stopped learning English when she started learning Russian (at the primary school, secondary school and university level) and German (at the secondary school level). She resumed studying English at university. She is not satisfied with her English proficiency and she has joined the TAU course to improve her speaking skills and develop her vocabulary. She has a good reason to study English since her two daughters stay in Ireland and she visits them from time to time. In my opinion, Maria's proficiency is at B1/B2 level.

Maria is an energetic and well-organized person. She is rather quiet in class but she does all her assignments and follows the teacher's corrections. During the intensive course, she seems to have developed to some extent her speaking skills. She can also write correctly her "Local food" project. She was to attend the intensive course with her friend, who resigned at the last moment for personal reasons. Maria socializes very well with the remaining students and the teacher.

Teresa is 62. She is an insurance agent. During her life she learned some German in her childhood and once she spent 2 months in Germany. Then, from the age of 9 she learned English privately and at primary and secondary school level, as well as during her university studies. She also learned Russian, as an obligatory subject, at school and at university. She believes that she has forgotten everything she learned in Russian. She visited Italy a number of times and picked up some Italian. At present she is pursuing her Italian studies at the Italian Culture Institute. Teresa would like to improve her English grammar and develop her speaking skills.

Teresa definitely developed her speaking skills during the intensive course. At the beginning she was reluctant to speak but after a few days, she spoke quite freely. In her case, the effects of the intensive language practice were most noticeable. It is difficult to say if those effects will be lasting. In the writing assignments, Teresa makes numerous spelling mistakes. They may be due to her dyslexia. In my opinion, Teresa is at B1/B2 level of proficiency in English.

Teresa is a kind and emotional person. It was visible that her behaviour changed during the intensive course. At first, she looked very shy. Later, when a good rapport was firmly established in the group of students, Teresa became more outgoing, which combined with her greater willingness to talk in English. She attended the course together with her close friend (and a pet).

6 Conclusion

It can be concluded that the senior students who took part in the intensive course are highly motivated to study English. The opinions expressed by them involve the preservation of intellectual skills, continuing the study of the language they studied for a long period of time and studying the language they like very much. They also study English because it is the most important language for international communication in the contemporary world and they would like to improve their English proficiency. My subjects did not explicitly say what they need English for. However, on the basis of their biographies, it can be speculated that they would like to take the opportunity created by the TAU EFL course to refresh their language skills, firstly, to communicate with English-speaking people abroad and in Poland, including their family members. Secondly, although they may not be fully aware of this motive, they would like to meet other people of their age and socialize with them. Both the explicitly expressed and implicit motives correspond with the main motives for joining foreign language courses given by the large population of Polish senior students researched by Jaroszewska (2013).

My students also expressed opinions that they would like to study English because they appreciate the teacher and her approach to teaching. Such a belief also corresponds with Jaroszewska's finding that the teacher is the most significant factor in language study since the whole language learning process depends on the teacher's skills and personality. In this respect, the specificity of teaching senior students reminds us of the specificity of teaching children. In both cases the teacher is of paramount importance for sustaining the students' motivation.

Indeed, internal motivation in the sense of the satisfaction derived from the activities which develop or maintain intellectual skills, as well as the feeling of satisfaction derived from social contacts with the teacher and other students seem to provide necessary affective conditions of foreign language study in senior years, notwithstanding its effectiveness in terms of the measurable growth of language proficiency. Such a measurable growth is not and should not be the main reason for organizing senior students' language courses.

It is beyond doubt that senior students' education, including foreign language teaching, should be developed in Poland because demographic and civilizational changes result in a greater and greater percentage of people over 60 who are able and willing to study. Their strengths and weaknesses do not depend primarily on how old they are, but on their language learning experiences, study objectives and learning strategies. The Lifespan Model may account for senior students' individual differences in foreign language study. Nevertheless, even if some senior people are better able to take advantage of earlier language learning experiences and to select areas of optimal functioning in late adulthood to compensate for limitations stemming from aging, there is no doubt that in principle nobody should be deprived of the opportunity to study a language or languages of their choice.

What follows from the above remarks is that foreign language teachers should receive a special training, similar to what they receive in teaching young learners, to work with senior students. So far very few if any foreign language teachers are able to identify senior students' needs, to specify aims in conducting TAU courses and to develop suitable syllabuses based on appropriate teaching materials. Finally, I believe that the field of senior students' education requires a considerable amount of psycholinguistic and educational research to provide a theoretical basis for foreign language teaching in this special population of students.

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Why L2 Readers Cannot Play a Psycholinguistic Guessing Game

Halina Chodkiewicz

Abstract In 1967 both L1 and L2 reading specialists were provided with a particularly influential model of reading, that of reading as 'a psycholinguistic guessing game' by Kenneth Goodman. The model not only revolutionized the conceptualization of the reading process by referring to its psycholinguistic background, but also offered a metaphor of reading as a game-like process based on extensive guessing, still found appealing by some practicing L2/FL teachers. The present paper will argue why the definition of reading as a hypothesis-testing process based on prediction, sampling, confirming and verification worked out by Goodman gave such an important impetus for change in understanding the reading process and the development of reading competence. On a more practical side, it will be explained why the view that L2 readers can build the meaning of a text on the basis of contextual redundancy, as well as infer the meanings of unfamiliar vocabulary by sampling selected features of the visual display has proved problematic for second/foreign language instruction. Finally, some current conceptualizations of the reading process and the way they counteracted the influence of the belief in top-down processing of texts with the abundant use of context will be analyzed.

Keywords Reading as a 'psycholinguistic guessing game' · Top-down models · Lower- versus higher-order processing · Contextual cues · A compensatory model of reading

1 Introduction

It is impossible to deal with the problem of the development of L2/FL reading skills without due consideration of the basic issues concerning theory, research, and practice debated on in the area of L1 reading. It can even be noted that, to a large

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extent, the way of handling many L2 reading problems has been a reflection of the results of discussions carried out by L1 specialists with reference to theoretical considerations as well as to practical problems. Some L2 research has even been criticized for overreliance on research into L1 reading processes and a lack of comprehensive coverage of specific L2 problems (Eskey, 2005). Yet the mere fact that L1 and L2 learners learn to read in different circumstances and that an array of different factors can impact the way their ability develops does not mean that the common foundations for the reading process or a generic understanding of the psychological processes involved in text comprehension can be undervalued by L2 reading specialists. Moreover, as Eskey (2005, p. 564) notes, reading and language acquisition processes in L1 and L2 exhibit more similarities than differences. Grabe and Stoller (2002, p. 10) also stress that is not surprising that researchers turned to the L1 perspective, bearing in mind the large body of research studies into the development of high levels of reading fluency, which had considerable implications for practice, as well as encouraged numerous instructional innovations.

It is unquestionable that the principal source of knowledge concerning the basic components of the reading process have been empirical findings synthesized into reading theories and reading models (e.g., Grabe, 2009; Tracy & Morrow, 2006). As pointed out by Unrau and Alvermann (2013), literacy theories are directed at both researchers and practitioners who seek an opportunity to better explain and make predictions concerning the key concepts and processes in reading. Tracy and Morrow (2006) describe the extensive development reading theories have undergone since the 1900s, starting from behaviorism, theories subsumed under the labels of constructivism, theories of literacy development, social learning perspectives, and information/cognitive processing, most of which are still present in literature on L1 and L2 reading issues. In addition to this, the researchers also look into the impact the particular theoretical perspectives have had on classroom applications in different educational contexts and into the ways in which theoretical approaches have motivated further research projects.

Grabe's (2009) classification of reading models varies from that of Tracy and Morrow's (2006), as Grabe divides reading theories into: (1) cognitive models, which can be based on empirical evidence which makes it possible to determine the components and abilities involved in reading, the assessment data pointing to the relationships among skills, experimental/behavioural data, or on computer-modelling, (2) connectionis models, (3) metaphorical models, that is top-down, bottom-up and interactive models, and finally, (4) a range of specific models of reading. Grabe (2009) thus puts Goodman's model in the category of metaphorical models, which also comprise bottom-up, top-down, and interactive models, the other powerful conceptions of the reading process fervently discussed by L2/FL theoreticians and practitioners.

There are some reading experts, however, who perceive the appearance of Goodman's psycholinguistic guessing game model of reading as strongly linked to the development of psycholinguistics and thus describe it as a constructionist model, belonging specifically to Psycholinguistic Theory as well as Whole Language Theory (Tracy & Morrow, 2006; Unrau & Alverman, 2013). The

importance of recognizing a vital link between Goodman's reading model and psycholinguistics was pointed to by Pearson (2009), who emphasized its constructive role in a paradigm shift and a turn to nativist and cognitive views. All in all, the Goodman's model of reading has played a significant role in building the theoretical foundations for understanding the reading process, and it has had a profound impact on introducing change into the reading practice, despite a multitude of critical voices that have emerged with the spread of its popularity.

2 Goodman's Conceptual Framework as the Top-Down View of Reading and Its Growing Criticism

Kenneth Goodman's article entitled "Reading: A guessing game", which appeared as early as 1967, aimed to present a scientific view of the process of reading juxtaposed against the then-accepted conceptualization of reading as "an exact process" requiring "a detailed, sequential perception and identification of letters, words, spelling patterns, and larger language units" (Goodman, 1967, p. 126). In contrast, Goodman proposed that reading be portrayed as 'a psycholinguistic game', that is "an interaction between thought and language based on making highly selective choices in search of the most productive cues from the text leading directly to guesses that can be potentially appropriate at the first time" (p. 126). Proceeding this way was possible due to the reader's ability of anticipating what is new in the text. A reader was then assumed not to process graphic input by decoding it precisely but by accumulating meaning by means of efficient sampling techniques, control over the structure of the language, but also by benefitting from his/her experience and conceptual development. Goodman (1967) described his model as consisting of 11 steps taken by the reader (yet not in a sequential order) that direct him/her in making acceptable guesses and then assimilating new and prior meanings with the view to decoding the text. If making some guesses was not possible, readers could make further trials by regressing in the text to reconsider all the syntactic and semantic information available (pp. 132–135).

It is also important to known how Goodman's (1967) ideas concerning the reading process originated and gave him substantial input for creating the underlying principles for his theoretical model. Namely, while observing naturalistic events of reading aloud by L1 children, he analyzed the mistakes made by readers, which he did not classify as traditionally accepted errors but as the so-called miscues. It was the miscues produced by the reader, he maintained, that showed how he/she "carries out the psycholinguistic guessing game" and gets involved in the reading process specified as being "selective, tentative, anticipatory" (p. 129). Goodman received a great deal of instantaneous support for his theory from Frank Smith (1971), another reading specialist, who similarly advocated the view that reading should be looked at as hypotheses-testing process based on predicting, sampling, confirming, and correcting. He subscribed to the view that by taking

advantage of language redundancy residing in context the reader can work out textual meanings by using a limited amount of graphemic detail. Similarly to Goodman, Smith considered good readers to be selective in sampling the features of the visual display and successful in exploiting contextual redundancy of a reading passage.

Goodman's adherence to a psycholinguistic position, which made him conceptualize reading as a part of the natural growth of general linguistic and cognitive competences, put him in opposition to those who conceived of the development of reading skills as a result of formal schooling procedures. Adopting a psycholinguistic approach also meant that the distinction between reading comprehension and word recognition was to be treated as arbitrary, and that was the reason why reading as a psycholinguistic guessing game can be considered to deal basically with reading comprehension processes (Pearson, 2009). In his chapter written for the book "Interactive approaches to second language reading" in 1988, called "a progress report", Goodman defined reading in the following way: "Reading is a receptive language process. It is a psycholinguistic process in that it starts with a linguistic surface representation encoded by a writer and ends with meaning which the reader constructs. There is thus an essential interaction between language and thought in reading. The writer encodes thought as language and the reader decodes language to thought" (Goodman, 1988, p. 12). Thus Goodman generally reiterated his previous position on reading, maintaining that efficient reading makes it possible to "minimize dependence on visual detail" (p. 12). Describing what he labeled a revised reading model, he stated that its major cycles comprised recognition-initiation, prediction, confirmation, correction, and termination, but they represented "a single reading process", in other words, "an unlimited macro model of reading" (Goodman, 1988, p. 20).

Both Goodman's and Smith's views, identified as top-down models of reading, involved the researchers in the controversy over the primacy of bottom-up vs. top-down level activation in explaining the reading process. Their views then proved seminal, particularly in stimulating and expanding the debate on the issue of the link between the two levels of text processing. Goodman and Smith's assumptions that understanding a text does not mean deriving meaning by sequentially recognizing letters, words, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs before reaching higher-level processing were contrasted with those of the opponent group of researchers who collected empirical data to prove that it is deriving information from print that plays a crucial role in the reading process (e.g. Gough, 1972; LaBerge & Samuels, 1974; Stanovich, 1988). The results of the eye movement studies in the 1980s confirmed the fact that readers thoroughly process the words in a text fixating in particular on content words. Comprehension was found to be enhanced by word recognition, and that is why readers with poor quality word recognition skills experienced comprehension problems (Koda, 1999, 2005; Pollatsek, 1993; Rayner & Sereno, 1994).

The unavoidable criticism of top-down models of reading also led to the conclusion that further investigation is required regarding how lower- and higher-order processing intersect and interplay in a reading act (Forrester, 1996). Such one-sided

views of reading as represented by top-down versus bottom-up models were soon to be replaced by more balanced conceptions connected mainly with interactive models. The basic premise put forward was that all the components in reading operate in parallel but are flexible and selective so that readers can benefit from any type of information indispensable for performing a particular task (e.g. Barnett, 1989; Glucksberg, 1986). While processing the perceptual data coming from a text, readers simultaneously draw on their experience and knowledge of the world and pursue their goals. The change caused by introducing interactive models was found to be a paradigm shift from psycholinguistic to conceptually-based perspective in modeling reading (Bernhardt, 1991).

Despite the criticism of the Goodman-Smith reading theory, based on substantial evidence that the 'prediction model of reading' was incorrect, the impact of this model on teaching reading in the L1 was profound. As readers were expected to use many cues in normal word recognition ('multiple cuing system'), classroom teachers were trained how to apply miscue analysis for instructional purposes. Apart from instruction in the analysis of readers' miscues in oral reading, the Whole Language Approach was characterized by selecting authentic literature pieces for reading instruction at the expense of the phonics-oriented texts, recommended earlier (e.g. Adams & Bruck, 1993; Chall, 1967/1983/1996; Pressley, 2006). Among arguments against the blind acceptance of the Whole Language Approach and its insistence on using authentic texts, one can quote Snow and Juel's (2005) view pointing at the need for recognizing the fact that that children's oral vocabularies are limited, in particular those of non-native speakers of English or children from low income groups, and that is why by reading aloud they can only retrieve the words they already know.

3 Goodman's Guessing Game Metaphor: Explaining Contextual Processing in Reading

As already stated, the main tenet of Goodman's reading model is that reading a text is based on a highly selective processing in which readers take advantage of graphemic, syntactic, and semantic information as well as of a variety of context cues which are needed for the readers to confirm their predictions. The model also puts forward a claim, a point of great controversy, that good readers have an advantage over bad readers as they are able to make adequate guesses using fewer graphic cues than bad readers (Goodman, 1967). In Smith's (1971) interpretation readers can rely on more graphic knowledge when necessary; however, they basically benefit from text redundancy to obtain the meanings of the words to follow on the basis of the preceding text. Despite Goodman and Smith's convictions as to the effectiveness of guessing word meanings in reading, which was found to be a natural and particularly profitable phenomenon by the advocates of the top-down models of reading, a substantial number of studies carried out in the

1980s and 1990s proved that their theories could not be substantiated with empirical data (Adams, 1994; Koda, 1999; Stanovich, 1988; Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

A key problem that needed scholarly discussion in connection with the top-down view of the reading process concerned the interpretation of the difference between text processing by good and poor readers. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), outstanding reading researchers, claimed that what was needed was an explanation of the paradox, which assumes that good readers use top-down contextual processing more efficiently, yet poor readers rely on context clues more extensively. As demonstrated in empirical studies, good readers, who are highly proficient in the use of word decoding skills, do not sample the text while reading but fixate on almost all content words, while poor readers, who are inaccurate and slow in the decoding process, embark on the strategy of context-dependent guessing (Just & Carpenter, 1980; Perfetti, Goldman, & Hogaboam, 1979). Thus the use of contextual cues can facilitate the word recognition process when they are available, but has no role to play when contextual cues are misleading or absent. As noted by Stanovich and West (1981), this issue can also be explained by the fact that by using bottom-up decoding skills effectively good readers do not have to use guessing strategies, as they process the text effectively owing to the speed and accuracy of context-free word recognition.

An invaluable contribution pertaining to the problem under consideration comes from a set of publications by Stanovich (1980, 1988, 1991, 2000), who—with great academic precision—takes up ideas concerning the reading process put forward so convincingly in the Goodman-Smith theory. As he states, the primary goal in interpreting the reading process is to reconcile "differing views on context use" (Stanovich, 2000, p. 167). Representative for the need of the rethinking of the issue is his introductory statement that "[f]luent readers are not engaging in the wholesale skipping of words, nor are they markedly reducing their sampling of visual features from the words fixated" (Stanovich, 2000, p. 167). His explanatory comments concerning fluent readers can be summarized as follows. First of all, due to the use of visual mechanisms, good readers need less cognitive (attentional) resources to process the text. The fact that they use less capacity to process visual information, however, does not make them less reliant on visual information. Using less capacity, however, is possible thanks to the 'stimulus-analysis mechanism' and not due to reliance on context. What is more, reducing the use of cognitive capacity in visual processing is a general mechanism in reading that determines its development, and what is more, it not connected with individual differences, even though in some developmental stage in learning to read graphic and contextual information become integrated (Stanovich, 2000).

What helps in understanding the way good and poor readers use contextual cues is also the phenomenon of automatic vs. attentional processing of context cues (Stanovich, 1980). Fast contextual facilitation is based on the automatic activation process: stimulus information received by a reader activates a relevant memory location, which causes further information spread to semantically related memory locations. The conscious attentional mechanism, on the other hand, takes more time

to use as, due to the limited capacity of the processor, the preceding context, which is more distant in the memory framework, is referred to. When used by poor readers, the conscious attentional mechanism slows down the word recognition process. In the case of poor automatic word recognition skills readers can turn to prior context to enhance the processing of the text. Yet, this is not the procedure adopted by good readers, as they take advantage of well-developed automatic context-free word recognition skills and rely less on generating conscious expectations from prior sentential context. Thus they are able to save a considerable amount of cognitive capacity for comprehending and remembering the text (Stanovich, 1980).

In light of the recent introduction of a compensatory theory of second-language reading by Bernhardt (2005, 2011), it is worth emphasizing that the outstanding L2 researcher based her views on Stanovich's (1980, 2000) theoretical considerations concerning the role of interactive-compensatory processing in reading activated by a deficiency of the reader's decoding process. In such a situation, Stanovich claimed, the information processing system in reading has to rely on other sources of knowledge, including contextual information. This is the reason why, as already suggested, it is not the most efficient readers but the less efficient ones who depend extensively on contextual information. Whereas contextual information available on the page is responsible for creating nominal context, the information coming from the reader provides the so-called effective context (Stanovich, 2000). Stanovich's model is also supportive in explaining the problem of the acquisition of vocabulary through reading in the case of poor readers who might encounter unfamiliar lexical items in the text and be able to compensate for their insufficient knowledge of orthography and lexicon with the available semantic, syntactic, and contextual knowledge. The same principle, when applied to L2/FL readers suggests that L1 knowledge and skills can additionally help them compensate for their language deficits (Barnett, 1989).

Research in L1 reading has been continuously providing evidence against the explanatory potential of Goodman's reading model. Skilled readers have been found to adjust their goals, make inferences, use context, and monitor their comprehension effectively, yet not by means of hypothesizing or skipping sequences of words. The eye movement research data in L1 reading demonstrated that the amount of fixations in text processing was as high as 50–80 % of words, supported with the readers' ability to answer questions on the information located in the parts of the text fixated on (Perfetti, 1995). In text processing readers have been found to concentrate on the majority of content words, skipping only some predictable function words (Stanovich, 2000). In the case of poor availability of context cues, the level of prediction for adult readers is found to be low—one of four words in the text (Gough, Alford, & Holley-Wilcox, 1981) or one word out of 10 content words (Gough, 1983). An important point to be made, however, is that there is a difference between novice and expert readers. Although at the time of developing their word-reading skills readers are less limited by word identification in reaching text comprehension, word identification always functions as the basic level of text processing on which higher-level processes operate and reflects the reader's word

knowledge of forms and meanings (Perfetti, Landi, & Oakhill, 2005). The recognition of the primary role of lower level processing in fluent reading was shared by numerous L2 reading specialists who emphasized the fact that deficiencies L2 readers develop in graphophonemic processing are not to be easily compensated for by other sources of knowledge and contextual cues. The automatization of decoding and word recognition skills was confirmed to be a key factor in determining fluency in L2 reading (e.g. Bernhardt, 1991; Fender, 2001; Grabe, 1991; Koda, 1999; Koda, 2005; McLaughlin, 1990).

It is interesting to note that while the debate on the role of contextual cues in text processing characterized the attempts at implementing the principles of reading-as-a-guessing-game model, the problem of contextual guessing in L2 reappeared as an issue in vocabulary acquisition in the 1990s. It started to be explored under the label of incidental vocabulary acquisition or lexical inferencing, a process operating at all the levels of text comprehension. It was pointed out that L2 readers experience more difficulty in the process of inferring meanings of unfamiliar words than L2 readers due the fact that their problems concern many more aspects of word knowledge, including orthographic and phonological forms of words, as well as culturally loaded concepts underlying word meanings. It is natural that L2 language learners aim at compensating for their lexical deficiencies by vocabulary learning from context, yet this strategy has proved to be limited in its effectiveness (for a detailed discussion of the problem see Chodkiewicz, 2000; Wesche & Paribakht, 2009).

As for the influential ideas that originated from Goodman's reading model, it is worth examining how they were perceived and interpreted by L2/FL specialists with more direct reference to classroom practice.

4 Implications of Goodman's Reading Model for L2/FL Reading Instruction

At the time of the recognition of behaviorist tenets by the supporters of the highly accepted Audiolingual Method, reading was found to accompany oral language skills rather than to function as an autonomous skill, and the reading process was interpreted as processing grapheme-phoneme relationships particularly when reading aloud. Dissatisfied with the aural-oral approach to language instruction, in the 1970s, many L2 specialists were ready to adopt some new ideas on classroom teaching, and Goodman's model of reading was an appropriate framework for them. The redefinition of the reading process generated an increasing interest in information processing issues and in the cognitive basis of reading. The L2 reader began to be defined as an active processor of text information who predicts and samples it; the adjective 'psycholinguistic' started to appear regularly with reference to the reading process (e.g. Clarke & Silberstein, 1977; Mackay, Barkman, & Jordan, 1979; Saville-Troike, 1973). It was an adequate time for an innovative view of

reading as the bottom-up reading model was criticized as a traditional word-centered approach to reading with its structuralist underpinnings (Cziko, 1980).

The newly advocated top-down model created such an appealing picture of readers hypothesizing about the meaning of the text and selecting contextual information in processing it that both L2/FL theoreticians and practitioners accepted its dominance. The extent of the support for Goodman's (1967) and Smith's (1971) models, known under the common label of psycholinguistic models, was proven by Bernhardt's study (1991). Having surveyed the basic L2/FL research studies in reading published since the mid-1970s, Bernhardt discovered that as many as 66.4 per cent of L2 specialists referred to the Goodman-Smith models, whereas text-based models (e.g., Gough, 1972; LaBerge & Samuels, 1974) and interactive models (e.g., Stanovich, 1980) were scarcely mentioned. The author of the survey concluded that second/foreign language teaching specialists remained under a considerably stronger impact of psycholinguistic models in reading than were L1 experts.

Furthermore, the influence of psycholinguistic models on the design of L2/FL reading practice tasks was so strong that no change took place even when the adequacy of interactive models for explaining reading behavior was confirmed at the end of the 1970s (Cziko, 1980). L2/FL reading practice materials continued to exploit a well-known repertoire of reading activities favoring prediction and anticipation, which were assumed to ensure effective processing of a text by the reader. Guessing the meaning of unknown words on the basis of contextual clues in particular was highly recommended as a fundamental way of dealing with new lexical items.

The ideas spread by top-down reading models, including those of Goodman's (1967/1976) and Smith's (1971), especially when referring to L2 vocabulary learning, laid emphasis on the issue of the effectiveness of processing information provided by contextual cues. Gough et al. (1981) asserted that that top-down models gave rise to the period of contextualism in approaching reading instruction. The general message was that text comprehension was driven by use of the abundance of contextual cues, whereas particular words served to confirm the expectations created the reader. It is not difficult to find publications by notable EFL methodology specialists whose thinking was closely aligned to the ideas popularized by Goodman or Smith, Goodman being quoted more often due to the metaphorical power of the concept of "a psycholinguistic guessing game".

Rivers and Temperley (1978), for instance, recommended that L2/FL learners should acquire an inventory of most frequently used 5.000 vocabulary items first and then expand their vocabulary size by means of 'intelligent guessing' of the words encountered while reading. Reading materials were to give students an opportunity for building their 'personal' and 'topical vocabulary', which was to be further contextualized in short sentences (p. 207). They believed that the best source for learners' intelligent guesses was their knowledge of function words or common verbs, as well as an examination of titles, pictures, and words which are repeated.

They also recommended that explicit training in inferring word meanings from context be incorporated into classroom instruction.

A legacy to Goodman's concept of reading was also evident in Grellet's (1981) view. The well-known author of a book on developing reading skills described reading as "an activity involving constant guesses that are later rejected or confirmed" (p. 10). Thus she argued that the learner needs to be involved in the process of guessing or predicting the subsequent information in the text. She posits that the reader "relies on a number of words—or 'cues'—to get an idea of what kind of sentence (e.g. an explanation) is likely to follow" (Grellet, 1981, p. 56). As for classroom activities required to develop word guessing ability, Grellet proposed analyzing word-formation rules and lexical relations between particular words, identifying lexical sets and collocations, as well as using contextual cues. Like Rivers and Temperly (1978), she underscored the importance of raising learners' awareness of the process of inferring word meanings from context, apart from using strategies for the purpose.

A mention of Goodman's model of reading could also be found in Brown (1994), who explicitly referred to the image of a guessing game by saying that: "reading is, after all, a 'guessing game' of sorts, and the sooner learners understand this game, the better off they are" (p. 294). As he basically approached guessing as an effective compensation strategy, he argued that apart from its value for making guesses on word meanings, the strategy has a part to play in understanding grammar and discourse relationships, implied meanings, cultural references, and content messages. Another important author who was impressed by Goodman's image was Hedge (2000, p. 188), who, however, used the metaphor in an untypical way by referring it to interactive text processing, which she called a psycholinguistic guessing game. In her opinion, readers are engaged in a struggle to combine information from the text and the knowledge at their disposal.

5 Goodman's Reading Theory—Recent Voices from L2/FL Reading Experts

Despite the fact that the Goodman model has proved to be so influential in shaping principles for L2/FL reading practice for over three decades, a number of L2 readers researchers could not avoid articulating their critical voices. There is no denying, however, that its role in stimulating greater awareness of the problems concerning the development of L2/FFL reading skills should not pass unnoticed.

As already mentioned, it was an interest in interactive models of reading that shed considerable light on the inadequacy of interpreting reading as top-down processing. As argued by Paran (1996), the greatest paradox in teaching foreign language skills resulted from undermining the role of word identification in reading to the advantage of a vast sampling of the text. It goes without saying, however, that what is the greatest obstacle for L2 language learners in developing fluent reading is

insufficient vocabulary knowledge and hence the inability to identify words in an automatic way. That is the reason why Paran (1996, p. 29) postulates that L2 specialists should reconsider the significance of bottom-up processing in reading instruction and introduce classroom practice helpful in enhancing bottom-up strategies indispensable for the development of reading fluency.

Recently published books on L2 reading tend to include Goodman's model when discussing major models of reading, yet it mostly gets some critical treatment. The expressed reservations are usually supported by pointing at a prolonged adherence to Goodman's theoretical concepts even though the interactive model of reading became a recognized theoretical option. Hudson (2007) seems to provide a fairly neutral description of Goodman's model, underlining the fact that its strong version served the conceptualization of a top-down approach in reading, which was represented by the Whole Language Approach in reading instruction. He also draws attention to the reader's capability of using guessing strategy with the simultaneous reduction of graphemic information processing and to the reader's cognitive efficiency in processing semantic and syntactic cues.

Critical remarks regarding Goodman's model were made by Birch (2007) and Grabe (2009). Both researchers bring into question the long-standing support given to Goodman's model whose limitations have been evident. In fact, as mentioned above, when Bernhardt (1991, p. 22) revealed unexpectedly high popularity of Goodman's model in L2 literature, she enquired whether the situation was to be explained by L2 instructors' recognition of its adequacy for defining the L2 reading process or by their lack of knowledge of a more reliable conceptualization of the reading process. As for Birch (2007), she points out two basic problems with Goodman' model: an oversimplification in the understanding of guessing as a cognitive process and underestimating the importance of sound-letter relationships in the decoding process. The researcher substantiates the claim that "reading-as-a-psycholinguistic-game metaphor" should be eradicated particularly in L2/FL contexts as learners of another language do typically need direct intervention at the stage of early reading or otherwise they cannot advance their reading skills. They need guidance in acquiring the relationships between letters and sounds, as well as in developing phonological knowledge necessary for fluent alphabetical reading. She presents her views in the section entitled "Goodbye to Guessing Games" (p. 8).

Discussing the Psycholinguistic Guessing Game Model of reading, Grabe and Stoller (2002) note that whereas this model underlines a key role played by the reader, in particular by his/her goals and expectations, no mechanisms for achieving the outcomes of reading process are accounted for. A thorough critique of Goodman's model is presented by Grabe (2009), who declares the model wrong in light of the relevant empirical findings. A body of research has shown that the model is not representative of fluent reading since good readers do not sample texts or make guesses at upcoming words on the basis of contextual clues. Hence, as Grabe (2009) underscores, both the fundamental assumptions of the model, and the way in which it accounts for text processing are wrong. What is more, its applications in terms of instructing learners to guess word meanings are questionable.

Grabe argues that the utility of this strategy is low as it can give the reader only some idea of the meaning of a text and as such it is not worth incorporating into explicit vocabulary instruction.

On balance, even though Goodman model's was criticized for its lack of precision in defining the reading process, its strong argumentation in favor of the reader's centrality was an important contribution to a more enhanced understanding of the reading process. That does not, however, mean that the top-down and bottom-up views although so often juxtaposed against each other are to be approached as dichotomous. In recent years, L2 researchers tend to opt for a integrated view of reading (Grabe, 2009; Grabe & Stoller, 2002; Hedgcock & Ferris, 2009; Hudson, 2007). A particularly interesting construct seems to be the integrative-compensatory model of reading proposed by Stanovich (1980) for conceptualizing L1 reading, as well as Bernhardt's (2005, 2011) compensatory model of L2 reading.

6 Goodman, the Psycholinguistic Perspective, and Bernhardt's Compensatory Model of L2 Reading

A continuing discussion of the issues of the reading process both in the native and second language, with a number of outstanding specialists involved in it, has brought about a considerable change in understanding the reading process in general, and, what is more, has motivated researchers to take an attempt at designing a model that would specifically cover second language reading processes. Such a challenge was taken up by Bernhardt (2011), who criticized both Hudson (2007) and Grabe (2009) for not paying attention to her earlier attempt at designing an L2 reading model (Bernhardt, 2005). Bernhardt's (2005, 2011) goal was to synthesize the research conducted from the 1970s to the 1990s so as to incorporate all the critical components in her L2 reading model, including L1 literacy, L2 knowledge, background knowledge, processing strategies, vocabulary, and the relationships between the L1 and L2 language systems, just to mention a few. The model is to consist of all the sources of knowledge employed by a reader, which are assumed to operate in an interactive and synergistic fashion. What is more, the model is expected to have a capability to distinguish between the two type of readers: the emerging L1/L2 readers and adult L2 readers.

Similarly to Hudson (2007) and Grabe (2009), Berhnhardt (2011) refers to Goodman's conception of reading, yet she does not criticize it but pinpoints some of its ideas congruent with her own thinking. She emphasizes the fact that while Goodman's model of reading as a guessing game increased the popularity of reading research in general, it simultaneously rejected the findings of the empirical studies, which proved that fluent reading required automatized processing of grapho-phonemic information. Yet what she finds positive about Goodman's work is that he noticed the specificity of reading in a second language, and introduced authentic

connected texts into reading instruction. An analysis of readers' miscues was a useful procedure in observing learners' failures in struggling for text comprehension. In this way the reading process could be investigated as conceptually driven, that is psycholinguistic in its nature. Bernhardt finds similarity between Goodman's model and Coady's (1979) model, launched as "a psycholinguistic model of an ESL reader". She also underlines the compensatory capability of Coady's model and its similarity to Stanovich's (1980, 2000) interactive-compensatory model of reading. As a result, she proposes a combined Goodman/Coady View that entails three components: conceptual abilities, background knowledge, and process strategies, all of which constitute vital variables in Bernhardt's view of L2 reading.

Bernhardt's (2005, 2011) own model, labeled a compensatory model of L2 reading, is based on the available research findings, and its main goal is show how an L2 reader can compensate for his/her deficits in some knowledge sources by benefiting from other sources while processing a text. The explained variance (50 %) in her model is covered by L1 literacy (alphabetics, vocabulary, text structure, beliefs about word, and sentence configuration, etc.) and L2 language knowledge (grammatical form, vocabulary knowledge, cognates, etc.), that is the variables that have already been well-researched. The unexplained variance (the remaining 50 %) refers to such factors as background/domain knowledge, strategies, interest, numerous intrapersonal variables (e.g. engagement, motivation), transfer, genre/text features, and many others that need further consideration in the future. All the variables are supportive of each other as readers take advantages of multiple knowledge sources. In modifying Bernhardt's model, McNeil (2012) added two other factors, background knowledge and strategic knowledge (metacognition), enlarging the percentage of explained variance and reducing that of the unexplained variance factors. Undoubtedly, Bernhardt's model shows how complex the structure of an L2 reading model has to be to include so many variables, also the cross-linguistic ones.

7 Concluding Remarks

As shown in this paper, it is certainly justified to rethink Kenneth Goodmans' ideas concerning the reading process, even though his metaphor of a reader playing a psycholinguistic game, despite its popularity, has to be discarded as lacking sound empirical foundations. Undoubtedly, it is by gaining such a wide popularity that Goodman's model has developed some grounds for discussing the problems of developing fluent reading skills and has drawn attention to the importance of text processing at both lower and higher levels. Moreover, as one of the most influential conceptions of reading in the last half of the century, it has not disappeared from the current debate on reading instruction.

Goodman's model offered an attractive, though oversimplified view of a reader making guesses and hypothesizing about what he/she reads, which has not only

challenged the accepted theoretical paradigm by introducing the psycholinguistic component into the mainstream considerations of the bottom-up processing in reading, but also created conducive grounds for the search for educational innovations. While provoking a wide-ranging and long-lasting debate among L1 reading instructors, basically concerning the opposition between the implementation of the Whole Language vs. phonics approaches, Goodman's model has generated a great deal of interest on the part of L2 specialists who found guessing/inferring word meanings from context to be a useful strategy in L2 reading. This has stimulated a fruitful discussion on the potential of lexical inferencing, but also on its numerous and decisive limitations.

As confirmed by empirical research studies, however appealing the metaphor of reading as a guessing game is, neither L1 nor L2 readers can play a guessing game just by making predictions, sampling texts, then verifying and correcting their guesses. The use of guessing at the textual level, currently also conceptualized as inferring word meanings from context, is an important strategy particularly for L2 readers in making up for their language deficiencies. Yet its functioning is limited to fairly restricted conditions, and it cannot certainly be considered to be the major strategy in second/foreign vocabulary learning and reading. Teaching the strategy of inferring the meanings of unfamiliar vocabulary to L2 learners will need a reconciliation and management of direct and indirect techniques of vocabulary instruction.

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Stages in the Acquisition of Foreign Lexis

Janusz Arabski

Abstract The article presents the model of foreign vocabulary acquisition which consists of five consecutive stages, namely: (1) the filter, (2) phonological structure, (3) semantic structure, (4) retention and storage, (5) retrieval. The author discusses each of the stages from psycholinguistic point of view and supports his observations with the literature devoted to the problem of linguistic associations, meaningless associations etc.

Keywords Vocabulary acquisition stages · Foreign lexis · Associations

1 Introduction

In this paper I would like to outline the chronological stages of foreign vocabulary acquisition. The stages of acquisition will serve here as factors which both determine acquisition and then vocabulary use.

For our purposes here the model of acquisition consists of the following stages:

1. The Filter.
2. Phonological Structure.
3. Semantic Structure.
4. Retention and Storage.
5. Retrieval.

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2 The Filter

The process starts with the filter, like acquisition of any language structure. No matter how we treat the Krashen's notion of the affective filter we have to agree that the condition for language acquisition is the learner's positive attitude, that is his/her eagerness and readiness to acquire.

The order of acquisition of different grammatical categories may be caused by pragmatic or frequency factors, but the decisive factor is most probably the filter (filtering the data in).

The best illustration of this situation is the special status of nouns in the acquisition process. Nouns are the first lexical items which are acquired. The whole process of language learning starts with the acquisition of nouns in large quantities before other lexical categories. First of all concrete nouns are acquired, and then more and more abstract ones. Nouns seem to be filtered in before other categories.

3 Phonological Structure

The phonological structure of a lexical item is the first contact a learner is exposed to. The foreign sounds and their strange combinations are the first difficulties to be overcome. The difficulties are very precisely described in the results of contrastive studies between L1 and L2 (at least for European languages). They have been generally accepted since the early days of structuralism and we can take them for granted.

The contrastive studies criterion and method was applied by Lado (1957) to work out a hierarchy of difficulty of foreign vocabulary for teaching purposes. The three levels—easy, normal and difficult were selected by Lado according to the principle of similarity between mother tongue lexical items, and their counterparts in the target language. The scale is as follows:

1. Similar in form and meaning—*easy*.
2. Similar in form but different in meaning—*easy*.
3. Similar in meaning but different in form—*normal*.
4. Different in form and meaning—*difficult*.
5. Different in their type of construction—*difficult*.
6. Similar in primary meaning but different in connotation—*difficult*.
7. Similar in meaning but with restriction in geographical distribution—*difficult*.

The above scale is quoted here to show us that the problems of foreign lexis acquisition are entirely different for the recent investigator.

Recent approaches to the phonological structure of items concentrate more on the retention aspect. With the development of psycholinguistics, phonological structure (Stage 2) is studied in relation to retention (Stage 4) and not to the phonological structure of L1 counterpart lexical item.

The length of a word is an important factor here (Gatherole & Baddley, 1993, p. 27). According to specialists in working memory, short words, in the process of language acquisition, are easier to retain than long ones. They undergo more sub vocal rehearsal than long ones within the same time period and thus are better retained.

It has also been established that lexical items which are acquired in pairs are retained better when they differ with many phonemes than when they differ with only one. *Cat-mat,* when presented together, are not retained as well as, e.g. the *cat–dog* pair. This is not merely due to the auditory discriminability according to Gatherole and Baddley (1993, p. 11).

The tip of the tongue phenomenon (TOT) shows that certain elements of phonological structure are retained better than others. When trying to recall a name or a word we usually remember:

1. The first sound,
2. The number of syllables (the length of the word),
3. The place of stress
4. A suffix.

Usually we do not remember all of them at the same time. It seems that a given lexical item is represented in the memory by a frame, with the place of stress indicated. The frame has the proper length, i.e. the number of syllables. It also includes the first sound and/or the last one. In the process of recall individual phonemes are inserted. It seems that they are the least important information which is stored. The above four elements seem to be more important in the hierarchy of recall, than individual phonemes.

The phonological structure is the first contact a learner has with a lexical item. A beginner foreign language learner is very sensitive to the phonological shape of the new code. He is much more aware of the phonological and morphological structure of vocabulary items than advanced learners who automatically move from sound (or spelling to) to meaning. This awareness is documented by many studies and their results.

First of all association tests provide this evidence. Beginners respond to phonological stimuli with phonologically similar reactions. An association made by an English speaker learning Polish *piwo* (beer) was *piwnica* (cellar) unlike advanced learners of English who responded with semantically related reactions, e.g. *black–white* or their translations *black–czarny*.

Native speakers of Polish respond to *piwo*, associating it with a pub or a favourite brand of beer. *Piwnica* is probably associated more with storing food than *beer*. In spite of the fact that *piwo* and *piwnica* are historically and thus morphologically related the associations of proficient speakers are holistic and semantic.

Such phonological and morphological analysis of items is typical of beginners when outline is interpreted as *out of line, nevertheless* as *never less* and *discourse* as *without direction* (Laufer, 1989). Competent speakers react to lexical items holistically, that is to their meanings and not their forms.

A new lexical item for beginners is a string of nonsense sounds. The situation can be compared to the early experiments on memory performed by Ebbinghaus in 1885. He coined non-existent one syllable strings in order to avoid any meaningful associations. In this way Ebbinghaus studied the capacity of the memory for nonsense strings. After one hour 40 % of the items were forgotten, next day another 20 % of strings had disappeared.

The capacity of the memory to retain meaningless strings is not very impressive and this is also the case of memorization of foreign lexical items before they are linked with their meanings (Stage 3). Further evidence of the poor retention of items without meaning, versus those with meaning is the comparatively poor memory for proper names. The results of experiments and the everyday experience show that proper names are harder to recall than common names.

It is more difficult to recall the name (Mr) *Baker* than the occupation *baker*; as we know more semantic propositions about the occupation *baker* than the name *Baker* (Cohen & Burke, 1993, p. 250).

Proper names are arbitrary and "meaningless", in similar fashion to new lexical items. Proper names have references but no sense. They refer to tokens or individuals, unlike common names which refer to types and categories (Cohen & Burke, 1993, p. 259); and thus they are integrated into a set of associative links, that is into a memory system.

The link connecting a token with its reference is much weaker than the one connecting a type or category with a common name, because it is a single link. A type or category is interlined with the whole associative network. During the process of retrieval of a common name this network activates, converging from many-to-one-links on the target noun.

There are reports of clinical cases that in some patients the memory for proper name is preserved and for common names is impaired which means that proper names have links separate from those of common names.

The phonological structure of proper names is unpredictable, like that of foreign lexical items for a new student of a foreign language. They also, like the foreign vocabulary, do not have alternative forms, do not have synonyms.

The beginning of lexis acquisition is most probably characterized by the single connection of a phonological form with its meaning and its semantic trace. This is especially true when the acquisition takes places in natural conditions without reference to L1. When the meaning is integrated into the associative network of meaning and memory the learner's awareness of the phonological structure disappears. It is replaced by holistic reaction to a lexical item.

The stage is referred to by psycholinguistics as "the disappearance of the verbal memory and the retention of the memory for ideas" (Bartlett, 1932; Ellis & Beattie, 1986, p. 246). It is at this stage in L1 when children change the wording when retelling a story. In L2 it probably takes place at first stages of paraphrasing or when generating new sentences. From this point onwards syntactic information, e.g. passive versus active voice, is not retained but only the meaning of a message.

The separation of phonological structure from its meaning is illustrated by the situation when a message is remembered without its exact wording. Indeed, quite

often among bilingual speakers the information is retained without remembering the code (the language) it was conveyed in. It is the stage when a story ceases to be a text and becomes a plot.

The lexical item in question gets integrated into a network of associations and is combined with earlier acquired knowledge and lexis. When retrieved it is not by itself any more but rather it is accompanied by the entire structure of associations, the structure it is a part of.

The present author (Arabski, 1998) studied the reactions of Polish students to English stimuli. 66 Polish students of English were asked to produce their associations and reactions to 110 English word-stimuli. Over 70 % of reactions were English lexical items while only 12 % were Polish ones (the rest were Ø reactions). There were more interlanguage reactions among less advanced learners than among the more advanced group. The majority of interlanguage reactions (57 %) were translations, e.g. *table-stół* which may mean that the semantic trace for both L1 and L2 is common for both vocabulary systems for some time. Among more advanced learners translations were rare. They responded with interlanguage reactions of the *table-chair* kind.

According to Greganov (personal communication, June 7, 1984) the acquisition of a lexical item entails acquisition of its associational structure on top of its meaning and relevant syntactic information. The results of association tests, especially the early ones (e.g., Kent & Rosanoff, 1910), served to establish association norms. These results show that among native speakers of a given language the associations are quite regular and predictable, and thus are an essential part of language proficiency.

Association is in turn very strictly connected with retention and memory. The memory models of, for example, Quillian (1968) or Collins and Loftus (1975) (to mention only three names) present semantic memory as a network of associations and a continuation of the old concept of associationism in psychology.

It is relevant here to consider the results of the questionnaire distributed by this author among advanced learners of English which show that learners consciously use many techniques to retain new vocabulary items. Some of them are very inventive, such as the application of drawings and colors. The most common are association strategies: the subjects associated new foreign vocabulary with Polish and vocabulary items in other languages.

Almost everyone in this survey learns vocabulary in context, not only to learn its use but also to use context as a point of reference and an association element which helps retention.

The mnemonic strategies which have been used in language teaching for ages serve the same purpose. They change meaningless strings into meaningful ones.

Retention means integrating a new lexical item into an existing network of associations. The item is then stored along with semantically related ones. The evidence for this process are mistakes which consist in replacing one item by an other. But as a rule this substitution is of the same syntactic and semantic category, e.g., give me that *book* instead of a *map.* A mistake of the type, give me that *happiness* is very unlikely in this situation. A *map* is stored in the neighborhood of *book* and far away from *happiness.*

The situation however is much more complicated in the retrieval process, since we get to some lexical items through 'the tip of the tongue' procedure. We remember a first sound or a last one or sometimes only the length of an item. Clearly, access to lexis is through its phonological structure as well.

4 Conclusion

To conclude it seems that the lexical items which are acquired and stored in the semantic store are also retrieved there. Those which are not part of the association system yet have to be retrieved in the phonological stage. The retrieval process starts with the semantic stage; if unsuccessful, it continues to the phonological stage where TOT and other similar processes take place.

It seems that full acquisition takes place when a learner's reaction to a lexical item is holistic, and when an item is integrated into a system of intralingual associations, and when the phonological stages serves only for automatic encoding of a given meaning. The opposite takes place when a given meaning get to the phonological stage and searches for a phonological form. This situation resembles status of proper names in the memory.

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Part II
Aspects of Teacher Awareness in Second Language Education

Pitfalls of Attribution—Conversational Styles in Language Education

Hanna Komorowska

Abstract Speech readiness, willingness to communicate and levels of speaking skills, i.e. factors crucial for the learner's communicative competence, develop in the course of interaction in the EFL classroom or beyond it. Yet intensity and type of interaction depend on inferences conversational partners make about their interlocutors based on the way they speak. Conversational styles play an important role in interpersonal relations since both positive and negative personality characteristics tend to be ascribed to particular ways of using silence and speech in a particular speech community. The role of conversational styles grows in importance in the process of developing intercultural communicative competence as cross-cultural differences result in mismatches leading to the perception of otherness, and, in consequence, to distance and conflict. Implications are sought for ways to raise awareness of these issues in teachers and learners of second and foreign languages.

Keywords Conversational styles · Attributions · Cross-cultural differences · Otherness · Teacher education

1 Introduction

Conversational styles might be expected to have been studied in the domain of Conversational Analysis (CA), yet this does not seem to be the case. Conversational Analysis deals with fundamental structures in conversation such as turn design, sequential order, repair and linguistic features used in interactants' messages (Heritage, 2004; Sidnell & Stivers, 2014), and aspects of conversation such as emotion, epistemics, Question—Response design or reference—all these issues being studied in particular contexts such as surgeries, courtrooms, therapeutic centers or classrooms (Sidnell & Stivers, 2014). In the classroom context

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Conversational Analysis has so far concentrated on selected aspects of turn-taking, e.g. on selection (Seedhouse, 2004), sequence organization (Gardner, 2014; McHoul, 1978), design of turns in learners' and teachers' speech (Carroll, 2004; Koshik, 2002; Poole, 2005), repair and correction (Hellerman, 2008; MacBeth, 2004), learner participation in interaction (Hellermann & Cole, 2009) or functions of teacher talk (Walsh, 2006), but less so on inferences interlocutors make based on the way their conversation develops.

This is understandable as SLA/FLT researchers investigate interactional processes in the language classroom from the point of view of developing communicative competence (Pawlak, 2004, 2013), while attributions are studied in relation to the concept of good language learners (Biedroń, 2008), yet the consequence is that conversational styles and interpersonal attributions connected with those styles remain beyond the scope of SLA research. Although in assessing participation in conversation both silences and turn-taking are assessed, the pyramid model of variables affecting willingness to communicate (WTC) includes no more than a general factor of personality in its Layer VI (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 568) ignoring WTC in L1 on the grounds of the conviction that "it is highly unlikely that WTC in the second language (L2) is a simple manifestation of WTC in the L1" (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998, p. 546), though there might be "some degree of independence between WTC in L1 and WTC in L2" (MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Donovan, 2003, p. 600) and that "WTC does not simply transfer from one language to another" (MacIntyre et al., 2003, p. 602). Even the results obtained by Baker and MacIntyre (2003) showing correlations between L1 and L2 WTC did not seem to elicit interest in conversational styles in both languages, although initiation and participation are not without impact on teachers' perceptions (McKown, Gregory, & Weinstein, 2010). In the present text, it is my intention to:

- identify types of conversational styles relevant to developing speaking skills;
- survey research on attributions made on the basis of ways people use silence and speech both within particular speech communities and across cultures;
- look at issues related to formal and informal assessment of speaking skills;
- draw conclusions which may be useful in the development of interactive and mediating skills as well as intercultural competence in the classroom;
- seek implications for pre- and in-service teacher education.

2 Ways People Speak—Conversational Styles and Their Typology

SLA/FLT research is increasingly interested in speech readiness, willingness to communicate and proficiency in speaking skills, i.e. factors crucial for the learner's communicative competence. Reasons for the attention these variables attract in language education lie in their impact on the initiation of interaction as well as on

its course. These factors, however, change and develop in the communication process due to differences in the use of silence and speech by the interlocutors. They are also modified by the type of inferences interlocutors make on the basis of the conversation flow.

Although according to basic assumptions of conversation studies each interlocutor attempts to contribute appropriately to the exchange of talk in line with the Cooperation Principle with its four subprinciples related to the amount of talk (Quantity), truth-value (Quality), relevance (Relation) and clarity (Manner) and although universally valid rules of turn-taking are usually recognized by conversation partners (Grice, 1975; Mey, 1993), considerable differences have been identified both on an individual level (Maat, Truong, & Heylen, 2010) and across particular ethnic groups and speech communities. The analysis of discrepancies identified in a series of research projects in this field led to studies of universal tendencies in the use of silence and speech, but also to research on features prevailing in particular speech communities (Bamberg, 2006; Carbaugh, 2012; Efron, 1941/1972/1975; Philips, 2012; Sato, 1981; Tannen, 1984).

Ways in which people speak, fall silent and take turns while participating in interaction with other speakers tend to display certain characteristic patterns referred to as *conversational styles*. Patterns of this kind depend on both cognitive and affective characteristics of each speaker, variation is, therefore, considerable.

Typology of styles has been tackled in two radically different ways. Earlier studies favored an absolutist, essentialist, on-off approach to classification, though in fact styles form a continuum analyzed within the frames of more recent relativistic approaches (Jaworski, 1993; Kurzon, 2007). Reasons for adopting indiscrete, process-oriented analyses were twofold. First, speakers generally use certain clusters of devices rather than all the features of a given style. What is more, speakers modify their styles depending on the situation, age, status, distance or familiarity with the interlocutor. Styles are usually characterized in terms of power, types of discourse, narrative strategies linguistic and paralinguistic features (Witosz, 2006).

Distinctions made with a view to power structure produce a division of ways people speak into (1) *offensive styles* and (2) *defensive styles. Offensive style* is characterized by openness and dominance, frequent self-presentations and questions, culturally accepted acts of refusal as well as straightforwardness in expressing opinions or gratitude. *Defensive style* on the other hand is hesitant, closed, full of reserve and modesty. In terms of social distance the former is classified as approximative and the latter as distance building (Sławkowa, 2006).

A more nuanced analysis distinguishes three groups of styles, that is:

- *consensual styles*, the use of which shows that speakers move towards neutral statements in order to avoid conflict;
- *confrontational styles,* the employment of which shows no individual tendencies to adapt;
- *adaptive styles* showing the speaker's inclination to adapt and his/her adjustment to the style of the interlocutor (Kita, 2006);

Bernstein introduced a socially significant typology of styles with

- *a restricted style* characterizing the speaker's use of limited language resources, sometimes referred to after Günter Grass as the 'Oscar syndrome' (Puppel, 2004); and
- *an elaborated style* characterizing speakers who use rich vocabulary, abstract concepts and complex syntax (Bernstein, 1990, 2001).

Some researchers (Jurafsky, Ranganath, & McFarland, 2009) find it useful to distinguish one more style, i.e. the *collaborative style* characterized by above average amounts of appreciation and laughter as well as by increased overlap, especially in male talk (Coates, 1996; Edelsky, 1981).

An important distinction made by Deborah Tannen (1984, 2005) is still considered the most significant (Ajtony, 2009). In a seminal study published as *Conversational style. Analyzing talk among friends* (Tannen, 1984) she distinguished

- *high involvement styles*; and
- *high considerateness styles*

on the basis of features analyzed earlier by various researchers (Crown & Feldstein, 1985; Lakoff, 1975; Sapir, 1927, 1958; Weaver & Jiang, 2005).

High considerateness styles are characterized by the replacement of personal topics by neutral ones, hesitant moving in conversation to new themes and dropping those which do not seem to attract attention of others. A person using a high considerateness style tends to speak relatively slowly, takes time to start speaking when other speakers finish their turns, allows longer hesitation pauses during their own turn and avoids intervening while others are still talking, though at the same time seems to listen somewhat less carefully to what others have to say. High considerateness speakers are also less expressive in the way they use pitch and intonation, avoid amplitude shifts and tend to use minimum non-verbal signals such as mimics or gesture.

High involvement styles are characterized by emotional, clearly communicated attitudes to the content discussed as well as preferences for personal topics. People using high involvement styles move from theme to theme quickly and easily, do not get discouraged by other speakers' reluctance to take up a new topic, reintroduce it repeatedly and persistently, avoid silence or introduce it as a dramatic strategy to attract attention or build suspense in story-telling. They speak fast, start speaking immediately after their conversational partner has ended their turn, are very quick to respond; moreover, they often speak in parallel with other speakers or intervene in the middle of others' turns. This conversational overlap is paradoxically accompanied by increased attention to what other people say and immediate reactions to their messages—a feature often referred to as bonding tendencies or participatory listenership. A person with a high involvement style tells a lot of stories, dramatizing them with marked voice quality, expressive phonology and intonation, supported by non-verbal communication through body posture, facial expression and gesture (Ajtony, 2009; Tannen, 2012).

Styles seem to depend on, or at least correlate with, personality features; high involvement style is used more often by extroverted speakers, high considerateness style by introverted speakers. Offensive style is more frequently used by risk-takers, while defensive style by risk avoiders. Low agreeableness scores on personality tests are likely to correlate with rebellious styles and high agreeableness with adaptive styles (Mairesse, Walker, Mehl, & Moore, 2007; Sidnell & Stivers, 2014). Social class is also an important determinant in the choice of styles (Bernstein, 1990, 2001).

3 Mismatches in Conversational Styles as Sources of Attributions

Speakers make inferences about their conversational partners and their intent on the basis of how they behave and how they speak. We perceive ourselves and others depending on our own expectations and experience in communication. In consequence we tend to ascribe certain characteristics to our interlocutors, a process called interpersonal attribution (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

Theories of attribution refer to explanatory processes in everyday life and that is why they are disrespectfully referred to as 'theories of the obvious'. Fritz Heider's theory of causality in interpersonal relations (Heider, 1958), along with other attribution theories, has been used in research on perceptions of achievement (Biedroń, 2008; Weiner et al., 1971), learned helplessness (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978), perceptions of organizations (Baron, 1990) and health (Försteling, 1994, 2005).

Today's psychology distinguishes between the attribution theory concentrating on preceding factors and that concentrating on consequences (Graham & Folkes, 2014; Jones, 1990; Sperber, Premack, & Premack, 1995). In language education we are obviously interested in both. Attributions depend on three basic factors, that is:

- *consensus,* related to what is frequent and typical in a given group;
- *consistency,* related to regularity of an individual's behavior across tasks;
- *distinctiveness,* related to similarity of an individual's behavior over time.

Yet there is one more factor which seems important enough to be mentioned here, i.e. the so-called *abnormal factor.* Research shows that attributions do not arise when a given instance of behavior is perceived as conforming to societal norms, while any deviation from the norm tends to elicit attributions. In order to understand the process of ascribing personality features to an interlocutor's behavior it is, therefore, important to get acquainted with subjective theories of people related to types of behavior which they consider normal. Assessment of individual perceptions is difficult because—although people modify their behavior depending on the social context—causes are ascribed to people and their personalities rather than to situations, a phenomenon referred to as the *fundamental attribution error.*

What is more, when two causes are at play, the role of the second one tends to be diminished due to the impact of the so-called *discounting principle* (Meyer, 1992).

As early as 1927 Edward Sapir used the term 'style' to describe one of several levels of speech which play an important role in judgments of personality. This term was also used in his other publications (Sapir, 1958). The concept was later taken up by Lakoff who linked linguistic and personality styles (Lakoff, 1975). Crown and Feldstein found it useful in their work on psychological correlates of silence and sound in conversations arguing that differences in ways of using speech and silence in conversation influence the way the interlocutor is perceived and are used as tools to categorize others (Crown & Feldstein, 1985).

Directions which categorization processes take are difficult to predict as conversational styles are always relative: X speaks faster than Y, Y uses longer silences than X, etc. What is more, even the same linguistic device may be evaluated differently depending on the degree of similarity in conversational styles and/or the past experience of the speakers. Conversational overlap and fast questions may be interpreted positively as a sign of interest by speakers with similar conversational practices, but might be considered rude and aggressive by interlocutors unused to speech patterns of this kind (Tannen, 1984, 2005, 2012).

In a seminal study of a Thanksgiving conversation Deborah Tannen (1984) shows how similarities in expectations vis-à-vis ways of speaking enhance communication, while differences tend to obstruct it. Sharing a style contributes to conversational satisfaction caused by the sense of being 'on the same wavelength', while any sharp contrast ends in disappointment and the feeling of otherness leading to negative attributions (Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 2005).

Problems tend to arise when conversational styles differ drastically. Questions serve as a good example of this phenomenon. Painful miscommunication occurs when indirect expressions are used by one of the speakers with direct ones appearing on the part of their conversation partners. Lakoff points out that strong feelings of both anger and fear are involved in conversational encounters of this kind. Although indirect questions sound less intrusive and less confrontational than direct ones, they may be perceived as no more than a conversational trick which puts the speaker in the position of inferiority, in fact often inducing conversation partners to more cooperation than they would normally be ready to engage in. Hence the feeling of manipulation leading to aggression caused e.g. by agreement too easily granted (Lakoff, 2012). Moreover, questions might be a sign of interest and appreciation, but might also be perceived as an unpleasant intrusion into the realm of privacy as messages and metamessages are at work here (Tannen, 2012, p. 164).

Mismatches in conversational styles are linked not only to conversational devices but also to amounts of tolerance for silence in interaction (Sacks, 1992). High involvement style speakers evaluate silence negatively seeing it as a sign of boredom, lack of interest or a refusal to cooperate. With their tendency to find comfort in rapport and interaction, they expect constant speech flow and immediate answers to their questions. If their question causes a moment of thoughtful silence on the part of other speakers, they rush them with new questions only to find these

cause even more silence. In consequence they obstruct their own purpose and fail to elicit information they need. Moreover, engaged in constant chatter, they act on the assumption that those who have something to say will find a way to do so. This effectively eliminates conversational partners with less active speech styles and additionally creates an impression of conversational bullying and verbal aggression against those who find comfort in a slow pace of conversation and view silence as a bonding device.

Mismatches rich in negative consequences are also connected with the topic of conversations. Personal topics are often introduced and valued by high involvement speakers who expect to achieve bonding by 'mutual revelation' devices. These, however, tend to be treated as tactless imposition by high considerateness style conversation participants who prefer neutral subjects. Lack of personal information is in turn perceived as a sign of boredom, withdrawal or even hostility by interlocutors using a high involvement style.

Even more dangerous mismatches have to do with reintroducing topics. High involvement speakers persist in introducing topics they are interested in or consider useful; they begin a comment several times and make several attempts at changing the topic of conversation if other people do not listen to what they want to say, thus engaging in behavior considered pushy or even aggressive by interlocutors not sharing their style. In a similar situation high considerateness style speakers tend to cautiously indicate a topic in order to see if other speakers would pick up on it or not; they, therefore, engage in the type of behavior which is perceived as hesitant or insecure on the part of their high involvement style counterparts (Tannen, 1984, pp. 88, 106).

Responses or evaluations also differ considerably as high involvement speakers use expressive devices, while high considerateness speakers tend to understate their opinions. Expression is also manifested through jumping in with comments while other people speak, that is through conversational overlap which can be interpreted by other speakers as either cooperative or obstructive, depending on their expectations and their own conversational style. The same expressive tendency can be seen in finishing other people's statements for them which again can be interpreted in a polarized way either as supportive or as patronizing.

Generally speaking, all the above factors result in imbalance of conversation as high involvement speakers offer more narratives, take the floor much more often and generally say more, while high considerateness speakers feel excluded or dominated. Imbalances produce negative attributions on both sides: high involvement style speakers—due to their risk-taking strategies and speech preference—are often considered aggressive, opinionated, self-centered, conceited, noisy, pushy and bad-mannered, while high considerateness style speakers—due to their risk-avoiding strategies and preference for silence are often accused of being slow, dumb, monotonous, disinterested and uncooperative (Tannen, 2005, 2012).

Summing up, when conversational style is not shared by the interlocutors, psychological attributions related to the interlocutors' intellectual and personality characteristics tend to be unfavorable, thus contributing to the development of negative stereotypes.

4 Conversational Styles in Cross-Cultural Communication

Attributions result from communicative practices viewed against the background of broader social tendencies prevailing in a given context. Certain patterns seem to be more common in particular groups of people, and groups who in this way share rules for using and interpreting communicative practices are referred to as speech communities (Carbaugh, 2012).

Communities socialize their members to express emotions, self-present, select or avoid certain topics and behave vis-à-vis particular dimensions of culture in ways approved by the group (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; Spychała, 2014). Tendencies of this kind are especially conspicuous in the eyes of the representatives of other communities.

When a certain way of speaking is considered more valuable, it gets culturally promoted through family socialization and through education, though it is difficult to decide what is cultural and what is not as individual variation in each community tends to be quite considerable. Despite these individual differences, speech communities are found to use identifiable patterns (Agar, 2012, p. 25; Nakane, 2008; Saville-Troike, 1985). Most members of the community employ similar conversational styles, easily detectable for members of other speech communities. This gives rise to overgeneralizations and stereotyping. Let us look at some examples.

Numerous analyses of ways Polish speakers are perceived by US citizens show that Poles are usually perceived by observers from various American communities as displaying a number of characteristic features in the way they talk. In terms of topics introduced, a higher amount of complaining is noticed along with more modesty in self-presentation and avoidance of boasting. In the manner of speaking a high expression of emotions is striking, along with a preference for signaling direct disagreement with no hedging devices. A higher degree of individualism in formulating opinions is also perceived, strangely contrasting with a higher than average amount of seeking approval (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010; Klos-Sokol, 1992; Szarota, 2006; Wojciszke & Baryła, 2005).

Language and culture are intertwined—"benevolent sexism" of Polish conversation partners is also pointed out by many American speakers. This way of speaking is still considered as evidence of elegance and politeness by many members of the Polish community, but is treated as politically incorrect elsewhere (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010; Wojciszke & Baryła, 2005; Szarota, 2006). Americans notice a Polish tendency to glorify suffering and see the Polish culture as "a culture without a smile"—a difference curtly summarized by Klos-Sokol in her statement that "Americans are too cheerful, Poles are too depressive" (Klos-Sokol, 1992). Differences in dealing with difficulty are also noticed to be reflected in speech as in the quote from the same author: "In trouble Poles start blaming, while Americans sum it up saying *It doesn't matter who made the mistake, move on and find a solution*. There's the acceptance of the fact that there are

problems (…)". Differences in ways of signaling disagreement are also pointed out. Polish speakers are perceived as interlocutors who communicate direct emotions, e.g., *You are wrong,* or *Well, this is your opinion* versus a variety of hedging devices considered by the Americans to be used more often in their speech practices, e.g.: *You have a point there, but…* or *I see what you mean, but…* (Klos-Sokol, 1992).

Interesting differences and their attributional consequences have also been noticed in the analysis of conversations taking place in Polish between Polish and Jewish speakers as presented in Polish literature. How Jewish speakers conduct conversations with Poles as depicted by Polish and Jewish novelists reveal a much higher percentage of questions on the part of Jewish speakers using Polish as a language of communication. This conversational device considered excessive by Poles resulted in negative attributions; Jewish speakers of Polish were suspected of intrusion, insincerity and cunning. A higher speed of turn-taking in the style of Polish Jews met with equally negative attributions of glibness, manipulation and dominance. A tendency to repeat certain keywords strengthened by straightforwardness of messages brought about attributions related to aggressiveness, pressure and misplaced assertiveness. What is more, negative features such as pushiness, dominance and skills to effectively confuse the conversation partner were attributed by Polish speakers to a noticeable conciseness of Jewish business conversation and to the frequent reintroduction of topics of interest to that particular speaker in spite of the interlocutor's disinterest (Komorowska, 2015). Literary texts could not precisely present certain features of speech, though authors often included numerous comments to clearly present characteristics Polish interlocutors ascribed to their interlocutors on the basis of their speaking styles. Features absent from literary presentation can, however, be traced back e.g. through tips given in the times of World War II to Jewish people fleeing from the ghetto to live on the so-called Aryan side. Tips were usually presented in the form of simple imperatives to be memorized such as:

- don't speak so fast, slow down;
- don't be too loud, speak softly;
- don't jump in with comments when other people speak, wait till they finish their turn;
- don't shoot abrupt, clipped questions, ask slower, well-rounded ones;
- don't use gesture so much, keep your hands close to your body;
- don't touch your interlocutor while talking;
- don't stand too close to other people, keep a physical distance, etc. (Komorowska, 2015; Nalewajko-Kulikov, 2012)

Mismatches in conversational styles get even more serious if nonverbal communication patterns are not shared. Differences in the use of gesture have been noticed not only between European and native-American communities, but also between Jewish and Italian communities, in Efron's research showing that Jews

tended to use gesture to mark logical patterns, while Italians used them to intensify or replace the verbal component (Efron, 1941/1972). Mismatches in expectations vis-à-vis paralinguistic communication can add to difficulties resulting from the verbal ones.

When speakers notice that their style is not shared, the feeling of otherness creeps in. Otherness is known to be a path to negative attributions. Attributions are, however, often incorrect as pointed out in the Fundamental Attribution Error Theory (Gilovich, Griffin, & Kahneman, 2002). Misjudging leads not only to linguistic misunderstanding, but also to deeper interpersonal, social and political conflicts (Lakoff, 2012).

As Auer and Kern state, judgments in various intercultural situations depend on linguistic ideologies which are brought into the interaction scene (Auer & Kern, 2000), although conversation partners are not always aware of their impact and significance (Silverstein, 1992). Attributions often lead to discrimination on linguistic or psychological grounds, although reasons may also lie in ethnic or cultural roots of the speakers (Roberts, 2009).

Researchers investigating American perceptions of the "Silent Indian" found that both young learners and adults were perceived as passive, uncooperative, lazy and lacking in cognitive abilities, while people with fluent speech habits were considered to be not only talkative, but also cheerful and cooperative. Native American perceptions of talkativeness and outgoing behaviors were, however, negative as extroversion was not considered a value (Basso, 2012; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Expectations play an important role here as pauses longer than expected become silences felt as uncomfortable, while pauses which are too short due to immediate interventions of another speaker give rise to the impression of an oppressive presence of the conversation partner (Tannen, 1984, p. 109).

Self-perceptions among groups of college women in the research by Feldstein show that women with shorter in-turn pauses, i.e., those using high involvement styles, attributed positive features to themselves, while those with longer in-turn pauses, i.e., using high considerateness style, viewed themselves negatively (Feldstein, Alberti, & Ben, 1979).

As can be seen from the above, the phenomenon of conversational mismatches is far better researched in the context of intercultural communication than it has ever been in the context of formal education. Yet there is no reason to believe that teaching-learning situations are free of intercultural problems with attribution, especially today when, as a result of increased economic and educational mobility, schools see a growing number of multilingual and multicultural students.

As has been pointed out above, differences in conversational styles can also be noticed within the same speech community. There is no reason not to believe that attributions of all kinds based on the way students speak influence teachers' assessment of educational achievement. Let us look at what it might mean for the language classroom.

5 Conversational Styles: Implications for the Language Classroom

Certain styles are favored in the educational context due to a number of important factors such as power relations existing in the educational setting, teacher's subjective theories, expectations formed in the course of their pre-service teacher training and learners' beliefs manifested in their classroom behavior.

Attributions have been analyzed in SLA/FLT contexts mainly in relation to causes students ascribe to success and failure in language learning (Biedroń, 2008). The role of attributions made about interlocutors based on the way they speak is, however, particularly important when it comes to teachers' opinions of their students. In classroom contexts attributions shape teachers' perceptions of their students' capabilities, influence assessment and lead to the development of educational stereotypes. As early as 1968 Rosenthal and Jacobs investigated the *Golem stereotype* when the learner was perceived as slow and destructive and the *Pygmalion stereotype* when the learner was considered nice, bright and hard-working (Rosenthal & Jacobs, 1968). Today we are fully aware of the fact that teachers need to be especially careful here as stereotypes influence information filtering, shape further perceptions and lead to their own confirmation as self-fulfilling prophecies, though certain expectations might sometimes prove to be accurate (Jussim & Harber, 2005).

Main attributions in the classroom are formed on the way learners react to teacher talk and tend to use silence and speech in the classroom. Preference for certain conversational styles in the educational context springs from power relations in the language classroom as well as from a number of predictable expectations on the part of teachers and learners. Let us look at these factors more closely.

5.1 Power and Speech in the Classroom

First of all, as we have known since Erving Goffman's analysis of education through a theatre metaphor (Goffman, 1967, 1974), cultures of teachers and learners differ considerably. Part of this difference is connected with roles and relations in the classroom. However progressive and interpretive the teaching process may prove or however strongly traditional and transmission-oriented instruction is offered, in no paradigm can the teacher avoid assuming the role of a guide, manager, controller and evaluator. The teacher-student relation in the educational context is, therefore, by definition asymmetrical due to the power structure inherent in institutional settings with unequal power encounters shaping the context of interaction. Power relations are often covert, but become overtly manifested in assessment-oriented activities required in the school context.

What teachers do in the power structure of the instructional setting is often very similar to what for the same reason can be noticed in the course of job interviews.

It has been demonstrated that—just like teachers—interviewers constantly use interruption, hyperexplanation and hypercueing, while interviewees take time to answer, tend to use hesitations or return to certain themes in order to provide extra information, often considered irrelevant by the interviewer. Paradoxically, interruptions on the part of the interviewer are supposed to encourage the interviewee and elicit more conformity to the narrative structure expected by the interviewer. The result is, however, the opposite: the interviewee takes even more time to answer and gives more and more signals of uncertainty. On the other hand, interviewers tend not to interrupt or prompt those candidates who follow the *situation-task-action-result* paradigm recommended in various interview scripts. In consequence applicants with different narrative structures are likely to be judged negatively in terms of their cooperative, linguistic and communication skills, while those sharing the interviewer's perspective are likely to be assessed as apt, bright and cooperative (Roberts, 2009).

A similar phenomenon can be found in educational settings, especially when teachers engage in *focus on the form* or *focus on the forms* procedures during which power is also reflected in sequence organization with the first and the third turn usually occupied by the teacher (McHoul, 1978; Pawlak, 2004, 2013) Even though communicative classrooms employing content and language integrated (CLIL) approaches as well as pair-or group work might reduce teachers' power over communication, limited linguistic resources of the learners will not allow those tendencies to disappear (Gardner, 2014). What is more, educational encounters are usually genre-oriented and as such tend to be based on certain traditions of reasoning and argumentation which produce an expected narrative structure (Mäkitalo & Säljö 2002). Expectations are naturally intensified in power-based encounters. If the narrative offered does not conform to the teacher's expectations, it is usually dismissed as incorrect or irrelevant (Kerekes, 2003, 2007). In gatekeeping interactions, such as job interviews, the obvious result is unsuccessful application (Auer & Kern, 2000). In educational contexts the same situation may produce a *Golem effect* consisting in negative stereotyping, later often internalized by the learners, which in consequence ruins their self-esteem and leads to low achievement, non-promotion or dropout.

5.2 *Teachers' Expectations Formed in the Course of Pre-and In-Service Training as a Source of Attributions. Differences Between Teachers' and Learners' Attributions*

Pre- and in-service teacher education is responsible for a vast number of expectations instructors cherish on entering classrooms. In line with general trends in attribution mentioned above, educational tradition expects direct communication style, fast-moving discussions and school-scheduled attitude to time: wait time is

too short to elicit frequent, longer and more self-confident answers (Thornbury, 1996) and, what is more, teachers often wait less time for low-expectancy students (Marzano, 2010). Audiolingual as well as Direct, Oral and Situational Methods in parallel with the Callan Method follow in that tradition's footsteps. The Communicative Approach in particular values oral skills, quick interaction and dynamism in the language classroom which is clearly reflected in classroom observation and lesson evaluation grids. Fluency and participation are often considered indices of proficiency and motivation.

In its operationalized CAN DO statement based criteria, the *Common european framework of reference for languages (CEFR)* explicitly uses phrases describing behavior presenting an unsurmountable difficulty for high considerateness style speakers even in their mother tongue, let alone in a foreign language:

- for fluency (CEFR, 2001, p. 129):

  A2—*Can construct phrases on familiar topics with sufficient ease to handle short exchanges…*
  B1—*Can express him/herself with relative ease…*
  B2—*Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo…Can communicate spontaneously, often showing remarkable fluency and ease of expression in even longer complex stretches of speech.*
  C1—*Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously, almost effortlessly.*
  C2—*Can express him(:/herself at length with a natural, effortless, unhesitating flow.*

- for taking the floor/turn-taking (CEFR, 2001, p. 86):

  A1—*No descriptor available.*
  A2—*Can ask for attention.*
  B1—*Can intervene in a discussion on a familiar topic, using a suitable phrase to get the floor.*
  B2—*Can intervene appropriately in discussion… Can initiate discourse…*
  C1—*Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his/her remarks appropriately in order to get the floor, or to gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking.*
  C2—*See* C1.

No wonder that not all educated native speakers manage to achieve C2 levels in their own language.

Grading class participation is also expected across education levels. Learner involvement measured by number and length of interventions exerts considerable impact on students' final grades, though its correlation with academic achievement has been questioned since the early 1990s (Davis, 1993). Therefore, in both the open and the hidden curricula of teacher training colleges students are trained to form positive attributions based on fast verbal reactions, expressive intonation and

rich paralinguistics, to put it briefly, on extroverted verbal behavior. This naturally favors learners with offensive or high involvement conversational styles which do not necessarily correlate with the richness of learners' vocabulary or the accuracy of their interventions. Yet teachers tend to ascribe motivation and diligence to high involvement learners and accuse high considerateness or defensive ones of lacking interest and engagement. The latter learners fall victim to all kinds of negative attributions such as demotivation, ignorance and lack of skill ascribed to their slow verbal reactions, slow pacing, long pauses, flat intonation and minimum paralinguistics.

Educational tradition plays its part as well. In the school practice differences can be found in the realm of questions and negotiations between transmission and interpretive teachers. Transmission teachers, unlike the interpretive ones, do not value learners' clarifying questions which they perceive as signals of the lack of clarity in their own presentation of the new material, nor do they tolerate negotiations of the sharing of tasks.

Both groups of teachers find classroom management challenging as in communicative classrooms an imbalance of conversation is often encountered when high involvement speakers offer more narratives, take the floor much more frequently and generally say more, often in a humorous or a joking way. As a result high considerateness learners may feel excluded or dominated, while teachers desperately struggle to ensure equal participation of all students in classroom interaction.

Interestingly, teachers' attributions seem to change depending on the context of teacher-student interaction. In non-lesson encounters the high involvement style used by the learner, a way of speaking so much favored at language lessons, now meets with negative teachers' attributions since lack of submissiveness or modesty is ascribed to fluent, talkative learners engaging in overlapping conversation with their superiors. By the same token, in non-lesson contexts of teacher-student interaction high considerateness learners elicit more positive teachers' reactions as submissiveness and modesty are ascribed to their silences, hesitation pauses and avoidance of conversational overlap.

In informal discussions taking place in the language classroom and in the resulting mismatches some other typologies of conversational styles mentioned above may prove more useful. For example, mismatches, if not straightforward clashes, take place between offensive and defensive styles. *Offensive styles* on the part of the learner do not augur well for teachers' attributions unless used with straightforwardness in expressing gratitude. *Defensive styles* on the other hand, full of reserve and modesty, have a chance to contribute to good teacher-student rapport in informal conversations, though not necessarily in the language classroom. *Consensual styles*, used to avoid conflict, have a chance to be well tolerated, unlike *confrontational styles* which are often read as learners' insolence. *Adaptive styles* showing adjustment to the style of the interlocutor may result in negative attributions as adaptation might be read as mimicking the teacher. Yet, if high involvement learners manage to play down their confrontational styles and move towards the adaptive ones, they are likely to be viewed more favorably by their superiors.

What teachers in pre- or in-service training are usually not taught at all is the fact that students tend to use offensive or confrontational styles as self-handicapping strategies. Teachers treat an offensive style as a sign of the primary cause, i.e. undesired behavior, demotivation or lack of effort. Therefore, due to the *discounting principle,* the other cause, i.e. learning difficulty or lack of ability, is easily overlooked. The learner using an offensive style gains status among his teenage peers and avoids being shamed for the lack of progress. In consequence, offensive style becomes regularly used as a face-saving strategy of the student (Graham & Folkes, 2014). But how far do teachers and students share their attributions?

Unlike teachers, learners tend to form negative attributions of high involvement style peers considering them dominant, especially during pair- and group work. Unlike teachers, they are likely to respect learners with high involvement styles for not changing their way of speaking to adults, particularly in discipline-oriented, out-of-class teacher-student interaction; rebelliousness and even arrogance may raise the learners' status among their peers.

6 Conclusion

Conversational styles are crucial factors in teachers' perceptions and their assessment of learners' attitudes, motivation and language skills. Yet it is a challenge for the instructor to tell the student's conversational style from his/her proficiency level. The reason for this situation is the fact that professional teachers use as much FL during the lesson as possible and in consequence are unaware of it and how their students' L1 conversational styles are transferred to their L2 interactions. Therefore, learners using high involvement styles do not face negative stereotyping unless their style is perceived as offensive, while speakers with high considerateness styles fall victim to unfair evaluation due to all kinds of negative attributions made by their teachers. As conversational mismatches lead to the perception of otherness, and, in consequence, to a sense of distance and conflict, the issue under examination is crucial not only for routine assessment procedures in the classroom, but also for the process of developing intercultural competence. What seems important is, therefore, to raise awareness of these issues in teachers and learners of foreign languages through reflection on assessment criteria, languaging (Swain, 2006, 2010), but—first of all—through the promotion of *pedagogy of time*.

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Performing Intercultural Pragmatics: Laughter and the Need for Repair

Alison Phipps

Abstract This paper examines the role of laughter in intercultural pragmatics. It takes as its starting point the data collected as part of the University of Lancaster's PIC project, investigating intercultural communication during the year abroad of foreign language assistants in France and England. The paper examines the pragmatics of laughter and the interstices of what is not said but is revealed through humor in a variety of different ways by the use of laughter. Goffman's understanding of frames, face and roles in staging everyday interactions play a key role in the interpretation of the data alongside Turner's understandings of social drama. The way in which intercultural encounters insert new, messy social encounters into everyday life and professional interactions is connected to the uses of laughter for repair in intercultural pragmatics.

Keywords Laughter · Intercultural pragmatics · Goffman · PIC project · Intercultural communication · Year abroad

As you from crimes would pardon'd be Let your indulgence set me free. The Tempest.

1 Introduction

Story 1

Thursday morning was a double lesson with *Leistungskurs 12*. They were the ones doing advanced English, lower sixth formers, keen and not yet close enough to their leaving exams for it to block their concentration and their openness to learning English. I'd loved this class, and by now, 9 months into my time as a language assistant, we'd relaxed together as class and teacher. They just gelled, the way classes do sometimes, and they had usually responded well, laughing at my jokes, working with me as I learned with and through them how to teach a language.

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> Today we'd read a text from *The secret diary of Adrian Mole: Aged 13 ¾* by Sue Townsend. It had been a really successful, popular and funny best seller in England about 4 years previously, and its humor was resonating well with this class. Classes were largely held in English, but every now and then, especially if they were just stuck on a word that would otherwise unlock the meaning for them, I'd offer my own German translation to verify their understanding. In this text about going through adolescence we'd got stuck on Adrian Mole's spot squeezing habits. The class just couldn't grasp what he was up to in the bathroom every morning. "Pinkeln" I said, confidently, but I'd mixed it up and should have said "Pickel". The *class were helpless with laughter* and I was too when I realized my mistake. There was no chance of repair, no going back, and the laughter was all the stronger because I normally hit the mark with the translations I offered. Language broke down completely as we laughed until it hurt.

Story 2

> I'd arrived in the French university town around mid-afternoon off the overnight ferry and train down from Paris. It was hot and I'd hoped for a shower but I'd been picked up immediately by one of the French professors who was to be my mentor and whisked off for dinner. I was tired, my French decidedly rusty, my body still traveling and the food, though I am sure it was delicious and the hospitality thoughtful, kept swimming before my eyes. At last the meal was over and I was taken off to my temporary flat at the top of the *Faculté de Lettres* tower block on campus by my mentor. Everywhere was in darkness. I was still struggling with my French. The main gates were locked. My mentor was mumbling to himself. We went round the back and again, all was locked and in darkness. On the second floor a window was open. "Il faut monter par la fenêtre" he said. I am frightened of heights, but didn't then quite have access to my vocabulary for vertigo. So up we went, via the drain pipe, some relatively easy hand holds and a couple of window ledges, in through the window and then on up the fire escape to the attic, where I was let into my temporary room for the night. "Bonne nuit, dormez bien". And laughter. Shakey, tired, nervous, apologetic, deeply embarrassed on both parts, I recall. Laughter. Relief. Repair.

Both of these stories, elaborated a little in the re-telling, perform intercultural memories, points, recalled over time, which instantiate times where laughter marked a moment of repair in intercultural relations in different ways. Laughter, we might say, acted as a gift, a moment where the body broke culture and expectation and in the mess of intercultural relations found itself, despite itself, as a relational modality in social relations. The anthropologist Victor Turner might call this moment a moment of *communitas* (Turner, 1995) in his work on social rituals and in particular in his work on ritual and theatre.

This paper examines the moments represented in the Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication project data (PIC) where laughter breaks through. Drawn from the *temoignages, entretiens, retrospectives,* and narratives of English and French assistant teachers and their mentors these are telling moments of breach or rupture swelling beyond language. Those speaking or writing tell, in different ways and for different audiences, of their experiences of being assistant language teachers in schools in France and England and they do so by laughing and by remembering laughter. The moments which I wish to concentrate on in this paper are those where the need for repair, interculturally, is marked by such laughter. The mode of theorizing I will use is drawn from performance, as both metaphor and as activity, for the traction which the concept can provide to illuminate intercultural pragmatics.

2 Performance: Critical Concept and Productive Metaphor

Concepts of relating to performance and performativity are widespread across the social sciences and humanities. It was Clifford Geertz, hot foot from Balinese Cock Fights, who stressed the interpretative and performative aspect of culture as text (Geertz, 1973). During my own training as an anthropologist it was clear that dramaturgical tropes proved particularly illuminating for the work of thick description that accompanied the cultural turn in anthropology and the work of Goffman in the field of communication. Geertz's *The interpretation of cultures* and Goffman's *The presentation of self in everyday life* both offered dramaturgical modes of analyzing ethnographic data, retrospectively, after the anthropologist had witnessed events, live. Through numerous others the dramaturgical potential for theorizing human action expanded; Conquergood, Turner, Geertz in Anthropology (Conquergood, 1989, 1992; Geertz, 1973; Turner, 1987), Goffman, Austin and Searle (Austin, 1975; Geertz, 1973; Goffman, 1969; Searle, 1969) in the field of speech acts and their performative consequences and ritual functions. In theorizing knowledge Lyotard offered a devastating and largely prophetic analysis of the performativity and of technological turns in education (Lyotard, 1984).

These rich seams of performance related thought allow the PIC data to be examined for their dramaturgical and performative elements as we find these different contexts present and marked, as I shall show, by laughter. Drawing primarily here on the anthropology of Victor Turner and his later work on social drama *From ritual to theater: The human seriousness of play* (Turner, 1982) I propose four contexts where performance as both activity and metaphor can illuminate the Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication data sets. These are:

1. In the research design, dramaturgical arc and generative contexts of data production and performance. The data is strongly performed and performative. The awareness of its embeddedness in the new social dramas of intercultural encounter is marked by laughter.
2. In the context of social repair and repair of the frame of everyday relations. Here laughter marks a breach in new social relations in an intercultural context, which is complex and where these relations are ones of firm difference variously and simultaneous those of age, gender, class, professional standing, power and responsibility, native or non-native speaking, teacher and student, national cultural background (Goffman, 1969).
3. In the context of facing saving and the need for individual repair, as exposed through the social and intercultural contexts. Here laughter is that of embarrassment and exposure. A personal breach or newly recognized unease, unknown because it is brought about by the very nature of intercultural relations and the messy encounters with difference.
4. In the context of professional performance and the need for repair, staged managerially, though initiated by mentor or mentee. Here laughter marks face

> saving where the stakes of career and performance understood as competence are in play. Speech acts work performatively here to accord professional status, in both directions across the different positions from which performance is produced.

These are four particular contexts where the modes of performance, what Turner terms 'liminoid' performance (Turner, 1982) in complex modern societies, might be identified in the PIC data. There are others. The meta-performative would be one which might bear further analysis, where participants reflect back or tell their interlocutors of experiences they have had of theatre and performances they have seen, where performance here is that of entertainment. Equally, role play would offer an interesting point of discussion as a technique used by language assistants and teachers in language pedagogy. Whilst undoubtedly worthy of analysis I wish to limit myself to the four contexts here, as these, to my mind, represent 'laughter happenings' which have come into being through the data gathering process itself, rather than necessarily standing outside of the data, as a different, rich yet distanced set of performance related events.

In order to identify these four contexts I have searched the different genre of data in the PIC project for all instances of laughter [laughs] [rire]. I have then categorized these and identified four main contexts, as outlined above, where laughter occurs. These I have then related to Turner's work on social drama and the micro contexts of breach in intercultural relations as presented in here. Finally, I have considered the performativity and performance genre implicated in the methodology and design of the PIC project and its enactment by participants.

Laughter is perhaps an unusual place with which to begin an analysis of linguistic data, as it precisely represents a rupture in language, the place where the smoothed out phrases of the mother tongue and the haltering phrases of a language being learned are replaced by a different mode of sound expression, by a rush of air from the body. *Ha*. Laughter and the comic have long taunted the minds of scholars. We do not have Aristotle's work on comedy—the lost second book of the *Poetics*—only his work on tragedy. Freud (1905), with his work *Jokes and their relation to the unconscious,* and Bergson with his work on laughter, *Le Rire'* (Bergson, 2003), represent two twentieth century thinkers who have turned their attention to this moment of breach in the fabric of language and speech. Bergson in particular gives a questioning point of departure for the analysis of laughter in human relations:

> For the comic spirit has a logic of its own, even in its wildest eccentricities. It has a method in its madness. It dreams, I admit, but it conjures up, in its dreams, visions that are at once accepted and understood by the whole of a social group. Can it then fail to throw light for us on the way that human imagination works, and more particularly social, collective, and popular imagination? Begotten of real life and akin to art, should it not also have something of its own to tell us about art and life? (Bergson, 2003, p. 1)

In anthropology, Victor Turner sees joking, play, laughter and other ludic modes of performance as emerging at the point in time when a breach occurs in normal

everyday social modalities. He ascribes four phases to social dramas drawing on the discourse of performance:

> These I label: breach, crisis, redress, and either reintegration or recognition of schism. Social dramas occur within groups bounded by shared values and interests of persons and having a real or alleged common history. Their main actors are persons for whom the group which constitutes the field of dramatic action has a high value priority (Turner, 1982, p. 69).

Turner's work largely examines human societies anthropologically and the conclusions he draws about the functioning of social drama are broad and pertain the way in which societies experience breach, crisis, redress and reintegration or recognition of schism at the macro levels of culture. I do not wish to rehearse further his arguments here but rather to focus on the micro levels of intercultural pragmatics and the places where, in the taking of breath, in the twists and turns of conversation, in the self-reflexive moods of a journal retrospective, we find these features of social drama enacted at the micro level, often highly compacted into just one or two turns in the conversation and brought into being through the dramaturgical act of the research design and the faithful following, by participants in the research project, of its script. In this sense they operate as fractals, indexing something beyond the levels at which they are operating socially, and allow scales of social complexity to be carried in our bodies.

Before turning to an analysis of aspects of the data I'd like to detour, briefly, to consider ways in which performance is present both as a way of understanding action, and of metaphorizing the data. A word of caution here. When I use the term 'performance' I am doing so in both a 'real' and a metaphorical mode. Metaphor is important, I believe, following Ricoeur (1978) and Mcfague (1975) for its role and function in social dramas.

Metaphorical language, according to Sallie Mcfague, "not only connects this with that, here with there, but demands that one partner of the association, at least, be concrete, sensuous, familiar, bodily. It will abide no abstractions, no head without a body, no mystical flights, but because it is the method of *human* movement itinsists on taking along the whole human being in all its familiarity, messiness, and concreteness" (p. 61, emphasis in the original).

> Metaphor is, for human beings, what instinctual groping is for the rest of the universe – the power of getting from here to there. The imagination is the chief mover, setting the familiar in an unfamiliar context, so that new possibilities can be glimpsed. Metaphorical thinking is the way human beings – selves not mere minds - move in all areas of discovery (Mcfague, 1975, p. 10).

For this reason, in this paper, I am insisting of both the concrete and metaphorical usages, interchangeably, because of their explanatory and symbolic power to illuminate intercultural pragmatics and actual instances of the four key performance tropes I have identified. In intercultural relations in particular we find both the desire for the concrete and familiar in the encounter with the new or unfamiliar. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that metaphors of performance illuminate anthropological, linguistic and intercultural theorizing when such encounters are experienced.

When, to take my specific instance, laughter occurs and is recorded in the data sets it does so as a real, recorded and reflected event—the event of laughter—and also at a complex intercultural nexus where a crisis or breach threatens. The laughter marks the messiness of intercultural relations, the abandoning of learned cultural scripts and the point where words—in native or learned language—with not suffice to enable the flow of social interaction to continue. Laughter marks a moment of social or cultural disintegration so that an intercultural reintegration, or recognition of schism between individuals—gender, ethnicity, linguistic background, class, profession, culture—can be acknowledged and either left or worked beyond.

3 Staging Intercultural Pragmatics: Performativity, Data and Design

Performance and performativity emerge in the PIC data in different ways. The data collected through the PIC project represents data which is now rendered as mobile text, downloadable from the PIC website, stored asynchronously, allowing us to literally dot in and out of it as researchers. The data is a full set of transcriptions of the meeting interactions taking place between foreign languages assistants in France and England, and their mentors, over a full year. The data collection took place in a different quality of time, one which, I would like to argue, has much in common with the qualities of time involved in live performance. Let us examine an extract from the data set which deals with a live recording of an interview between mentor and mentee in England.

Entretien (England)

S1 *Lundi 4 Octobre, euh, <name 1> school, euh dans une salle de classe. Euh, donc je suis avec euh Ellen Danson, euh qui est mon mentor, et moi-même, Emilie Baumont, et c'est le premier entretien que, que l'on <?> sur les euh… c'est un entretien général sur le travaille*

T1 *OK Emilie <laughs>*

S1 *<laughs>*

T1 *How are you?*

S1 *Fine <laughs> thank you very much*

T1 *<laughs> and how has your day been today?*

S1 *Erm… yes it's very interesting, <laughs> er I was a little tired so it was a little difficult today* enfin*, because it was different classes and different groups and um because I was just observing it's not er I don't really know what to do just*

Over 8 lines of data, and a very short extract indeed we find that there are 5 instances of recorded laughter. This is one instance where laughter is found to be performing a relationship in a social drama as a moment of repair in the awkwardness of emergent social relations. These relations are concentrated around the

first encounter with both the mentor and the staged event of the 'entretien'. We are told that this is 'le premier entretien'. Furthermore, the mentee is the one controlling the audio recording technology for the interview so there is also an inversion in hierarchical social relations. In short, there are several levels of breach in 'normal' mentoring relations. Laughter is necessary here we might say, because the social fabric here is an intercultural fabric, it is tentative, staged technologically and professionally, and lacking in confidence. The 'entretien' is marked by differences of many kinds—age, gender, nationality, professional standing, cultural background and linguistic ability. The laughter here is not writ large in the context of a theatre, as classically understood, produced by a moment of deliberate (or even accidental) comedy. This is laughter produced from a different set of stagings, but none the less stagings which reflect on the particular set of frames (following Goffman) in the design of the intercultural pragmatics project.

Moving through the arc of the data set we move to another PIC produced performance, where the mentee performs a reflection on her 'entretien' for the purposes of the research and does so in a different genre of performance, that of the 'temoignage'. Here we find that the generic conventions of a witness statement are followed, those of juridical process, those of dramatic soliloquy, and those of the TV video diary forms which dominate contemporary docu-soaps. What mentee Shannon Pearson reflects on in her retrospective is the laughter present in this first 'entretien'.

Reflecting on live recording

1. *I'm really shocked at the level of my French. I sound very nervous—I'm giggly.*
2. *I thought I knew my* responsible *quite well already at this point, but listening to the tape I realise that I'm not at all comfortable—I now know him much better.*
3. *He seemed to understand my situation well*—really listened to me. *He allowed me to direct the conversation. He is a confident person however, so I don't think that he really understood why I had concerns or was nervous* etc. *His attitude is more—"It'll be fine!"*
4. *I was very satisfied with the outcome.* We both spoke and listened to each other. *I was able to talk about everything that I wanted to and was reassured that I was doing OK!*
5. *I think that the* témoignage *is quite an accurate reflection, but I obviously thought that I was more confident/comfortable than I really was. I thought that I knew him better than I really did. I also thought that my French was slightly better than it was—I'm ashamed at how badly I'm speaking French with Valentin.*

Laughter—described by Shannon Pearson as 'giggly' but noticed immediately—is being used as self defence, as Freud would have it, but also, in the context of this intercultural social drama, as marking the embarrassment at a number of interrelating breaches in the fabric of social relations. The breach is of up-ended relations, technology, the nervousness produced by the necessity of performing data for absent researchers for the first time, and by the fact that this is being done with a level of proficiency in the French language which she is finds shocking.

What this extract demonstrates is the extent to which the mood of the data collection design and methodology is drawn from the tropes of drama, and how laughter reveals, within the data set, the breaches which the data produces, performatively through its very design, and the breaches forming part of the up-ended social and intercultural relations which the design serves to capture. Furthermore, and retrospectively, it demonstrates the extent to which listening or being heard (having an attentive audience, to use a performance derived term) begins to heal a breach in social and intercultural relations. Valentin's care for Shannon as a mentor, their good professional relationship seems to be characterized, in her epilogue at the end of the project, by a relatively silent, language-free, mode of being, which I characterize as 'intercultural listening' (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004). In the literature on intercultural language education the concept of the 'intercultural speaker', the active performer, is stressed (Byram, 1997). This data extract demonstrates the need for an attentive audience and for listening to be present, if the inevitable breaches in social relations and the awkwardness which is marked by laughter are to be healed.

In summary, then, we can see that laughter marks breaches in relations, and also ushers in their healing in relations around the production of the PIC data. This production is designed and enacted through the pre-existing tropes of drama: temoignage, entretien. It gives a full narrative arc, with each data type (log book, recording, interview) representing an act in a five part drama; that of the trials of a young foreign language assistant and her professional learning and relationships. We might even go so far as to suggest that the Aristotelian unities of time, place and action are encompassed in the design and production of the data: an assistant's year, a place in a school abroad and the myriad intercultural dramas which (a) the experience (b) the production and (c) the intentional performative design of the data instantiate.

4 Performing Social Repair

To move from a focus on performativity in the design of the PIC data, and the way laughter marks a breach caused, among other things, by the performance of and for data collection, I'd like to focus on laughter and performance in the context of performing social repair. In example from the PIC data the breach is one of an immediate social nature, where politeness conventions slip, socially, because of the cultural and linguistic oddness of a person's unfamiliar name. Names are strong social and cultural markers of identity, and a breach and crisis occur when they are misrecognized, mispronounced, and their functioning in a social environment is misunderstood. Meeting and greeting are some of the first lessons in both another language and in the functioning of another culture. Most beginners' language classes will begin with lessons in how to greet and how to say one's name. This is what Williams calls a moment of neighbourliness (Williams, 2000) where the possibility of social relations is re-stated and enacted anew. In *Learning the arts of linguistic survival* (Phipps, 2007) I discuss this aspect of language learning at

length. Here, however, I wish to focus on the role of laughter in this moment of social drama and its place in repairing social relations.

T1 *<school name 1> School. PIC Project recording. Er Friday the 7th of January 2005. We have a meeting with all the three foreign languages assistants. Erm. We have Heloise Daubert, who is in the PIC Project and Heloise is French. And we have Svenja House who is German and is working with us part-time shared with another school. And we have Jofre Fernando*

S3 *Fernandez <laughs>*

S1 *[Simul: <laughs>]*

S2 *[Simul: <laughs>]*

T1 *Fernandez erm whose name is double barrelled so it's too long to say erm and <laughs>*

S3 *[Simul: No] No <?>*

T1 *Well, Fernandez, tell me the next bit*

S3 *Juan Francisco Fernandez Martín*

S2 *<laugh>*

T1 *Thank you mm thank you very much, OK,* gracias

In this extract we are introduced to a Spanish language assistant and the object of laughter is this assistant's name. The utterance 'Fernandez', the intimate stating of a first name, the ultimate moment of greeting, produces an immediate, uncontrolled exchange of laughter. Greeting is the prime liminal moment in any human social encounter. It enacts, each time, the possibility of social life beginning again in a new context, between different human beings. It is therefore a tricky moment and the laughter here, I would argue, covers the breach. The name has to be a comic object because for laughter not to accompany its misunderstood, decontextualized and mispronounced aspect would be to deny the possibility of interhuman relationship at this crucial moment in the social process. And so it is that laughter abounds. The name is not in and of itself comic. Decontextualized and at the point of greeting, however, it becomes a trigger for laughter, breach, crisis of recognition and then the need for laughter to offer the possibility of redress and thus of a re-integration, to follow Turner's schema, as its prime social function.

A further example marked by laughter around naming can be found in the French extract of data below, again from the early phase of data recording between mentor and mentee.

S1: *Cassandra Manson, 19, F, England, English, Foreign Language Assistant*

T1: *Carole Grimaud, 50s, F, France, French, Responsable*

S2: *Melanie Knox,?, F, America, English, Foreign Language Assistant*

[…] Et puis alors derrière vous avez les emplois du temps. Alors Cassandra, est-ce qu'on prend Cassandra, on va prendre Cassandra, alors Cassandra elle va le lundi de 13H30 à 15H30, elle va à <nom d'établissement 1>.

S1 *[simul: ah oui - oui – oui, oui – oui, oui - <rire>] Ah oui? Et c'est où exactement?*

S2 *[Simul Ah bon]*

T1 *[simul: à l'école <nom d'établissement 1>] Alors, vous avez le plan? Non, vous n'avez pas un plan de Quimper*

S1 *Nous avons un plan mais il y a pas le nom des écoles. <rire>*

T1 *Oui, euh....bleubleubleu, attend, je vais chercher*!

S1 *<rire>*

S2 *<rire>*

T1 *J'aurais dû prévoir un plan, un plan, un plan*!

S1 *<rire>*
<longue pause, les 2 assistantes parlent en anglais>

<nom d'établissement 3>, alors la rue Rosmadec, on va la retrouver là, elle est là, la voilà rue Rosmadec, donc Hôtel de ville, école pour voilà, la la rue de <nom d'établissement 1>, t'as vu <nom d'établissement1> Alors <nom d'établissement 3>, alors <nom d'établissement 3> c'est euh <pause> <?> donc l'école elle est, euh comment on pourrait dire, l'école elle est euh, elle est dans cette rue-là, je crois.

S1 *Ah oui, et comment elle s'appelle?*

T1 *<nom d'établissement 3>, vous connaissez le poète <nom>*?

S1 *Non! <rire>*

T1 *Non? Pour peindre euh comment, pour peindre un oiseau il faut d'abord dessiner la cage, vous ne connaissez pas le poème?*

S1 *Non, il faut chercher*

Notable, in the context of social repair and naming, in this extract of data is the repeated use of the assistants name by the mentor, 'Cassandra, Cassandra, alors, Cassandra' and the laughter which accompanies the lack of knowledge of a particular French poet and the name of the schools. For social and cultural functioning these names are all required. Without the 'nom d'établissement' or the 'nom du poète' Cassandra cannot carry out her duties. The laughter is all one sided on the part of the assistant, representing redress where there is a lack of name knowledge and of practical orientation. It enables the messy process of finding directions in a strange place, of coming to know central actors, and of acquiring specific forms of cultural capital to be integrated so that the work can be done. Where knowledge is lacking, socially and culturally, laughter serves to heal the breach and also as an affective release.

5 Performing Intercultural Repair

As well as social repair being marked and performed through laughter, we also find cultural repair and intercultural relations marked by laughter. The breach here is at the level of stereotypical relations and the knowing ways in which these are performed in intercultural interactions. In the extract below the conversation revolves around food, frenchness and symbols of French culture.

S1 *alors, mercredi erm 5th, 6th mercredi 6 Octobre 2004, donc <name 1> school er, donc nous sommes dans une salle de classe, je suis avec Ellen Danson, my mentor, et moi-même je suis Emilie Baumont*

T1 *[Simul: Yes], which is is after registration in the afternoon. I, for example, I teach French period seven, to a small group who erm who are great, they're lovely, they but they do German as well*

S1 *[Simul: Ah] Ah*

T1 *They do the two languages*

S1 *OK*

T1 *And the only time we could fit French in the timetable is period seven*

S1 *Ah*

T1 *So it's a problem because of the school day*

S1 *Mm-hmm*

T1 *But it's a shame*

S1 *Well perhaps once in the year we can organise something?*

T1 *Something would be nice, something fun*

S1 *With food or?*

T1 *With food…*

S1 *<laughs> of course…*

T1 *music*

S1 *Music. French music*

T1 *French…*

S1 *<laughs>*

T1 *<laughs> that would that would be nice*

S1 *Yeah*

T1 *I think it is important*

S1 *Yeah*

T1 *[Simul: I think it's important] I think the kids see it as important. Erm, one of the schools I worked in in the Midlands we did erm we used to celebrate Bastille Day*

S1 *Bastille Day? Ah* oui *euh,… fourteenth of…*

T1 *Yeah,* quatorze juillet*, and and we had French food in the canteen*

S1 *Mm-hmm*

T1 *we had a* boule, pétanque *tournament*

S1 *[Simul:* Ah oui*!] <laughs>*

T1 *outside with prizes, we had French music playing, we all wore red white and blue…*

S1 *Uh-huh*

T1 *Erm, it was good, it was really good*

S1 *Yeah*

T1 *Er and we tried, er, they did an assembly in the morning and the assembly was something French… I don't know… er it was good and we had quizzes on and it sort of, I don't know, made that subject feel slightly more important*

S1 *Yeah, yeah*

T1 *It's a nice idea*

S1 *OK*

T1 *Yeah. And if, well if if you've got any ideas?*

S1 *Yeah I will er think about that more precisely*

T1 *Yeah*

S1 *Yeah*

'Something French' is what is desired in order to develop a fun learning environment in the school. A range of stereotypical aspects of French society—food, tricolor, Bastille Day, pétanque, boules—all are brought out as metonymical cultural symbols which might be used to hook the pupils' attention and motivate their language learning. Here, as distinct from the earlier extracts, we find mentor and mentee working together. There is no particular social breach or breach of personhood; rather, the work is mutual, intercultural and involves cultural symbols. Laughter accompanies this work. There is, therefore, something inherently funny about suggesting that French culture might be symbolized by these things. Both mentor and mentee are united in their laughter at their suggestion of these stereotypical cultural symbols. Far from representing a problem in intercultural relations, as is more usually suggested in the wide anti-stereotypical literature in intercultural studies, the placing of laughter and stereotypes together here suggests that these symbols of a culture, however stereotypical and concentrated, have a role to play. To suggest them is to knowingly cause a potential breach in intercultural relations, to suggest that the experience of living as French can somehow be reduced to certain key elements. Here the laughter is not face saving because it is personally embarrassed or because it is marking a social breach, so much as saving face at the level of culture and professional standing.

6 Professional Performance

The final context I wish to consider with regard to performativity and laughter is the context of professionalism. Lyotard (1984) demonstrates the extent to which performativity has become a key aim of late modern capitalist societies and their systems of education. The expansion of Weberian bureaucratic control (Weber, 1992) and the judgment of success based on criteria of technical competence, target achievement, career development and performance means that the dramaturgical metaphors are writ large across domains of work. Performance becomes work and loses its cathartic, ritual function with previous associations with entertainment and leisure being hollowed out and undergoing semantic shift.

> The performativity criterion has its "advantages". It excludes in principle adherence to metaphysical discourse; it requires the renunciation of fables; it demands clear minds and cold wills; it replaces the definition of essences with the calculation of interactions; it makes the "players" assume responsibility not only for the statements they propose, but also for the rules to which they submit those statements in order to render them acceptable. It brings the pragmatic functions of knowledge clearly to light, to the extent that they seem to relate to the criterion of efficiency; the pragmatics of argumentations, of the production of proof, of the transmission of learning, and of the apprenticeship of the imaginations (Lyotard, 1984, p. 62).

In such a performative professional context as the one described by Lyotard assistants and their mentors are also performing and acting out their respective roles as professionals in the transmission of knowledge. They do so according to the

competence models which largely determine this professional environment. These models not only dominate the managerial literature on professionalism but are also found in the literatures on communicative competence (Gumperz & Hymes, 1964) and in their extension as intercultural communicative competence through the work of Byram (1997). What occurs in the professional context, then, is the production of a stage where competence attaches to a number of discrete roles: as teacher, mentor, assistant, language learner, and is evaluated as performance. This in turn produces a new context for the presentation of self as a competent professional and consequently for comic and accidental happenings, and for the need for repair when this mask slips or this role is shaky. Again the PIC data acts performatively, giving a context in which competent professional performance can be staged for the researchers, and also capturing moments where these professional performances are to the fore in the different interactions. The thought of assessments, grades and degree results are never far away from the contexts of such data production for the assistants or for their mentors.

S1: Celine Hamond, 20, F, France, French, French Language assistant

T1: Samantha Finlay, 40s, F, Britain, English, mentor

5th October 2004

The head will do a talk, I think she does it twice and the parents obviously want to listen to that, but other than that they can just walk around and if th-if they want someone to take them round, they can ask for a guide, but erm, they mostly like to just wander, where they want

S1 [Simul:yeah, mm-hmm - yes of course - right - <?>] yes <laughs> yes, I see. OK

T1 Em… and also there's there's going to be erm a video, erm, on…wh- when the pupils are not playing the games, there's going to be a video of the French trip, that will be fun for you to have a look at actually…

S1 [Simul: Oh yeah - yes exactly] yeah when was the trip exactly?

T1 In the summer. Erm we went to, erm… <?>, er <pause> near Boulogne*, on the coast, right on the coast and Dave took a video*

S1 [Simul: erm OK yeah -.yeah yeah yeah yeah] ah that's good <laughs>

T1 …it was…we took two coaches and so he actually took more of the children that were on his coach, but he still managed to get all of the group… including one of the teachers asleep. She wasn't very happy about

S1 [Simul: yes obviously - the whole group on yes -.ahhhh no <laughs>] showing all the parents and the children… <laughs>

T1 <laughs> So that, anyway so that's, that's what's happening in my room. And in Dave's room, erm he's going to have some German going on, erm they're going to… erm play some games with flash cards in German. And he's also going to have a video of the Italian trip, and Joe the head, also arranged the trip to Italy, in half term last year, in May half term, so that's going to be going on in there. And Terry's going to be based in here and we're going to have the café, le café français, *<laughs> which is where your biscuits come in*

S1 [Simul: OK – mhmmm - oh OK – OK - yeah OK – mm-hmm – mm - oh - yes <laughs> ….] OK <laughs>

T1 And, and that will happen all evening, so the things in the other rooms will happen at certain times, but the café will be on all the time, so again, it would be good if we could have you in the café to help with the language some of the time

S1 *[Simul: right – mmhmmm - yeah <?>- yes] Yes of course*

T1 *Because sometimes the parents speak in French to the children*

S1 *[Simul: Really?] oh cool*

T1 *and the the interesting thing is that the children that are really keen to help are some of the lower ability children, so they erm… they want to speak but they find it a bit difficult, so if you were there to give them a little bit of help and encouragement, that would be really good. So the café would be the whole evening*

S1 *[Simul: yeah - mmm - yes - yeah yeah of course I'd be glad to do that yeah yeah - mmhmmm] Erm is s it just euh… socialisation, I mean just talking together, or… <pause> i- or is it erm… kind of euh… questions euh the parents want to ask you about the school and everything or…*

T1 *Yes, they do, erm but they they will come specifically to see me to ask me anything about languages, or or Dave or Terry, the three of us, erm but they erm they c- they will come to the café and they will actually buy erm tea and coffee and the menus will be in French. We're doing tea and coffee and orange juice*

S1 *[Simul: OK - <?> - oh right very good] Yes*

T1 *and biscuits, and sweets, sweets for the children <laughs>*

S1 *<laughs>*

T1 *Yeah so erm, last year it w- this is the first year it's been erm in the evening, well at this school,*

The formal, professional context and roles of mentor and mentee are what frame this interaction where an open day is being described. This is a context where the assistant will not only be working with other teachers and pupils but parents and others may be present as well. In other words, there will be a number of different potential audiences, or witnesses to the teaching action. The professional stakes are very high. From the start however, the professional description of performance, as it may be generically understood by the mentee, is compromised by the descriptions offered by the mentor. It is perfectly possible to read this interaction as an attempt to settle the mentee into a role and set them at ease, appealing to action and events which are more akin to social as opposed to professional roles, but the laughter again marks a moment of breach and potential for crisis in the professional imagination of the mentee. In the opening sequence for instance, we hear the phrase:

> The head will do a talk, I think she does it twice and the parents obviously want to listen to that, but other than that they can just walk around and if th-if they want someone to take them round, they can ask for a guide, but erm, they mostly like to just wander, where they want.

The context is one where professional control is given up—'they mostly like to just wander', 'Dave took a video', 'including one of the teachers asleep', 'that's where your biscuits come in'. All of the instances brought up as examples of action for this event are ones which are from outwith the professional context, and which therefore breach imagined and usual understandings of professional competence. A professionally competent performance is not usually associated with 'being asleep' and 'biscuits' and so laughter occurs at this moment of breach in professional performance.

7 Conclusions: Laughter and Performance in Intercultural Pragmatics

This paper has proceeded from an identification and subsequent discussion of four different ways in which laughter may be understood, pragmatically, as marking a moment of breach in the fabric of relations and to be an instance of repair. These moments function in the context of the presentation of self: performatively, for the absent, data-gathering researcher; socially, as part of interhuman relations; culturally, through intercultural and symbolic interactions; and, finally, in the context of competent professional performance. There are others which are present and which would bear further analysis in the PIC data sets, particularly the references to drama, theatre and performance as part of the experience of the assistants' year. What I hope to have shown is how both the process of producing the data and the different levels of interaction may be framed through dramaturgical tropes, and also how they reach into pre-existing paradigmatic deep genres of performance.

> A Paradigm of this sort goes beyond the cognitive and even the moral to the existential domain; and in so doing becomes clothed with allusiveness, implications, and metaphor – for in the stress of action, firm definitional outlines become blurred by the encounter of emotionally charged wills. Paradigms of this type, cultural root paradigms, so to speak, reach down to the irreducible life stances of individuals, passing beneath conscious prehension to a fiduciary hold on what they sense to be axiomatic values (…) (Turner, 1982, p. 73).

Furthermore, although the project aims to consider intercultural pragmatics, the moments where masks slip, language fails and laughter takes over demonstrate the extent to which intercultural pragmatics and the need for repair cut across roles performed at the level of gender, age, class, professional, and cultural relations. The intercultural nature of the interactions makes these data particularly interesting as they offer evidence across different performance genres which occur at particularly fragile moments of social interaction. The presence of another culture inserts a level of complexity into the mode of interaction, as does the awareness of communicating in another, more fragile language, and the framing of these activities through the overwhelming context of postmodern performativity. Questions are raised about the imagined researcher for whom the retrospectives are performed; about the place of role-play in classroom interactions; about the performance of a more distinctive cultural identity around stereotypes; and about what it is, to return to Bergson, that the comic spirit, which emerges in these moments, has to tell us about human life (Bergson, 2003).

Intercultural communicative competence is one offering within education, and language education in particular, which promises to help heal or prevent potential breakdowns in cultural relations. It is conceived primarily in the tragic mode, always seeking to prevent failure, to enable lack to be covered, to prepare students to redress or even avoid cultural mistakes, without losing their own sense a self, which would indeed be tragic. However, what the PIC data and the rich presence of laughter in the data at precisely those embarrassing and compromised moments of

breach and lack demonstrates is, I believe, the need for a turn towards comedic theorizing in intercultural studies.

Empathy and the development of intercultural feeling form a key aspect of competent intercultural performance (Byram, 1997) and yet Bergson would have us understand that "Indifference is its [laughter's] natural environment, for laughter has no greater foe than emotion". Furthermore, Bergson argues that "To produce the whole of its effect, then, the comic demands something like a momentary anesthesia of the heart. Its appeal is to intelligence, pure and simple" (Bergson, 2003). Through the ethnographic turn (Roberts et al., 2001), much of intercultural education has sought to place an emphasis on experiential learning, and much as been gained in language education in particular through these and other reflexive immersion methodologies. The reflections produced at the end of the assistants' experiences, and the assimilating, or summing up, of the drama are not unlike Prospero's epilogue at the end of *The tempest*, or Brechtian Verfremdung. They show how intercultural pragmatics are learned and experienced through decentering and defamiliarization where comedy serves to anesthetize emotion and foreground critical, intelligent reflection. Laughter and comedy begin to appear, always deeply contextualized socially, as a necessary element in the reintegration or the recognition that is occasioned by such learning. Laughter enables this to occur without 'tragic' damage to the intercultural learner. Finally, in the context of the fragility present in the moment of intercultural relations, broadly conceived and writ large across the differing contexts of globalization, we find Bergson's observations of the function of laughter fuse with those of Lyotard's observations on performativity and the postmodern condition:

> We have seen that the more society improves, the more plastic is the adaptability it obtains from its members; while the greater the tendency towards increasing stability below, the more does it force to the surface the disturbing elements inseparable from so vast a bulk; and thus laughter performs a useful function by emphasizing the form of these significant undulations (Bergson, 2003, p. 479).

Intercultural relations are messy, turbulent, transforming, inserting something new and unstable into social life. The need for repair and the need for laughter co-exist in intercultural contexts. Laughter, again to cite Bergson, "indicates a slight revolt on the surface of social life". When anthropologists speak of their work as performance, or when they write of culture as text, they are indeed, on one level, engaging in the kind of problematic written cultural philologism that Bourdieu critique's as part and parcel of a scholastic disposition of "imputing to the object the manner of the looking" (Bourdieu, 2000). But we are also reaching for a complex metaphor—a metaphor that includes the unfamiliar in its bounds, that points to the precarious nature of knowledge in motion, a metaphor that speaks, experientially, of the potentially tricky, treacherous, powerful play of what elsewhere I have termed languaging bodies, bodies that can tune in and out of different worlds and in so doing can turn those worlds inside out. The world of live performance is real, it is not a technological mediation, like cinema. Human bodies and concrete objects are

in play as aesthetic and as live social drama, bringing spells and healings from strange, mysterious places through the power of drama, the cathartic power of comedy as well as tragedy.

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Teaching Matters: Enjoyment and Job Satisfaction

Liliana Piasecka

Abstract Teaching occurs in a complex and dynamic environment that involves other people—learners, their families and school authorities as well as the subject matter to be taught. Expectations towards the effects of teaching are high, though opinions about teachers may be harmful. What is a contemporary teacher like, then? The aim of this article is to present a portrait of an average teacher on the basis of selected empirical evidence from TALIS 2013 survey (OECD, 2014). Also teachers' emotions and their relations with job satisfaction and overall success are discussed. Finally, empirical evidence from a case study on job satisfaction, enjoyment and success of Polish teachers of English is discussed. Polish ELT teachers are both similar to and different from a typical (average) TALIS 2013 teacher. They are satisfied with their job and they experience positive emotions when their learners make progress, achieve goals and are motived to learn English. They feel they are successful but at the same time they realize that success is a complex phenomenon that has many sources and many manifestations.

Keywords Portrait of an average teacher · EFL teachers · Emotions · Job satisfaction · Enjoyment · Success

> *It is the supreme art of the teacher to awaken joy in creative expression and knowledge.*
>
> Albert Einstein

1 Introduction

Learners, teachers and the subject matter are the three pillars of the educational process. Teachers perform a number of important functions in this process: they mediate between the subject matter and the learners, they facilitate learning, they motivate, encourage, and enhance the learners' interest in learning, development

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and pursuit of knowledge. They actively participate in forming their learners' attitudes to the value of education and human growth in general. This burdensome task may have differential effects on the teachers' well-being, causing the burn-out effect, disillusionment and dissatisfaction in some, but also feelings of self-efficacy, job satisfaction and success in others.

Becoming a teacher requires a lot of effort, energy and determination. Being a teacher is rewarding but it is also connected with responsibility for the effects of teaching, for the effective management of the educational process and for the ultimate attainment that is measured by standardized exams. All these factors may cause feelings of anxiety and they may result in stress but when learners succeed, their teachers feel rewarded and satisfied.

Teachers, like doctors, nurses, social workers or administration officers, perform the so-called helping or people-oriented profession which entails close interpersonal contacts with other people. These relations are dynamic and asymmetrical—the persons offering "help", for example teachers, give more than they receive. Moreover, the interpersonal and dynamic nature of interaction in educational settings is emotionally loaded so teachers have to control their emotions and feelings. This adds more strain to the teaching profession (Pyżalski & Merecz, 2010).

In the *Foreword* to the *TALIS 2013 Results* (Teaching and Learning International Survey, OECD, 2014), Gurria writes that apart from parents and other school-external factors, "teachers provide the most important influence on student learning" (p. 3). Therefore it is of utmost importance to find the areas of teacher activity that need support to improve education and to develop skills that are necessary to live and flourish in the 21st century, the century of changes and challenges.

Considering the multiple roles that teachers play in the contemporary world along with responsibilities they have, it seems justified to have a closer look at factors that support their work and the ones that make it stressful. In the following subsections, a portrait of a contemporary teacher is sketched on the basis of empirical research on the global and the local scale. Then the role of positive and negative emotions in the classroom is discussed. This is followed by the opinions of young Polish teachers of English, regarding job satisfaction, enjoyment and success.

2 A Portrait of Contemporary Teachers

Extensive information on teachers can be found in TALIS 2013 report (OECD, 2014). The OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) is concerned with the working conditions of teachers and the learning school environment. The aim of TALIS is to gather information on teachers and teaching in order to help the participating countries to review, revise and develop educational policies that promote high quality learning and teaching. Thus it addresses such issues as appraisal, recognition and reward of teachers' work, their professional development needs, their beliefs, attitudes and pedagogical practices in the classroom as well as

their feelings of job satisfaction and self-efficacy. It also focuses on the role of school leaders and the support they give to their teachers in promoting quality education.

On the whole, 24 OECD countries and economies and 10 partner countries and economies participated in the 2013 TALIS survey. Though it focused primarily on lower secondary education, some countries decided to include primary and upper secondary education into the survey (e.g., Poland). In addition, the participating countries selected the topics (the so-called policy themes) that were central in the survey, i.e.:

1. School leadership.
2. Teacher training.
3. Appraisal of and feedback to teachers.
4. Teachers' pedagogical beliefs, attitudes and teaching practices.
5. Teachers' self-reported feelings of self-efficacy, job satisfaction and the climate in the schools in which they work (OECD, 2014, p. 28).

The results of TALIS allow to sketch a portrait of an average international teacher as well as that of a Polish teacher. The portrait presented below includes the teachers' gender, age, level of education, preparation for teaching, work experience, form of employment, their beliefs, attitudes and pedagogical practices, professional development, self-efficacy and job satisfaction. These components are most relevant to the purpose of this paper.

The majority of teachers are female (68 % on average, 74 % in Poland) and there are more of them in primary education. The average teacher is 43 years old but only 12 % are less than 30 years old (8 % in Poland) while 30 % are 50 or older (20 % in Poland). Interestingly, the majority (68 %) of Polish teachers are 30–49 years old.

Most teachers are well-educated, they obtained Bachelor's or Master's degrees from universities or other equivalent institutions (99 % of Polish teachers and principals have a university background). As regards their formal preparation for the teaching profession, the teachers (93, 98 % in Poland) report that they are very well or well-prepared to teach the content of the subject matter, they also have an appropriate pedagogical and practical preparation (89, 96 % in Poland). With respect to work experience, TALIS teachers have 9.2 years of teaching experience in lower secondary education (17.1 years in Poland), 16.3 years in primary education (18.8 years in Poland) and 15.4 years in upper secondary education (15.6 in Poland). 83 % are employed permanently, 82 % are employed full time and only 12 % work on part-time contracts of less than one school year. This is interesting information as in Poland, for example, 13.2 % of teachers work on contracts of less than one school year not because this was their choice but because there was no possibility to work full time (OECD, 2014).

TALIS teachers work in public schools (82, 94 % in Poland) of varying sizes. The average size of lower secondary schools for TALIS countries is 546 pupils but for Poland it is much lower. Primary schools have 202 learners on average and lower secondary schools have 271 learners, which accounts for small classes (between 19 and 21 learners per class) (Hernik et al., 2014). Moreover, contrary to

teachers from other countries, Polish teachers work in linguistically and culturally homogeneous classes but they have to cope with learners from disadvantaged families (more than 10 %). Unlike TALIS teachers, more Polish teachers work with learners who have been diagnosed with special educational needs.

Teaching practices which are related to teacher beliefs, characteristics and professional development (OECD, 2014) have an impact on students' learning, motivation and growth of independence. TALIS results show that over 70 % of teachers frequently or almost always present a summary of recently learned material and check learners' homework or exercise books. 68 % declare that they frequently refer to a problem from everyday life to show the usefulness and relevance of new knowledge. Less than a half of teachers provide different tasks for learners whose progress is faster or slower than the whole group's. Polish teachers engage in slightly different practices. They do present a summary of recently learned content in the classroom, let students practice similar tasks to understand the subject matter and refer to a problem from everyday life but they are not keen on checking homework. Yet, more than a half give different tasks for learners with varying rates of progress. These practices are classified as passive teaching strategies because of a low level of learner involvement. Active teaching, on the other hand, fully engages learners and puts them in the center of the learning process (OECD, 2014). Active teaching practices in TALIS covered working in small groups to come up with a joint solution to a problem or task, using ICT for working on projects or classwork and working on projects that require at least 1 week to complete. The data clearly show that less than 50 % of TALIS teachers use them. Polish teachers use them even less frequently. About 40 % have learners work in small groups and use ICT but only 16 % engage learners in longer projects. This practice has important implications for teaching and learning foreign languages, as discussed in further sections of the paper. Overall, the use of active teaching methods, except ICT, depends on the teacher. It appears that teachers who participate in professional teacher development networks, who are involved in individual or collaborative research on the topic of their interest and who participate in mentoring, peer observation and coaching are more inclined to use active teaching methods (OECD, 2014).

Teacher beliefs about teaching and learning were organized within a constructivist framework in which knowledge is constructed rather than transmitted. By the active participation in the process of knowledge construction the learners actively develop skills of thinking, reasoning and drawing conclusions (Hernik et al., 2014; OECD, 2014). The constructivist framework was represented by the following statements:

1. My role as a teacher is to facilitate students' own inquiry.
2. Students learn best by finding solutions to a given problem on their own.
3. Students should be allowed to think of solutions to practical problems themselves before the teacher shows them how they are solved.
4. Thinking and reasoning processes are more important than specific curriculum content (OECD, 2014, p. 164).

Over 94 % TALIS teachers agree with the statement number 1, 83 %—with number 2, 93 %—with number 3, 84 %—with number 4. The results are almost identical for Poland, except the statement number 2 which 87 % of Poles agree with. These findings are inconsistent with reported teaching practices. Although teachers seem to advocate knowledge construction, their practices imply that they use passive teaching methods that do not encourage the construction of knowledge but rather its transmission. However, teachers seem to be aware of this discrepancy when they specify their needs for professional development. The top three needs indicated by 18–23 % of teachers concern teaching learners with special needs, ICT skills for teaching and implementing new technologies in the workplace. Also approaches to individualized teaching are high on the list (OECD, 2014). Polish teachers indicated similar needs (Hernik et al., 2014).

The final touch to complete the portrait of a teacher is related to self-efficacy and job satisfaction. Self-efficacy is understood as the ability to "organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura, 1997, p. 3). It influences people's self-perception as well as the perception of the world, their feelings, motivations and behaviors. People differ in the levels of self-efficacy in such a way that highly efficacious people control the circumstances and can cope with challenges while the ones demonstrating low levels of self-efficacy do not face the challenges but tend to avoid them (Bandura, 1994). Teachers' self-efficacy has shown connections with their students' academic achievement, motivation, their own teaching practices, involvement and increased job satisfaction (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007). Highly efficacious (or confident) teachers will then follow teaching practices that are concerned with solving problems, that are positive and proactive (Martin, 2006).

In the survey, teacher self-efficacy was represented by efficacy in classroom management, instruction and student engagement. While most teachers (80–92 %) show high levels of self-efficacy in classroom management (calming a student who is disruptive or noisy, controlling disruptive behavior in the classroom, getting students to follow classroom rules, make their expectations about student behavior clear), instruction (crafting good questions for students, using a variety of assessment strategies, providing an alternative explanation when students are confused) and student engagement (helping students to value learning, to think critically, getting them to believe they can do well in school work), they are less confident when it comes to motivating students who show low interest in school work (70 %) and implementing alternative instructional strategies in the classroom (77 %).

As regards job satisfaction, it was represented by positively and negatively formulated statements. The positive ones were:

1. All in all, I am satisfied with my job.
2. I think that the teaching profession is valued in the society.
3. If I could decide again, I would still choose to work as a teacher.
4. The advantages of being a teacher clearly outweigh the disadvantages.

5. I am satisfied with my performance in this school.
6. I enjoy working at this school.
7. I would recommend my school as a good place to work.

The negative ones were as follows:

1. I regret that I decided to become a teacher.
2. I would like to change to another school if that were possible.
3. I wonder whether it would have been better to choose another profession (OECD, 2014).

The results reveal that over 91 % of teachers are satisfied with their job, 93 % are satisfied with their performance at the current school and 90 % enjoy this work. 84 % of teachers would recommend their school as a good place to work. They like teaching despite some disadvantages which are outweighed by advantages.

An interesting finding concerns the value of the teaching profession in the society. About 30 % of TALIS teachers and only 18 % of Polish teachers agree with this statement. Polish teachers' opinions are in stark contrast to the findings of a survey on the prestige of various professions in Poland (CBOS, 2009). This study shows that 70 % of the respondents have a high regard for the profession, which makes it the seventh most prestigious profession on the list. Polish teachers' perception of the low value of their profession may stem from such factors as social changes that have resulted in the growing levels of education, a lack of understanding of the specific character of their profession, a low economic status, the way teachers themselves talk about their profession, highlighting negative aspects and ignoring the positive ones. In addition, when mass media deal with educational matters, they report negative practices, forgetting about the positive ones (Smak & Walczak, 2015).

An average teacher, then, is a 43 years old woman with a university degree and teaching qualifications. She has 16 years of teaching experience and is a full-time employee with a permanent contract. She works in a public school with 546 students (202 and 270 in Poland) in classes of 24 students (19–21 in Poland). Although she subscribes to the constructivist approach to teaching, most frequently she uses passive instead of active teaching methods. She is aware she needs to develop her skills and expertise concerning teaching students with special educational needs and the implementation of ICT and new technologies in the school environment. She manifests high levels of self-efficacy and generally is satisfied with her job and her workplace.

This is a portrait based on empirical evidence coming from various countries, cultures, language backgrounds and educational practices related to teaching a wide range of school subjects. However, what matters in the educational context, regardless of the variability noted above, is the development and flourishing of people involved in the process of education. For this reason, the role of emotions in teaching is discussed in the following section.

3 Teachers and Emotions

Recently much research in educational contexts has been concerned with affect which cannot be separated from cognition. Influences of positive psychology have become particularly audible because of its concern with factors that account for good life. It empirically explores the role emotions, character traits and institutions play in human growth and flourishing (MacIntyre & Mercer, 2014). Findings of many international studies imply that teaching is perceived as a rewarding profession despite many instances of stress and professional burnout (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2015).

Emotions matter both for the students and the teachers. Emotions and motivation—key factors leading to success in learning (Kim & Pekrun, 2014)—result from "the dynamic interplay of cognitive, physiological and motivational processes in a specific context" (Op't Eynde, De Corte, & Verschaffel, 2006, p. 193). This implies that emotions influence cognitive processes and strategies, decision making and motivation, and these influences are reciprocal (Kim & Pekrun, 2014). Similarly, Becker, Keller, Goetz, Frenzel and Taxer (2015) view emotions as crucial in educational contexts due to their connections with teachers' well-being and health, classroom effectiveness as well as students' performance and learning. Such emotions as enjoyment, pride, anger and frustration, guilt and anxiety are frequently present in the classroom. Of these, enjoyment "is the most prominent positive emotion and anger is the most frequently experienced negative emotion" (Becker et al., 2015, p. 2). Regardless of teaching experience, teachers' enjoyment is also associated with their students' mastery orientation while confidence (self-efficacy) in teaching is supported by the students' persistence and planning (Martin, 2006). In addition, enjoyment, a positive school atmosphere, personal success and success of students seem to be the major factors that motivate teachers to continue their teaching (Oruç Ertürk, 2013).

Reviewing literature on teachers' emotions, Sutton and Wheatley (2003) observe that emotions that teachers experience can be classified into positive and negative. Positive emotions evoke pleasure and are connected with goal achievement. Love and caring, joy, satisfaction, and pleasure along with excitement are most frequently reported by teachers and they have various sources, also called antecedents of emotions. Teachers are satisfied when their learners make progress in learning, are cooperative and responsive. They associate positive emotions with the support provided by colleagues, parental responsibility and respect. In addition, positive emotions such as caring, happiness and pride, experienced on a daily basis, are related to lower levels of daily burnout. Negative emotions such as nervousness, anger, frustration, shame, unhappiness and boredom, on the other hand, contribute to higher levels of burnout (Carson, 2006).

Emotional support received from colleagues and principals is an important factor that reduces the level of burnout. The results of the study on socio-psychological conditions of Polish teachers' work show that teachers who receive instrumental and emotional support from other teachers stay in the profession and are more

resistant to burnout effects (Pyżalski, 2010). Also the support from school principals lessens the burnout effects (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009).

Negative emotions such as anger and frustration result from students' misbehavior, violation of rules, uncooperative colleagues, irresponsive and uncaring parents. Teachers report being angry when their students' lack of progress results from laziness and lack of attention. Beginning teachers may experience anxiety when they are not sure they achieve educational goals or when they interact with parents. Teachers may feel helpless when they realize that their job efficacy is low. In addition, primary school teachers may feel guilty because of the individual histories of their pupils (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003).

Actually, in the contexts of foreign/second language learning both positive and negative emotions emerge but the positive ones such as interest and happiness in learning override the negative ones (sadness and anxiety) (Oxford, 2015). Another study on anxiety and enjoyment among foreign language learners revealed that enjoyment was reported more frequently than anxiety although both may appear simultaneously in language learning situations (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014).

The discussion so far has focused on teachers and emotions in general. However, foreign language teachers face challenges that are different from the challenges of subject matter teachers. Their aim is to develop communicative competence of the learners in the languages they teach, which entails the necessity to use active rather than passive teaching methods and strategies. Foreign language lessons are qualitatively different from subject matter lessons. Research shows that foreign language learners have a positive attitude to the language lessons (Gajewska-Dyszkiewicz et al., 2012) which may enhance their motivation for learning. Learners develop higher language proficiency when other learners and teachers use the foreign language in lessons and when they find learning this language useful (EC, 2012).

From the point of view of a foreign language teacher it may be assumed that job satisfaction that is supported by positive affect (e.g., enjoyment) results in lower levels of professional burnout and enhanced teacher motivation which may trigger active teaching practices to achieve higher levels of language proficiency. To develop communicative competence, it is necessary to engage learners in such activities as small group work and project work with the use of ICT because these activities require the participants to use the target language in authentic contexts and for clearly formulated and meaningful purposes.

On the basis of the review of empirical findings concerning the characteristics of teachers, roles of emotions in teaching and the importance of job satisfaction and enjoyment in educational contexts, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What is the portrait of Polish teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) in comparison with the portrait of a TALIS 2013 teacher?
2. Are Polish EFL teachers satisfied with their job?
3. When do they experience the feelings of enjoyment, happiness, pleasure and satisfaction?
4. Do EFL teachers feel they are successful?

4 A Case Study on Polish EFL Teachers' Job Satisfaction, Enjoyment and Success

To collect the data necessary to answer the research questions, a survey study was designed and conducted in October 2015.

4.1 Participants

The participants of the study were former Opole University students who completed their MA degree program and obtained pedagogical training in teaching English as a foreign language.

4.2 Instrument

The instrument used in the study was based on the sections taken from TALIS 2013 (OECD, 2014) survey, namely the sections concerning demographic data, participation in teacher development incentives, school climate, job satisfaction and personal attitudes. In addition, three open questions were included, i.e.:

1. Do you think you are a successful teacher?
2. What makes a teacher successful?
3. In what situations connected with teaching English do you feel enjoyment, happiness, pleasure and satisfaction?

4.3 Data Collection Procedure

The survey was e-mailed to 50 former university students who were asked to fill it in and mail it back to the researcher. Unfortunately, the return rate was dramatically low and the researcher received only 8 questionnaires. This situation makes this study a case study which means that no generalizations can be made with respect to other Polish EFL teachers.

4.4 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed quantitatively (in terms of frequencies and mean values) and qualitatively (three open ended questions). Due to a small number of

participants, no inferential statistics could be performed. Answers to open questions were analysed in terms of recurring themes and motifs.

4.5 Results

Eight females holding M.A. degrees, living in villages (2), small towns (2) and towns (4) participated in the study. Their age ranged from 25 to 31 years (mean: 27.4). All of them work as EFL teachers in the places in which they live. They are employed in all types of schools (pre-school, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, tertiary education and language schools) and 4 of them also give private lessons. Six of them work full time and 2 work part time because there was no possibility to work full time. They have been working as EFL teachers for about 4 years on average, although there is much variance in this respect. Three teachers are permanently employed while 5 work part time (3 on a fixed term contract for a period of 1 school year or less).

As regards professional development, in the last 12 months, 7 teachers participated in courses and workshops related to the subject they teach, 5 are members of a professional network for EFL teachers, 4 took part in education conferences and seminars, mentoring, peer observation or coaching, and 2 participated in in-service teacher training courses.

The participants are rather skeptical about decision making in their schools. Although 5 of them agree that the school provides parents/guardians and students with opportunities to actively participate in school decisions, half of them disagree that they themselves can participate in school decisions, they do not feel the school has a culture of shared responsibility for school issues or the culture of mutual support. Yet 5 of them agree that teachers have good relations with school leadership.

With respect to teacher-student relations, more than a half of the participants agree that they get along well, that most teachers believe the students' well-being is important, that most teachers are interested in what students have to say. In addition, they all agree that the school provides assistance when the students need it.

Interesting information was gathered with respect to job satisfaction. All the participants are satisfied with their current work and 7 are generally satisfied with their job. Six of them agree that the advantages of being a teacher clearly outweigh the disadvantages and, if given the opportunity, they would again choose to work as a teacher. Although 5 enjoy their work, they would like to change the school. The same number of participants wonder if choosing a different profession might be a better option and 3 participants regret their decision about becoming a teacher. Only 3 would recommend their current school as a good place of work.

The participants reveal positive attitudes towards their students and colleagues. They always listen to them carefully and are honest with themselves about their teaching qualities. Seven participants help students and colleagues in trouble and they are willing to admit that they do not know something when asked in class. They do not hurt colleagues, they accept ideas different from their own and they do

not feel threatened by successful teachers but they are irritated by students who ask for favors.

The first open question concerns the participants' perceptions of themselves as successful teachers. Though the answers varied in length, most of the participants think they are successful but 2 are not sure because of short work experience. Their feelings of success are strongly associated with the following situations:

1. Students enjoy learning and make progress;
2. Students' achievement is high;
3. Students appreciate the teacher;
4. Teachers get on well with students (supportive classroom atmosphere);

The excerpt below is a good illustration of the participants' understanding of successful teaching:

> *I think I am [successful]. First of all, my students enjoy my classes, which, I believe, is the most important factor in the teaching process—especially that my students are aged 7–12. Apart from that, my students have achievements in various language competitions. As to weaker students, they eagerly participate in my remedial classes and keep on working despite some failures that happen to them from time to time. The last thing to mention are the results of "Sprawdzian Szóstoklasisty" [Primary School Leaving Exam] from last year. My students' average result was 91 %, which made me really proud.*

Other teacher narratives show that satisfaction is mixed with the thoughts of quitting the job, anxiety about the effectiveness of teaching methods, and management of misbehaviour:

> *It depends on the lesson. Sometimes when I finish classes I am satisfied with what I did and how the students responded, but there are times when I feel like I would quit this job the very moment I leave the building of the school. Sometimes I see the students like me and they enjoy my classes, that they understand what I say and make progress, and that fills me with joy. On the other hand, I wonder whether my methods are appropriate, interesting and actually work. I have problems with the discipline. Now and again, it seems that the students are bored. I'm not a very creative person which, I think, is one of the most important traits that the teachers should have. All in all, I guess I'm learning on my mistakes and I can and I will be better.*

The following opinion is quite interesting as it points to the necessity to teach students how to learn:

> *I consider myself to be a successful teacher. A good teacher isn't someone who gives the answers out to their students but is understanding of their needs and challenges and gives tools to help other people succeed.*

The participants indicated a number of factors that make teachers successful. They are presented in the list below:

1. Respect for teachers,
2. Learners' motivation,
3. Motivating students to learn,
4. Learners' success and achievement,
5. Commitment (*The feeling that you love what you do*),

6. Interesting teaching methods,
7. Learning how to teach (professional development),
8. Individual characteristics (creativity, empathy, patience, a sense of humor),
9. Emotional stability,
10. Positive attitudes (friendly to students, fair in judgements),
11. Flexibility,
12. High expectations.

One person wrote the following:

> *In my opinion, a successful teacher is someone who can actually help the students to learn. It is someone who manages to motivate students to learn the subject not only at school, but at home as well. It is a person who can make the students interested in the subject and recognizes the needs of each individual with regard to learning.*

As far as the situations evoking positive emotions of happiness, pleasure and satisfaction are concerned, teachers' narratives reveal that these emotions are related to the following situations:

1. Students enjoy learning, make progress and show interest in learning;
2. Students are able to communicate in English (also outside the classroom, e.g., during holidays);
3. Students are willing to speak English;
4. Student achievement is rewarded;
5. Teachers are appreciated by parents.

The following narrative is interesting because not only does it show the importance of teacher development for successful teaching but it also indicates these advantages of being a teacher that make people stay in the profession:

> *I'm satisfied when I see my students' willingness towards speaking English. I get pleasure form teaching English to my students especially when I participate in a teachers' workshop (I find out some new technique of teaching or the use of some interesting program) and later on I can put that knowledge into practice and observe my students' involvement. I feel happy when I get on well with the group of the students and they respect me as a teacher. The atmosphere during the classes is much better without students' irritating comments. Though the salary is not very rewarding I really enjoy all the weekends off, breaks and long holidays.*

4.6 Discussion

With respect to the first research question, it may be concluded that the participants of the study do not quite match the portrait of an average teacher based on TALIS 2013 results (OECD, 2014). First, the participants are young teachers who have just started their career and for this reason they may be more enthusiastic and less confident about their teaching. Second, they may experience some kind of job insecurity because not all of them are employed permanently and not all of them work full time. Third, they

have a varied work experience as they work in different schools and they also provide private lessons. Fourth, they show different levels of self-efficacy. On the one hand, they are proud of their students' academic achievement and involvement in learning (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007), on the other—they may have problems with managing disruptive behavior. They care about their professional development. As one of the narratives shows, improving and developing one's repertoire of teaching methods may be a pleasurable experience. The teachers receive support from other teachers though not all of them participate in school decisions. This may be due to the type of leadership followed in their schools, some of which do not support the idea of shared responsibility for school issues or mutual support.

Interpersonal relations appear to be of high quality as the teachers get along well with students and other teachers, they are open to different opinions and points of view, and they are not envious of others' success. Their teaching attitudes imply student orientation as they report that students' well-being is important and that students receive help when they need it.

Answering the second research question, it may be said that these young teachers are generally satisfied with their job and though they realize its advantages and disadvantages, if given a chance, they would again choose the teaching profession. There is some inconsistency in the data at this point. Although all are satisfied, some wonder if teaching was the right choice and some regret they became teachers. This inconsistency may be due to the lack of job security (working part time, on a short fixed term contract), to their young age, limited teaching experience and the climate at school, for example authoritarian leadership. It is also possible that the teaching profession does not provide them with resources that are important for them, for example a high salary, support and respect from others (Oruç Ertürk, 2013).

Their job satisfaction and positive emotions (the third research question) are strongly related to their students' performance and actions (Becker et al., 2015). Students' enjoyment, progress, achievement, communicative ability in and out of school provide evidence that the teachers' work and involvement are useful and bring positive results, which in turn increases levels of their self-efficacy (Martin, 2006). Also the appreciation by the students' parents is a source of positive emotions as it contributes to their well-being (Pyżalski, 2010).

The qualitative data also reveal that the teachers experience a mix of emotions in dynamic configurations (Oxford, 2015; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), which is the effect of the dynamic nature of classroom interaction, learners' and teachers' temporary motivations and other highly unpredictable variables such as, for example, recent events at school that might have agitated the learners and left them embarrassed, disappointed, anxious, confused or frustrated. These conditions may have an impact on their actions and behaviors.

The answer to the fourth research question is definitely positive. EFL teachers do feel they are successful and they are aware that success has many dimensions, many faces and many sources. The data imply that it is related to teacher-internal and teacher-external variables. As far as the former are concerned, they are connected with the teachers' involvement and commitment to the job, the use of effective and

interesting teaching methods, individual characteristics such as creativity, empathy, patience, flexibility and a sense of humor. Teachers should be emotionally balanced (emotional stability) because this makes them predictable and learners know what to expect. Successful teachers show a friendly attitude to students and make fair judgements. In addition, they learn how to teach, which is a very important dimension of success. If teaching aims at the development of learner autonomy, then teachers who learn how to teach are involved in the process of learning themselves and they may share these experiences with their learners. Success is also associated with the ability to motivate students to learn (OECD, 2014) and with a supportive classroom atmosphere (Oruç Ertürk, 2013) which, however, results from the joint efforts of teachers and learners alike. Teacher-external factors of success pertain to their students' enjoyment of learning, progress, motivation, success and achievement (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Successful teachers also appreciate their learners' respect for what they do.

To sum up, Polish ELT are both similar and different from a typical (average) teacher described earlier in the article. Generally, they are satisfied with their job and they experience positive emotions when their learners make progress, achieve goals and are motived to learn English. They feel they are successful but at the same time they realize that success is a complex phenomenon that has many sources and many manifestations.

5 Conclusions

The case study reported in this paper implies that Polish EFL teachers share some characteristics of the average teacher whose portrait has been painted on the basis of TALIS 2013 findings (OECD, 2014). However, it is not the average but the unique that attracts more attention. Polish ELT teachers are young and thus they entertain both the privileges and the mistakes of youth. They are in a very sensitive period because their teaching practices, attitudes and motivations are in the dynamic process of formation. They have not developed routines yet, they are open, sensitive to educational challenges and to the conditions in which they have been working. They are successful, self-efficacious and satisfied with what they have been doing but they realize they need to develop to become more competent. They also realize that teaching entails a lot of responsibilities. Despite some disadvantages of the profession and a dose of job insecurity, most of them declare they want to stay in the profession.

The results of the study have to be treated with care because of a very small number of participants. This is also one of the limitations of the study. Further research might involve more experienced and older EFL teachers. Also, a possibility to observe classes taught by individual teachers might provide useful insights into what successful teaching looks like. Successful teachers with high levels of self-efficacy and job satisfaction and who realize the need for professional development across a wide range of areas will probably provide high quality teaching. And this is what really matters.

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Authenticity, Authentic Texts and TEFL. A Psycholinguistic Perspective

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Abstract This chapter contributes to a rather unpromising debate on the role of authentic materials, especially texts, in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). The topic is central to the field in which texts feature prominently as the key element of language learning: texts provide both language, content and cultural input, the material stimulus for interaction via reading and writing, as well as the source of feedback incorporation for language learning. An attempt is made to clarify the notion of authenticity in TEFL, including such aspects as the roots of the "authenticity" debate, i.e. problems with artificial texts, for which authentic texts were supposed to provide a remedy, as well as the feasibility of their proposed functions in foreign language teaching. To deal with these complex issues in a constructive manner we must appreciate the links between the nature and structure of the text and the mental processes which are activated in the learner's mind. For this purpose, I adopt a psycholinguistic perspective of language use and learning as verbal communication. The key source of information about the manner of language and cultural input processing in texts is reading comprehension with the resulting storage of the material, indispensable for language learning. This perspective provides a realistic context for determining the nature and function of authentic materials in TEFL as well as their criteria of relevance to the language learner.

Keywords Authenticity · Authentic materials · TEFL

1 Introduction

There is a vivid, yet largely inconclusive debate on the nature and function of authentic materials, especially texts, in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). The topic is central to the field in which texts provide both language and

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cultural input for learning. However, the issue cannot be addressed in a constructive manner unless we consider more general assumptions underlying our understanding of foreign language learning and our strategies of constructing conditions for language teaching in the educational system which result from this understanding. Contrasting authentic and didactic texts is not very helpful. Ironically, all texts, regardless of their origin and purpose, are human products of construction, i.e. selection and integration, in the process of language use. When they are brought into a foreign language class, they automatically become didactic materials, regardless of their origin, communicative or otherwise. The same reservation can be made with reference to their origin from 'real' speakers talking to 'real' audiences. Morrow (1977, p. 13), for example, defines an authentic text is a "*stretch of real language*, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort". All language users are people and people happen to be real. This applies to language users as well as language learners alike. The main questions therefore are: What are distinctive/defining features of authentic texts? Why should we bring them to a foreign language class? What function can they accomplish which other materials cannot? To deal with these issues, the topic must be addressed much more specifically than has been the case before. Therefore, I try to systematize the role of authentic texts as didactic texts in the context of foreign language learning and teaching treated as an academic discipline in its own right, with TEFL as its integral part. This discipline defines its subject matter as language use in verbal communication, that is comprehension and production in speech and writing, which are genuinely psycholinguistic processes.

First, in order to define the origin and traditional role of authentic texts in TEFL, I juxtapose earlier, sentence-oriented, and more recent, discourse-oriented conceptions to specify functions of texts in the teaching/learning process. To deal with the issue of authenticity in a manner relevant to our field at present, we must first of all recognize the links between the nature and structure of the written text and the mental processes naturally and inevitably activated by this material in the learner's mind. These links can be appreciated in the adopted psycholinguistic perspective of language use in verbal communication as the subject matter of our discipline, especially with focus on the psycholinguistic accounts of reading comprehension, to determine the nature and unique function of authentic materials as didactic materials in foreign language learning. As an integral part of comprehension processes, learning while reading involves the acquisition of language resources (form/meaning mappings) and procedural records in memory resulting from the experience of reading tasks. Such a perspective provides a realistic context for determining the nature and function of authentic materials in TEFL.

2 Language Learning as Learning Grammar from Texts

Our preoccupation with texts as a 'device' for teaching grammar goes back to the Grammar-Translation Method. According to Titone (1968) and Howatt (1984), various forms of 'grammaticalism' in the nineteenth century advocated the inductive approach in teaching grammar, i.e., inferring the rules from examples, which would either be texts or sentences in the target language. Literary texts of the classics turned out to be too complicated for this purpose, so, to overcome this difficulty, Seidenstrücker (1785–1817) wrote texts based on simple sentences containing grammatical forms which were in focus in the given lesson. In his *Elementarbuch zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache* (1811), for example, Seidenstrücker reduced the material to disconnected sentences only. Titone provides many choice examples of such a strategy (1968, p. 27): "Thou has a book. The house is beautiful. He has a kind dog. We have a bread [sic]. The door is black. He has a book and a dog. The horse of the father was kind., etc.".

Seidenstrücker's disconnected sentences especially constructed for teaching grammar were turned into a principle by Karl Plötz (1819–1881), whose method was divided into two parts: (1) rules and paradigms, and (2) sentences for translation from and into the target language. Throughout the nineteenth century, language teaching in schools followed Plötz's techniques. The main function of such texts was 'teaching' various points of grammar, the idea taken up by Ahn, and later by Ollendorf. The outcome was characteristically boring and dry material, hard to remember for being far from idiomatic and real, not to mention, completely useless in real life.

The Grammar-Translation method became especially influential once it was adopted in the educational system. Initially its aim was to develop "a reading knowledge of the foreign language by studying grammar and applying this knowledge to the interpretation of texts with the use of a dictionary" (Howatt, 1984, p. 131). But it was not well-suited to the school context so there were attempts to facilitate the method to make language learning easier with the use of 'special' texts. Howatt (1984, pp. 131–132) explains:

> The central feature was the replacement of the traditional texts by exemplificatory sentences. It was the special status accorded to sentence at the expense of the text that attracted the most outspoken criticism of the reformers later in the century, not the use of grammar as such. It is perhaps appropriate to note here that the twentieth-century structuralist approach was also founded on the supremacy of the sentence and the two methodologies have much in common.

Needless to say, Seidenstrücker and his followers had an erroneous notion of simplicity Difficulty in foreign language learning was synonymous with learning its grammar, while grading this difficulty—with presenting grammar points one-by-one in an organized sequence. Texts made up of disconnected sentences mentioned above reflect the conviction that the goal of language learning is to identify its grammatical system, which can be presented, and therefore taught, as a sequence of separate formal categories for practice in specially constructed examples. Artificially constructed texts which repeat certain grammatical constructions quickly found their

critics. Sweet (1899) was such an opponent as well as a strong advocate of authentic and idiomatic texts. Authentic texts found their way to the materials of foreign language teaching as an antidote to the artificial ones, constructed in order to illustrate the use of grammatical forms in special disconnected sentences.

2.1 Can Artificial Texts Provide the Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Learning Grammar?

At present, this traditional conviction seems untenable because artificial texts provide neither the sufficient nor the necessary conditions for learning grammar. They are insufficient because presenting forms in special written texts may only be qualified as written *input*, one of the first steps, whereas the whole spectrum of teaching procedures must also include *interaction* (comprehension and production in speech and writing) and *feedback*. First and foremost, however, to learn forms for verbal communication, learners must assume two fundamental roles: *senders* and *addressees*. Senders produce their messages by matching meanings to forms. Addressees act as comprehenders who match forms to meanings. Although they overlap a great deal, comprehension and production are distinct and complex psycholinguistic operations with their own direction and purpose. In view of the above:

1. Learning forms for *language use* must be singled out as qualitatively different from investigating grammar for *descriptive* purposes; language learners learn how to use forms in the roles of comprehenders and producers; comprehenders match forms in the incoming message with meanings represented in their minds, whereas producers match meanings represented mentally to forms, which are sent out as their constructed messages (for an extensive discussion see Dakowska, 2015).
2. More realistically, comprehension and production have two instantiations each: speech and writing; this means that language learners must develop formal accuracy specifically for each because our auditory and visual modalities impose their special constraints on processing *phonemic* and *graphemic* forms respectively; this makes acquiring formal accuracy in speech production only moderately related to processing language forms while reading, regardless of the quality of the reading matter (Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Pawlak, 2012).
3. It follows from the above that our mental representation of forms must be strong enough to be available not only for *recognition*, but also for *retrieval* in productive tasks; this state can be accomplished via systematic practice which requires information processing from meaning to form; such practice must also help learners to overcome their working memory limitations and enable them to use forms (and their constructions) in discourse, in which they work above clause and sentence boundaries as supra-sentential coherence and cohesion devices (Glenberg, 2007).

4. In sum, to learn forms for language use, it is impossible to learn forms 'as such', in isolation from their meanings and function; language forms must not only be mentally linked to their meanings and functions, and vice versa, but also mentally (subconsciously) compared and contrasted with other related forms in the target and native languages; these mental operations require the learner's processing of multiple instances of these form/meaning mappings in various arrangements in numerous texts so that forms begin to assume a *well-defined* as opposed to fuzzy mental trace (Danks et al., 1983).
5. At the same time, in comprehension as well as in production, form/meaning and meaning/form mappings must be sufficiently *automatized* through practice to be useful within the fluency constraints of verbal communication; teaching explicit metalingual information in the form of grammar rules can merely act as a catalyst, but not as a causal factor for this purpose since rules are applied via controlled rather than automatic processing; in contrast, to be available in the construction of linear discourse, the requisite procedural representations must have the form of lexicalized syntagmatic constructions (Pawley & Syder, 1983).
6. Finally, the learners' mental representations of forms must be mentally re-described through numerous instances of language use to become sufficiently *explicit* to be within the speaker's control, available for intentional, goal-oriented language use in discourse comprehension and production as well as sufficiently flexible for him or her to mentally incorporate corrective feedback (cf Dakowska, 2015; Karmiloff-Smith, 1986).

These texts are unnecessary because in order to learn grammatical forms, the learner does not have to deal with texts composed of meaningless lists of sentences exemplifying the same form. Instead, meaningful discourse, which is coherent and cohesive, containing even one instance of the form, may provide suitable material to store the form together with its meaning and context in memory, which is primarily episodic. A piece of discourse, meaningful enough to be related to the learner's experience and knowledge of the world will be processed and stored as more natural and 'nutritious' material for learning language forms than bits and pieces of isolated sentences with no underlying schema, situational reference and relationship to human matters. A text composed of isolated sentences containing the same language form, e.g. tense, may be memorable for its bizarre quality rather than anything else.

3 Language Learning from Discourse in Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

Lyons (1977) made a significant distinction between what he called *system-sentences* and *text-sentences*. System sentences are units in linguistic analysis of the structure and function of language. They do not result from ordinary language behavior. Such sentences are viewed as linguistic constructions which have no

producers and no receivers. Their function is not taken into account: they are products of grammar (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 23). Text-sentences are grammatical units of language use in communicative context, linked to producers and receivers. Their analysis concentrates on coherence and cohesion in which extended texts are viewed as communicative products of comprehension and production of messages. Language-as-discourse view (see McCarthy & Carter, 1994), as well as the emphasis on language use to communicate information (Swaffar, 1985, 1988) replaced the traditional, if not old-fashioned, assumptions that language can be taught as such, or that language can be taught per se. Swaffar's contribution is especially valuable because she links the function of authentic texts with the development of reading comprehension to define authenticity as follows:

> For purposes of the foreign language classroom, an authentic text, oral or written, is one whose primary interest is to communicate meaning. In other words, such a text can be one which is written for native speakers of the language to be read by other native speakers (with the intent to inform, persuade, thank, etc.) or it may be a text intended for a language learner group. The relevant consideration here is not for whom it is written but that there has been an authentic communicative objective in mind (Swaffar, 1985, p. 17).

She stresses comprehension process in reading authentic texts: decoding, the use of redundancy clues, the psycholinguistic guessing game, the role of schemata. When the text is simplified, there is no benefit for the reader because of the absence of these vital comprehension clues. The goal of the learner is to reconstruct the message, i.e. reading for propositional meaning in focus. Furthermore, the message must be perceived as a coherent system or it will not be remembered. Recognition of the textual schema enhances reading comprehension and recall (Swaffar, 1985, 1988).

As one of the founders of Communicative Language Teaching, Widdowson (1984) had an enormous impact on the field of TEFL by focusing on discourse as the unit of communication, with utterances regarded as units of language use as opposed to sentences as units of usage. He criticized teaching approaches which concentrate 'on the manipulation of structures as an end in itself' and turned his attention to how they are realized in meaningful communicative behavior. He opposes the view that written text is a manifestation of syntactic and semantic rules while the reader's task is to recognize them. Instead, he considers texts to be a set of instructions for conducting a communicative interaction. His view of reading emphasizes the procedures which the reader employs to make sense of this written text as communication. These procedures draw on linguistic rules but should not be equated with them. The distinction between sentence and utterance is crucial to understanding the use of language in a communicative activity. Widdowson (1984, p. 40) points out: "The sentence manifests the rules for the purpose of demonstration or display, whereas the utterance realizes the rules for the purpose of communication". Meaning in sentences derives from paradigmatic relationships of grammatical categories whereas in utterances it is derived from syntagmatic links with other utterances in context. He goes on to say that linguists commonly talk about language use in terms of a sequence of sentences, and of extending the scope of grammar 'beyond the sentence' as if texts were the same kind of unit as

sentences only bigger. Discourse is a communicative (interactive) process and text is its linguistic product; texts are coherent, cohesive, structured by schemata, and situationally-embedded. Language, on the other hand, is used as a code to express content.

Widdowson (1979, 2003) became very influential in pointing out the role of authentic materials in teaching English as a foreign language but his definition of authenticity is rather vague (Widdowson, 1979; see also Breen, 1985). Authenticity (Widdowson, 1979, p. 165) "is a function of the interaction between the reader/hearer and the text which incorporates the intentions of the writer/speaker. We do not recognize authenticity as something there, waiting to be noticed, we realize it in the act of interpretation". He stressed that we read texts to recover the intention of the author. This function should be transferred to the foreign language classroom. However, regrettably, Widdowson does not use the specific psycholinguistic terminology to talk about the nitty-gritty of these processes. Instead, he enters into the fuzzy world of "authenticity bestowed on the text by the learner".

4 Authentic Texts in the Classroom

It is quite enlightening to group adjectives which express contrasting features of: + and − authenticity in various articles on this topic (e.g. Clarke, 1989; Guariento & Morley, 2001; Kilickaya, 2004; Lewkowicz, 2000; Mishan, 2005; Peacock, 1997; Taylor, 1994; Willis, 1996):

Authentic	Fake, doctored, sanitized
Genuine	Contrived, imitative
Natural	Unnatural, artificial
Real	Unreal, synthetic

Contrivance, for example, does not necessarily mean a bad thing (Clarke, 1989; Cook, 2001; Widdowson, 1979, 2003). As Clarke (1989) points out, such terms as *genuine*, *authentic*, *real* or *natural* and their opposites: *fake*, *unreal*, *contrived* are emotionally loaded; they indicate disapproval while remaining ill-defined. Gilmore (2007) speaks about the use of texts as models to illustrate how proficient speakers effectively manage discourse and conversations in order to build relationships and argues for a place of such realistic models in foreign language textbooks. This function can be classified as providing *input* to develop communicative competence. However, since input cannot simultaneously serve the function of *interaction* in speech and writing as well as *feedback*, this role seems to be unjustified. The function of authentic texts must be limited to a more feasible goal, i.e., to develop reading comprehension only. At the same time, other texts are also needed to perform other specific functions; they may be both especially constructed as well as simplified from authentic materials.

In his review of the topic, Gilmore (2007) admits that the term *authenticity* remains ambiguous, or even slippery, and it is therefore hard to discuss advantages and disadvantages of authenticity in the classroom. He is well-aware of various interrelated meanings which circulate in the literature, the most important of which—to my mind—are:

1. Authenticity as language produced by native speakers for native speakers in a particular language community; for example Little, Devitt and Singleton (1988, p. 27) define authentic texts as "created to fulfil some social purpose in the language community in which it was produced".
2. Authenticity as language produced *not* for the teaching purposes (e.g., Guariento & Morley, 2001; Kiliclaya, 2004; Lewkowicz, 2000; Mishan, 2005) while stressing that the real world and the classroom are two worlds apart (Wilkins, 1976).

Wilkins (1976, p. 79) is of the opinion that authentic texts bridge the gap between the class and the real world and enable the students to participate in real world events. The same point is made by van Lier (1996, p. 131), to whom the division between classroom world and outside world or real world is unnecessary. The same reservation can be made about the requirement: "not written for teaching purposes", as if the school and the real world were two separate worlds. Widdowson (1979, p. 80) points out that authenticity is the relationship between the text and the reader and that the learner should be encouraged to treat such genuine instances of texts as discourse, adopt the same attitude to them as to discourse in their own language.

Authentic texts have been juxtaposed to sanitized texts, or doctored (see Chaudron & Richards, 1986). These authors ask the following question: is the text representative of the target culture to other member of that culture, provide genuine content, or is it a simplification of that subject matter to comply with a particular linguistic sequence. Guariento and Morley (2001, p. 348) are of the opinion that authentic texts can bridge the gap between the classroom and the real world "as long as students are developing effective compensatory strategies for extracting information they need from difficult authentic texts, total understanding is not generally held to be important; rather, the emphasis has been to encourage students to make the most of their partial comprehension".

Gilmore (2007) systematizes the definitions of authenticity and expresses a real concern that term may have become meaningless. He thinks it should be limited to objectifiable criteria to define the concept like Morrow (1977, p. 13) does: "An authentic text is a stretch of real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for a real audience and designed to convey a real message of some sort". This can be determined with reference to the source of discourse and the context of its production and enables us to classify such texts as classroom/teacher talk, motherese, soap operas, business negotiations between non-native speakers TV soap operas can be classified as authentic. Van Lier (1996, p. 123) points out: "The fact that

classroom language looks and sounds like classroom language is often taken as evidence of the artificiality of language lessons. 'Classroom language is unnatural' means in practice that language use here is different from language use elsewhere. In addition it implies that language use is natural in all places, except in classrooms. To become more 'natural', then, the classroom must try to be less like a classroom, and more like some other place". He thinks that authenticity has nothing to do with the origin of the text brought into class.

To me, it seems impossible to solve this conceptual difficulty without taking into account our understanding of the processes of language learning, especially the relationship between the 'natural' processes of language use and learning and the resulting construction of suitable conditions for language learning in the formal setting. The answer to the main question: what are we trying to achieve with the use of authentic materials? depends on how we understand language use and learning: do we see it as the reconstruction of target grammar from texts, or the acquisition of communicative competence by means of authentic tasks and texts, or, better still, do we understand language learning as language use in verbal communication, i.e. comprehension and production in speech and writing, for which input, interaction and feedback are necessary elements in the language classroom.

5 Authentic Texts and Verbal Communication

The subject of FLLT, verbal communication, is understood as a relationship between the sender and the addressee who exchange messages, i.e. meanings coded into language form, i.e. discourse written or spoken, in various sociocultural situations, also mediated by technology and sociocultural domains. Verbal communication takes various forms, interpersonal, mass or global. The roles of senders and addressees require the activation of specialized psycholinguistic processes in their own right; typically, language users control both sending out and receiving messages in two sub-codes, spoken and written, and more often than not, they can do this in more than one ethnic language. From the point of view of this topic, we must distinguish some cardinal features of communication, which are relevant for the language classroom (see Adler & Rodman, 2009; Dakowska, 2005, 2015; Whaley & Samter, 2007):

1. Verbal communication is a form of human relationship based on interaction, i.e., mutual influence; interaction requires turning our attention to each other and *adjusting* in order to understand; our roles are defined reciprocally as well as socially; our verbal participation in the act of verbal communication is deeply embedded in the situation and determined by our role-relationship.
2. It is characterized by whole-person-engagement, i.e., we are engaged in verbal communication with our bodies and minds, we activate *all the resources* that we see relevant (lingual, paralingual, and non-lingual), as well as other knowledge sources, especially of the world, the history of our communication with the

interlocutors and knowledge of the environment, to establish *common ground* or shared knowledge, helpful in making sense of the messages in terms of our relationship in the context of the situation.

3. Verbal communication is episodic, i.e., it takes the form of events in space and time, organized by such mental and social *constructs* as scenarios, scripts, cultural schemata, stereotypes, conventions, norms of behavior, and other schemata; group/cultural membership implies our knowledge of these mental entities, i.e. having been formatted by them; this formatting eliminates our uncertainty and facilitates coordination of our on-going communicative behavior; in this way, we can recognize the task as a unit of verbal communication.
4. Verbal communication in our sociocultural reality has become highly *diversified*, which results from sophisticated roles in various sociocultural domains, but first and foremost from advances in sciences and information technology; this specialization is inseparable from growing bodies of knowledge and terminology, as well as discourse genre and communicative rituals.

6 The Nature of Reading in Verbal Communication: Why Do Language Learners Need Authentic Texts?

The ultimate reason why people engage in verbal communication is to construct the intention for, and reconstruct the intention of, the interlocutor: meaning and sense are of paramount importance (Danks et al., 1983). From the perspective of the addressee, the psycholinguistic processes which take place in our mind in this search for meaning and sense are discourse comprehension processes, specialized for written discourse (Schober & Brennan, 2003). Discourse comprehension, just like production involves more than linguistic knowledge, i.e., knowledge of L1, L2 and other languages (Just & Carpenter, 2006; Kintsch, 2006; Rumelhart, 2006). Language users also activate their knowledge of the world in general, social situations and cultural conventions, knowledge of discourse genres (Swales, 1990), discourse schemata and previous communicative encounters, technical and specialized knowledge of the given subject, para- and non-verbal clues on the printed or otherwise displayed text, e.g. illustrations and charts, use of font size and graphic layout, sections and columns, paragraphs and titles, etc. (Kintsch, 1998; Zwaan & Singer, 2003). They approach and process reading with their *communicative mental set*, which is to say, with their instinctive and universal expectations to make sense of the message in a humanly feasible context, especially the relationship and the attitudes of the participants, i.e., the sender and the addressee.

Meaning is not given in a ready form but actively constructed, i.e., computed, by the sender, and reconstructed by the addressee with the help of all the available clues. Readers make use of all the information they can get, linguistic and non-linguistic alike to compute communicative intention coded in discourse form. Foreign language learners in the educational settings also approach the task of

reading with the implicit conviction that its essential goal is the construction and reconstruction of meaning and sense. They instinctively activate their communicative mental set, including their cognitive curiosity, to find out something interesting in the process of reading, which is the reason why non-trivial content, understood as an organized network of propositions, becomes a very important didactic category supporting memory processes and motivation. However, EFL learners differ from proficient (or expert, rather than native, see Wallace, 1992, 2003, 2005) users because they—by definition—are characterized by various knowledge deficits in all the areas of knowledge and mental representations which are typically activated during reading.

The assorted types of information are usually available in more than one modality; in the case of reading, primarily, but not exclusively, in the visual modality for the graphemic forms. The function of our working memory is to integrate, coordinate, synthesize and translate these various sources of information for us to decode meaning and, most of the time, generate further, more abstract meta-modal representation. Wilkins and Wakefield (1995) talk about amodal, cross-modal, supramodal, multisensory, modality-specific and modality-free representations. These interacting sources of information from different modalities are integrated and elaborated at the 'desktop' of our working memory, which is to say, they are converted in a series of operations constrained by our attentional limitations.

Cross-modal perception is the norm rather than exception in verbal communication, including reading, as all kinds of clues are being processed for meaning; the only distinctive characteristics of reading comes from the situations and discourse genres in which reading is used which call for a special selection of clues. Scientific articles, for example, require the reader's activation of extensive technical knowledge representations in their propositional form for which all kinds of graphs and tables with numbers provide additional comprehension clues. Tourist brochures and leaflets, on the other hand, make use of attractive colorful pictures and photographs to stimulate our imagery.

6.1 The Inextricable Bond Between Bottom-up and Top-Down Processes

In an effort to make sense of the messages in the context of the situation, foreign language learners use all the help they can get in the form of the available clues and all the ingenuity they can come up with. It is clear that ingenuity, imagination, and resourcefulness have a role to play in reading and should be taken into account and fostered in foreign language teaching. Reading as verbal communication is an act of decoding, understanding, interpreting, evaluating the message, and deciding on our personal response, i.e., highly demanding decision-making strategic operations, completely different from finding new words in the text, matching new grammatical

forms with their explanations and skimming and/or scanning (Grabe, 2009; Nuttall, 1996).

In reading comprehension the role of the reader is aimed at computing both literal and figurative meaning, considering and eliminating various options and constructing a situational model of discourse and its participants by way of inferring, interpreting and evaluating this meaning to reconstruct the feasible communicative sense of the author's intention. Processing communicatively relevant information takes place in the reader's communicative mental set, which involves emotions, imagination, imagery, and creativity in the sense of ingenuity, flexibility and productivity of thought and visualization, intellectual sensitivity, metaphorical thinking, unexpected, fresh associations, performing mental transformations, as well as cognitive curiosity, i.e., the drive to ask and answer questions (Grimshaw, 2003).

To extract meaning and sense from communicative interactions cooperative comprehenders may go out of their way to consult all contexts of information which seem relevant, especially cultural knowledge, including the native and the target culture. In this way, verbal communication taps individual resourcefulness and flexibility, presupposes personalization, visualization, building mental models of the situation, cooperation, taking the addressee's perspective into consideration in comprehension as well as production (Singer, 2007; Zwaan & Singer, 2003).

6.2 The Scope of Reading Comprehension

Reading comprehension is the process of computing the writer's intention from his or her detailed instructions in the form of a text, which is the source of bottom-up clues; it relies on the processes of recognition on the basis of the top-driven clues in our mental representation. With our saccadic eye movement, we travel along the linear discourse. The saccadic jumps segment the text into what the reader recognizes as clauses and fits them into the more global organization of the text. In this process, the reader uses such clues as blank spaces between words, punctuation devices, their recognition of morphemes and lexemes, word order, function words, derivational prefixes and suffixes, paragraph structure, bold print, subtitles, numbering of the sections, etc. Once, in fractions of seconds, graphemic forms are matched with their meaning, i.e., decoded into meaning, they are pushed from the center of our working memory to make mental space for decoding the next clause. Proficient readers are more likely to remember the meaning of what they read than its form. We can distinguish the following sub-processes relevant in reading comprehension:

1. *Parsing* (Gompel & Pickering, 2009) during discourse comprehension refers to recognizing syntactic structure of the material being processed. Parsing involves segmentation into clauses, recognizing syntactic relationships within clauses and the significance of word order. This process is incremental in which the reader

interactively incorporates each word into the preceding syntactic structure as they encounter it. This allows the reader to arrive at "referentially plausible parses and exclude implausible ones" (Trueswell & Gleitman, 2009, p. 635). This involves pattern-recognition and pattern completion process and elimination of unlikely alternatives. Although non-syntactic information has a very rapid effect on sentence processing, the process of decoding must start with a strong syntactic basis, the reader's recognition of the structure of the material. This recognition of discourse form determines the reader's assignment of propositional and referential meaning. As Trueswell and Gleitman (2009) point out, language learners are innately predisposed to assume that discourse refers to the real world. For this reason, they attempt to interpret referential meaning of these syntactic characterizations of analyzed input from the very beginning.

2. *Semanticizing* (Danks et al., 1983; Palmer, 1968); the impulse to assign meaning to language forms occurs whenever we see a piece of text written in a language we are familiar with; semanticizing discourse is different from assigning meanings to isolated unknown words because in discourse context defines the status and function of individual elements. Specialists who investigate reading comprehension stress that the meanings of words are not given in the text in some ready form; they must be reconstructed in the context, i.e., our mental image of the situation presented in the text. In other words, we do not pick ready information regarding the meaning of a given item from our mental lexicon, but compute it, i.e., work it out for the specific context, eliminating the unlikely possibilities to arrive at the most suitable interpretation. The meaning we select for a given clause depends on the morphosyntactic structure we have assigned to it; at the same time, it is the least subjective stage of comprehension because here we are largely confined by the language code. Negotiation of meaning between the learner and the teacher, with prompts and feedback at this stage, is inevitable in view of the language learner's deficits because it enhances the learner's processing precision (Kintsch, 2006; Rumelhart, 2006; Sabatini, Albro, O'Reilly, 2012).
3. *Reconstructing the communicative intention* takes place at a more global level of the text in the light of the communicative situation and various sources of knowledge perceived as relevant to the task at hand; at this stage the comprehender is trying to reconstruct the communicative intention of the writer, which is not available in a ready form; it must be reconstructed on the basis of the local meanings as well as various coherence and cohesion devices used by the writer; interpretations of different readers do not have to be exactly the same considering the differences in the available knowledge sources activated for the task (Kintsch, 1998, 2006; Singer 2007).
4. *Personalization and evaluation* refer to perceiving the communicative intention from the point of view of our own values, convictions, opinions and ideas about the topic, with the reader responding to the writer's intention in an almost dialogical form; evaluation may seem to be the most subjective of the comprehension processes, but this is no reason for concern, provided the reading

material has been decoded to a satisfactory degree; this subjectivity reflects the fundamental nature of human communication (Nation, 2009).

This list shows that in a foreign language/EFL classroom, such a wide extent of comprehension processes can only be activated by processing materials which have all the structural properties of discourse, embedded in a communicative situation, implying some domain, purpose and role relationship between senders and addressees, referring to some shared knowledge/common ground as well as previous communicative situations and current events, containing everyday metaphors and idioms and various instances of figurative language use, marked by personal style and idiosyncrasies, i.e. all the structural properties of authentic discourse. It is clear at this point that it is not particularly meaningful in this context to talk about *authentic language* or about *a stretch of real language* because *language* is much too abstract as a concept to be linked with messages generated by people in communicative situations. At the same time, this framework does not preclude the possibility that various other, deliberately constructed, discourse types may be used for other specific functions in foreign language learning, such as modelling proficient speakers' pragmatic competence, forms of address in various circumstances, service encounters and their terminology, discourse typologies and their lexical material, specialized domain terminology and many others.

7 Concluding Remarks

In foreign language learning, the real problem with authentic texts seems to be that, historically speaking, the archetypical didactic material used to be constructed as an artificial text consisting of sentences illustrating points of grammar with no aspirations of being coherent, cohesive, meaningful, individualized and specific, demanding bridging inferences, processing figurative speech and humor, building a mental image of the situation, finding links with other instances of communication, or otherwise activating knowledge sources for the language user to make sense of it. In other words, neither the structure nor the purpose of this material were geared toward in-depth reading comprehension. This is an important qualitative difference between the structure and function of texts as didactic materials in traditional approaches and their structure and function in the current ones.

Since foreign language discourse materials must be adjusted to the foreign language learners' level, there is no practical utility in following the principle that they should be derived from native-to-native speaker communication. If we followed such a criterion of authenticity rigorously, we would have to reject many acclaimed writers of literary and scientific work, e.g., Joseph Conrad, Zbigniew Brzeziński, Henry Kissinger, and others who provide us with fascinating authentic texts worthy of extended study. Moreover, with this rigid criterion, we would find it hard, if not impossible, to find texts *adjusted* to the assorted learners' needs, degrees of background knowledge and proficiency level. Native speakers of any language

share vast areas of common background knowledge (Clark, 1998), which results from their group membership. Language learners have yet to acquire this kind of knowledge. However, as we know from the process of first language acquisition in children, adjustment (Clark, 2009; see also van Lier, 1996) plays a vital role in the process of language learning: it is a way of coordinating communicative efforts with the learner. In the absence of communicative adjustments, the learning process is hampered, even if only authentic materials are used for the purpose of foreign language teaching.

The most significant property of authentic texts from the point of view of foreign language learning and teaching is that they must be relevant to the language learner and fulfil the purpose for which they are brought into class: to exemplify communicative discourse with all its relevant communicative parameters in order to engage the learner in the whole spectrum of discourse comprehension processes. As long as these conditions are met, the origin of the text in native-speaker communication is of secondary importance; instead, native or other proficient-speaker authorship seems to be a sufficient criterion of authentic texts in our global intercultural world with English as Lingua Franca.

What implications does it have for the notion of authentic tasks in the educational context? As has been pointed out by the proponents of CLT, there are instances of real/authentic communication in the classroom: they refer to teacher-learner exchanges about everyday organizational matters, the 'housekeeping' business of the course and school activities. But these exchanges are marginal in terms of the amount of time they take. The real question refers to the properties which the mainstream didactic tasks should have in the foreign language classroom to be practical and relevant to the foreign language learner. My conclusion to be drawn from the framework outlined above, is that they should engage (by simulation or otherwise) the learner in verbal communication in its wide array of varieties and important structural properties, such as scenarios, at the same time being adjusted to the learner's language proficiency level. The ultimate 'authentic tasks', although absolutely necessary, model the target behavior which in the case of language learners is the final product of learning. On their way to this target they must also be engaged in intermediate tasks properly adjusted to their current stage of development, that is, to their current language proficiency and communicative knowledge level. If these adjustments are based on relevant language learning and communicative criteria, for example, on the stages of skill development, and/or when they are derived from natural conversational adjustments made by speakers of the target language, they naturally enhance the language learner's coping potential in the task at hand. Both types of tasks, intermediate (adjusted to the learner's level) and authentic (modelling target-like communication) are necessary throughout the learning process if they are adjusted on the basis of the addressee-related criteria derived from the psycholinguistic nature of verbal communication, especially reading comprehension.

In sum, while it is inevitable that all classroom tasks are didactic by definition, the real point is: are the didactic tasks in which we engage the learners relevant and conducive to the language learning process, understood as verbal communication

rather than learning grammar from texts. An 'authentic' task which is not addressed to the given learner may be equally irrelevant to him or her at a certain stage as a graded didactic task—relevant for a reason. It seems possible to single out such language learning criteria on the basis of our psycholinguistic understanding of language use in verbal communication.

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Precision (and Accuracy) in Academic Written and Spoken English. An Exercise in Awareness-Raising

Andrzej Łyda

Abstract This study stems from the present author's observations that the high-frequency academic word *precise*, poses a serious problem to advanced Polish students of English, who tend to use it interchangeably with another academic word *accurate*. Given the importance of *precision* and *accuracy* in academic research and the importance of common terminological ground in academic communication, a study has been launched into the usage of *precise* in academic English. The study based on two British Academic English corpora investigates the lexeme in terms of a number of criteria and demonstrates that the semantics of the lexeme is context-specific and some of the contexts can be shared by *precise* and *accurate*.

1 Introduction

The requirement of precision figures prominently among the requirements laid down for science, or more accurately, for scientific and academic research. Precision in research is a quality as much taken for granted as the need for clarity, objectivity and reliability. Obviously in no way are these qualities independent as they tend to imply one another: the objectivity of a scholar cannot be taken seriously if his or her research does not demonstrate reliability. Similarly, the reliability of a study is likely to be called into question unless the rigorous research has been carried out with the help of currently most precise methods. Thus, the requirement of precision is the ordering principle of serious scientific research. Equally paramount is the quality of accuracy.

Given the importance of precision and accuracy in science and the surprising shortage of definitions of the two qualities in science,[1] the question that might be

[1]It is mainly in probability and statistics studies that the two terms are defined. Accuracy refers to the closeness of a measured value to an actual (true) value. Precision refers to the closeness of the measured values to each other. Precision is independent of accuracy.

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asked in this context is how the terms *precise* and *accurate* are understood by researchers and how they are applied in academic writing. The question gains force from the fact that the lexeme *precise* representing the word family consisting of *precise*, *imprecise*, *precisely* and *precision,* is among the 570 most common word families of academic vocabulary found in the Academic Word List (AWL) compiled by Coxhead (2000). And so is *accurate*, representing in sublist 6 of AWL the family comprising also *accuracy, accurately, inaccuracy, inaccuracies* and *inaccurate*.

The present article focuses primarily on the lexeme *precise* in two ways. First, it sets out to define the lexeme and its semantic-grammatical profile in academic discourse. Secondly, to highlight the nuances of usage of *precise* in academic discourse it compares the profile with the semantic-grammatical profile of the other lexeme, i.e., *accurate*.

Academic discourse is defined here as all linguistic activities used to communicate and discuss scientific information. Obviously, this is only one of possible definitions of academic discourse, far from perfect, yet it implies what is of central importance, namely certain forms of communication known as spoken and written academic genres such as essays, research articles, lectures and seminars, to name a few.

This study aims to investigate *precise* in two corpora of British academic English: British Academic Spoken English Corpus (*BASE*) and British Academic Written English Corpus (*BAWE*). In particular, the research reported in this chapter focuses on the way the grammatical and collocational behaviour of the lexeme *precise*, its frequency of occurrence and the range of objects and activities to which the lexeme is applied in both corpora.

2 *Precise* in English Dictionaries and Word Frequency Lists

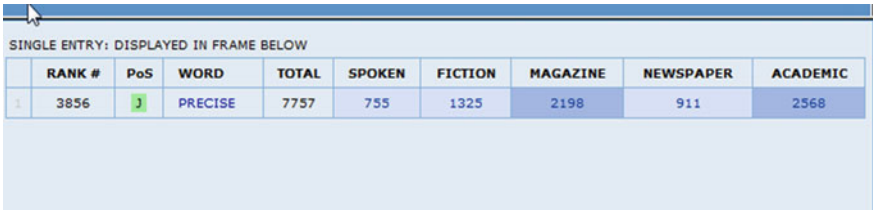
Oxford English Dictionary (1992) identifies four different senses of the adjective *precise*:

> precise, a. (adv.) A.
>
> 1. Definitely or strictly expressed; exactly defined; definite, exact; of a person, definite and exact in statement.
>
> *1875 Jowett Plato (ed. 2) III. 187 He is very precise about dates and facts. Ibid. IV. 80 Let us then put into more precise terms the question which has arisen.*
>
> 2. Strict in the observance of rule, form, or usage; formal, correct; punctilious, scrupulous, particular; sometimes, Over-exact, over-nice, fastidious. Also of a practice or action: Strictly observed.
>
> *1847 Marryat Childr. N. Forest xiii, He was very precise about doing his duty. 1872 Routledge's Ev. Boy's Ann. 65/2 an old bachelor, precise and obstinate*
>
> 3. Exact; neither more nor less than; perfect, complete: opposed to approximate.
>
> *1837–8 Sir W. Hamilton Logic xxiv. (1860) II. 14 A definition should be Precise, that is, contain nothing unessential, nothing superfluous. 1874 L. Stephen Hours in Library (1892) I. ii. 2 The precise adaptation of the key to every ward of the lock.*

4. Distinguished with precision from all others; identified, pointed out, or stated, with *1856 Sir B. Brodie Psychol. Inq. I. iv. 161 The precise character of these chemical changes we have no means of ascertaining. 1860 Tyndall Glac. i. vii. 48 The precise moment at which a traveller is passing*.

The four senses are distinctly different. *Precise 1* refers mainly to speech acts and people communicating definite messages. *Precise 2* denotes types of behaviour or actions observing a norm. *Precise 3* denotes exactness understood as an antonym of approximation and as such it seems to be the sense most common in scientific communication. Finally, *precise 4* implies the existence of other elements from which an element in question is distinguished.

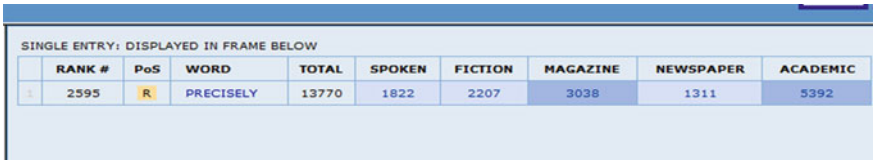
In terms of frequency of use *precise* occupies the 2,825th position of the British National Corpus (BNC) wordlist. In American English the lexeme is insignificantly less frequent ranking as the 3,856th most common word according to the frequency list compiled for the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies, 2008), as shown in Fig. 1.


SINGLE ENTRY: DISPLAYED IN FRAME BELOW

	RANK #	PoS	WORD	TOTAL	SPOKEN	FICTION	MAGAZINE	NEWSPAPER	ACADEMIC
1	3856	J	PRECISE	7757	755	1325	2198	911	2568

Fig. 1 The rank of *precise* in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

Interestingly, *precise* is not the most frequently used member of the family as higher scores have been recorded for the adverb *precisely*, which occupies the 2,675th position on the BNC and 2,595th on the COCA list, as shown in Fig. 2.


SINGLE ENTRY: DISPLAYED IN FRAME BELOW

	RANK #	PoS	WORD	TOTAL	SPOKEN	FICTION	MAGAZINE	NEWSPAPER	ACADEMIC
1	2595	R	PRECISELY	13770	1822	2207	3038	1311	5392

Fig. 2 The rank of *precisely* in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

The higher frequency of the adverb clearly indicates that, at least in American English, precision tends to be viewed as a quality of actions expressed by verbal forms rather than of objects or results of actions.

Considering the frequency of occurrence of *precise* in various genres in COCA such as spoken and written American English, the latter subdivided into fiction, magazines, newspapers and academic English (see Fig. 1), it is essential to note that

precise is used nine times as frequently in written English (90.3 %) than in spoken English (9.7 %). Similar results have been obtained for *precisely*, in which case as much as 86.77 % of all occurrences of the adverb can be found in the written subcorpus. Figures 1 and 2 show also that both *precise* and *precisely* are used mainly in the area of academic discourse: 2,568 tokens of *precise* accounts for 36.67 % of all its occurrences in the written subcorpus of COCA. The academic character of the lexeme is visible also in the case of *precisely*, which has an even higher use index in the academic subcorpus, i.e., 45.12 %. In the following Sect. 1 will focus on the semantic-grammatical profile of the word in two corpora of British academic English.

3 Materials and Methods

For the present study two corpora of British academic English, BASE and BAWE, have been selected. The first of them, the British Academic Spoken English (BASE), compiled at the University of Warwick and the University of Reading, consists of 160 lectures and 40 seminars representing four disciplinary groups. The corpus contains 1,252,256 tokens or 1,186,290 words. The other one, the British Academic Written English (BAWE) consisting of 6,968,089 words, contains almost 3,000 pieces "of proficient assessed student writing, ranging in length from about 500 words to about 5000 words […] distributed across four broad disciplinary areas (Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, Life Sciences and Physical Sciences" (http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/research/collections/bawe/). The analysis has been supplemented also with the data obtained from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).

The analysis was performed by means of *Sketch Engine*, a corpus query tool, equipped with a number of features like *Concordancer*, *Thesaurus* and *Word Sketch*, presenting the grammatical and collocational behaviour of an analysed word. Another computational tool was *WordSmith Tools* 6.0 used to list lexical bundles in the two Academic English corpora.

4 *Precise* and *Precisely* in BAWE

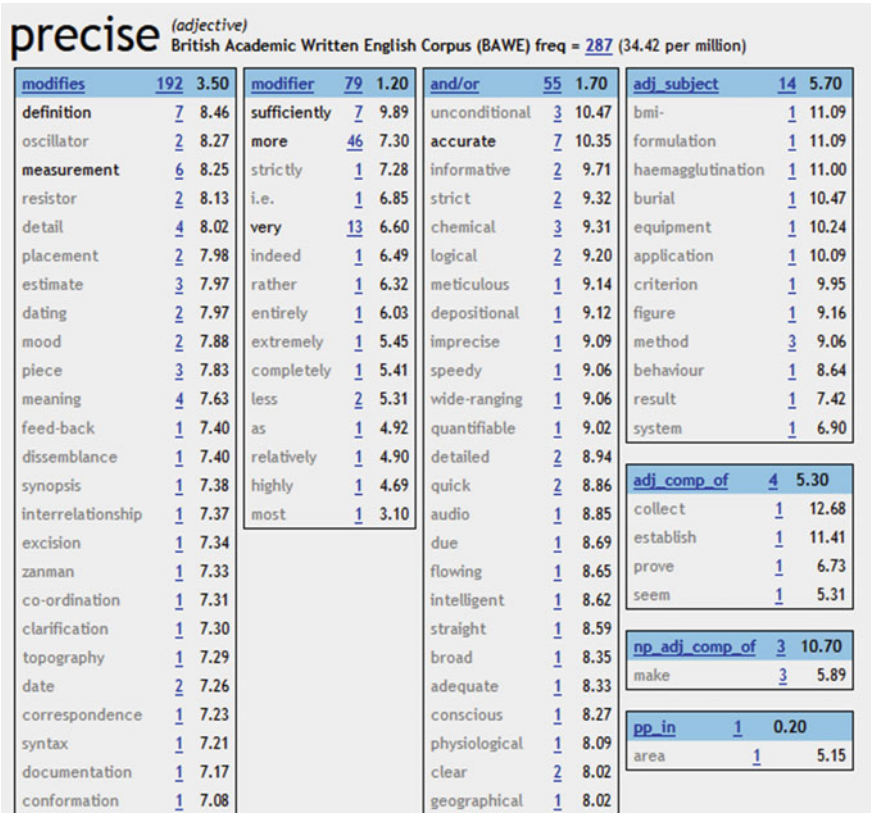
4.1 Frequency

In the BAWE corpus, there were found 287 occurrences of *precise*, and thus, 34.42 occurrences per million words (pmw). By comparison, two semantically related words *exact* and *accurate* have a higher frequency, 40.91 pmw and as much as 109.88 pmw, respectively. These findings may suggest that *precise* has a more specialised meaning, which can possibly find its confirmation in a more limited range of its collocates and contexts of usage. This question will be addressed later

in this chapter. Interestingly enough, *precisely* shows a relatively low frequency of occurrence of 24.59 pmw, which contrasts sharply with the figures obtained in COCA. This would be suggestive of differences in the use of the adjectival and adverbial forms in British English and American English.

4.2 Syntactic Patterns

Figure 3 shows grammatical and collocational patterns for the adjective *precise* obtained by means of *Sketch Engine.*



precise *(adjective)*
British Academic Written English Corpus (BAWE) freq = 287 (34.42 per million)

modifies	192	3.50
definition	7	8.46
oscillator	2	8.27
measurement	6	8.25
resistor	2	8.13
detail	4	8.02
placement	2	7.98
estimate	3	7.97
dating	2	7.97
mood	2	7.88
piece	3	7.83
meaning	4	7.63
feed-back	1	7.40
dissemblance	1	7.40
synopsis	1	7.38
interrelationship	1	7.37
excision	1	7.34
zanman	1	7.33
co-ordination	1	7.31
clarification	1	7.30
topography	1	7.29
date	2	7.26
correspondence	1	7.23
syntax	1	7.21
documentation	1	7.17
conformation	1	7.08

modifier	79	1.20
sufficiently	7	9.89
more	46	7.30
strictly	1	7.28
i.e.	1	6.85
very	13	6.60
indeed	1	6.49
rather	1	6.32
entirely	1	6.03
extremely	1	5.45
completely	1	5.41
less	2	5.31
as	1	4.92
relatively	1	4.90
highly	1	4.69
most	1	3.10

and/or	55	1.70
unconditional	3	10.47
accurate	7	10.35
informative	2	9.71
strict	2	9.32
chemical	3	9.31
logical	2	9.20
meticulous	1	9.14
depositional	1	9.12
imprecise	1	9.09
speedy	1	9.06
wide-ranging	1	9.06
quantifiable	1	9.02
detailed	2	8.94
quick	2	8.86
audio	1	8.85
due	1	8.69
flowing	1	8.65
intelligent	1	8.62
straight	1	8.59
broad	1	8.35
adequate	1	8.33
conscious	1	8.27
physiological	1	8.09
clear	2	8.02
geographical	1	8.02

adj_subject	14	5.70
bmi-	1	11.09
formulation	1	11.09
haemagglutination	1	11.00
burial	1	10.47
equipment	1	10.24
application	1	10.09
criterion	1	9.95
figure	1	9.16
method	3	9.06
behaviour	1	8.64
result	1	7.42
system	1	6.90

adj_comp_of	4	5.30
collect	1	12.68
establish	1	11.41
prove	1	6.73
seem	1	5.31

np_adj_comp_of	3	10.70
make	3	5.89

pp_in	1	0.20
area	1	5.15

Fig. 3 Lexico-grammatical patterns of *precise* in BAWE

The most canonical pattern that *precise* enters is a nominal phrase in which *precise* functions as a modifier. Figure 3 shows that *modifier* + *noun* pattern has the highest frequency of 192, which accounts for 66.89 % of all lexico-grammatical

constructions. Typical instances of *precise* used as a modifier are shown in the following examples:

text#5	functions of their reproductive organs, the **precise** workings of which received limited medical
text#16	seen as of symbolic value rather than a **precise** influence of his thought. Lacking everywhere
text#24	significant to note that he gives class no **precise** definition. Using his work, later Marxists
text#27	plate 5) and histidine (plate 2). a more **precise** method is required to obtain a fine structure
text#28	prepared. As antibodies are specific, this **precise** haemagglutination prevention was used to

Well represented is also the pattern in which *precise* is modified by adverbs, mostly *more*, *very*, and *sufficiently*, as in the examples below:

text#27	plate 5) and histidine (plate 2). A *more* **precise** method is required to obtain a fine structure
text#112	will also result in errors. A *more* **precise** apparatus can be chosen to measure the
text#290	This could be done by using a *more* **precise** oscillator, where the frequency is know
text#290	could be made in the same way. The *more* **precise** measurements would help reduced the amount
text#401	Office the court applied the *sufficiently* **precise** and unconditional test of direct effect
text#401	directive in question was *sufficiently* **precise** to be directly effective thus opening doors
text#1314	commission has to provide ' *sufficiently* **precise** and coherent' evidence in order to prove

This pattern, which testifies to the gradability of precision, accounts for 27.52 % of all lexico-grammatical patterns.

Another pattern identified by means of *Word Sketch* module is *and/or*. Its importance for the analysis of meaning of *precise* lies in the fact that *precise* collocates with one or more similar constituents that function either as its near-synonyms, complements, and antonyms. The frequency of use of the pattern is 19.16 %. and typical examples are shown below:

text#736	piece of equipment is highly *accurate* and **precise** , and so the error in the value of d, and
text#819	behaviour cannot be observed and measured in **precise** and *accurate* quantitative terms. For example
text#401	Office the court applied the sufficiently **precise** and *unconditional* test of direct effect
text#477	strategy 'need not always be a *conscious* and **precise** plan'. Indeed, he argues, 'strategy can
text#554	is to benefit. Dahl thus provides a very **precise** and *quantifiable* definition of political

The contribution of the remaining constructions is of marginal significance. *Adj_*subject pattern occurs only 14 times (4.87 %), which tends to suggest that the predicative usage of *precise* is less frequent, e.g.:

text#28	haemagglutination. Just as *haemagglutination* is **precise** , antibodies preventing the attachments
text#256	between crime and anti-social *behaviour* is not **precise** '(Home Office Action Plan:' Together -
text#1181	this experiment as the *equipment* is rather **precise** and this is backed up by the datapoints
text#1252	elements. He makes this *formulation* more **precise** , ending up with y = f ∫ f(x)dx + constant

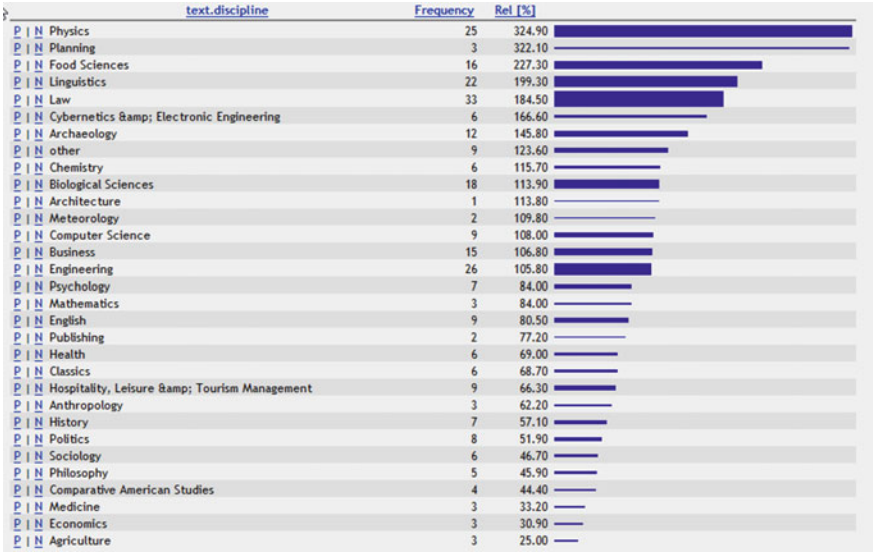
The picture of the lexico-grammatical behaviour of *precise* will become complete if three other minor patterns are included, namely, *adj_comp_of* (4 occurrences), *np_adj_comp_of* (3 occurrences) and *pp_in* (1 occurrence):

text#2353	standard Model, and this model has *proved* very **precise**. However, it has been said that the model
text#2096	on this 25 m 2, making the whole system as **precise** as possible. In addition, they are applied
text#2617	fat mass is low. Furthermore, BMI is not **precise** *in* some areas such as different age groups

The above findings reveal that in British written academic discourse *precise* is used mainly as an attributive modifier predicating a gradable quality of the object it refers to (e.g. *sufficiently precise and unconditional test*), the quality being often contrasted or supplemented with another quality (e.g. *accurate and precise*).

4.3 Precise *in Academic Disciplines of BAWE*

The distribution of *precise* across different academic disciplines is uneven as some areas stand out prominently in the corpus. Figure 4 shows the frequency of occurrence of the lexeme in terms of the discipline represented by the text. As can be seen, *precise* is relatively most frequently used in writing in hard sciences such as physics, planning, chemistry and electronic engineering, and is common in such soft sciences as linguistics, archaeology and law. The highest relative frequency has been found for physics, in which case the frequency of *precise* is more than three times as high as for the whole corpus.



text.discipline	Frequency	Rel [%]
P | N Physics	25	324.90
P | N Planning	3	322.10
P | N Food Sciences	16	227.30
P | N Linguistics	22	199.30
P | N Law	33	184.50
P | N Cybernetics & Electronic Engineering	6	166.60
P | N Archaeology	12	145.80
P | N other	9	123.60
P | N Chemistry	6	115.70
P | N Biological Sciences	18	113.90
P | N Architecture	1	113.80
P | N Meteorology	2	109.80
P | N Computer Science	9	108.00
P | N Business	15	106.80
P | N Engineering	26	105.80
P | N Psychology	7	84.00
P | N Mathematics	3	84.00
P | N English	9	80.50
P | N Publishing	2	77.20
P | N Health	6	69.00
P | N Classics	6	68.70
P | N Hospitality, Leisure & Tourism Management	9	66.30
P | N Anthropology	3	62.20
P | N History	7	57.10
P | N Politics	8	51.90
P | N Sociology	6	46.70
P | N Philosophy	5	45.90
P | N Comparative American Studies	4	44.40
P | N Medicine	3	33.20
P | N Economics	3	30.90
P | N Agriculture	3	25.00

Fig. 4 Discipline frequency of *precise* in BAWE

The data displayed in Fig. 4 indicate that the probability of occurrence of *precise* in hard science discourse is higher, yet a note should be taken of its high relative frequency in linguistics and of very low frequency estimated for agriculture, economics and medicine.

4.4 Precise *and Its Collocates in BAWE*

Table 1 presents fifty most common collocates of *precise* in the 5/5 context, i.e. in the range of 5 words to the left and to the right with the cut-off threshold of 3 occurrences in the corpus. These collocates are arranged in a decreasing order of logDice index (Rychly, 2008).

Table 1 50 most common collocates of *precise* in BASE

		Frequency	T-score	MI	LogDice
P|N	Sufficiently	7	2.643	10.071	8.913
P|N	Unconditional	3	1.732	11.656	8.290
P|N	Measurement	8	2.822	8.697	8.274
P|N	Equipment	6	2.443	8.640	8.085
P|N	Accurate	9	2.990	8.182	7.957
P|N	Placement	3	1.730	9.591	7.941

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

		Frequency	T-score	MI	LogDice
P|N	Measurements	5	2.229	8.232	7.733
P|N	Depending	5	2.228	8.197	7.711
P|N	Details	5	2.227	7.919	7.529
P|N	Chemical	4	1.992	7.892	7.400
P|N	Determine	7	2.631	7.520	7.361
P|N	Norms	3	1.725	8.019	7.302
P|N	Definition	6	2.435	7.427	7.241
P|N	Composition	3	1.724	7.841	7.203
P|N	Count	3	1.724	7.749	7.150
P|N	Difficulty	3	1.724	7.721	7.134
P|N	Obtain	3	1.720	7.177	6.789
P|N	Difficult	7	2.621	6.761	6.729
P|N	More	52	7.129	6.459	6.609
P|N	Errors	3	1.717	6.876	6.578
P|N	Very	18	4.195	6.467	6.573
P|N	Technique	3	1.717	6.855	6.563
P|N	To	9	2.967	6.505	6.542
P|N	Require	3	1.716	6.767	6.499
P|N	Requires	3	1.716	6.728	6.470
P|N	How	3	1.715	6.690	6.442
P|N	Error	4	1.976	6.375	6.280
P|N	Remains	3	1.711	6.348	6.179
P|N	Content	3	1.710	6.275	6.121
P|N	Provided	4	1.972	6.171	6.109
P|N	Method	6	2.409	5.934	5.970
P|N	Far	4	1.968	5.981	5.946
P|N	Appropriate	3	1.705	6.017	5.912
P|N	Direct	3	1.705	5.990	5.890
P|N	Words	4	1.967	5.914	5.888
P|N	Give	4	1.966	5.883	5.860
P|N	Done	3	1.704	5.927	5.838
P|N	Provide	5	2.196	5.800	5.823
P|N	Forms	3	1.702	5.850	5.773
P|N	Study	6	2.403	5.704	5.759
P|N	Cause	4	1.961	5.679	5.681
P|N	Nature	5	2.191	5.624	5.664
P|N	Meaning	3	1.698	5.681	5.630
P|N	Involved	3	1.698	5.674	5.624
P|N	Understanding	3	1.697	5.644	5.598
P|N	Therefore	8	2.766	5.497	5.593

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

		Frequency	T-score	MI	LogDice
P|N	Less	5	2.185	5.457	5.511
P|N	Results	6	2.392	5.417	5.493
P|N	Point	5	2.183	5.409	5.467
P|N	Therefore	4	1.954	5.427	5.456
P|N	Clear	3	1.693	5.461	5.440

Since the grammatical pattern with *precise* functioning as an attribute of a noun has been shown to be most common, Table 2 highlights the most common nouns modified by *precise*.

Table 2 The most common nominal collocates of *precise* in BAWE

		Frequency	T-score	MI	LogDice
P|N	Measurement	8	2.822	8.697	8.274
P|N	Equipment	6	2.443	8.640	8.085
P|N	Placement	3	1.730	9.591	7.941
P|N	Measurements	5	2.229	8.232	7.733
P|N	Details	5	2.227	7.919	7.529
P|N	Norms	3	1.725	8.019	7.302
P|N	Definition	6	2.435	7.427	7.241
P|N	Composition	3	1.724	7.841	7.203
P|N	Count	3	1.724	7.749	7.150
P|N	Difficulty	3	1.724	7.721	7.134
P|N	Errors	3	1.717	6.876	6.578
P|N	Technique	3	1.717	6.855	6.563
P|N	Error	4	1.976	6.375	6.280
P|N	Content	3	1.710	6.275	6.121
P|N	Method	6	2.409	5.934	5.970
P|N	Words	4	1.967	5.914	5.888
P|N	Forms	3	1.702	5.850	5.773
P|N	Cause	4	1.961	5.679	5.681
P|N	Nature	5	2.191	5.624	5.664
P|N	Meaning	3	1.698	5.681	5.630
P|N	Understanding	3	1.697	5.644	5.598
P|N	Results	6	2.392	5.417	5.493
P|N	Point	5	2.183	5.409	5.467

In terms of their semantics, the nouns can be classified into two major groups: (1) nouns related to research, i.e., the research process, tools and the object under investigation such as *measurement, equipment, method, technique, difficulty,*

composition and (2) a considerably smaller group of mental and communication processes and their results: *definition, words, meaning, understandin*g etc.

The second most productive pattern for *precise* is the one in which *precise* is modified by an adverb of degree. Of these *sufficiently* is the collocate with the highest frequency, followed by *more* (52 occurrences) and *very* (18 occurrences). These adverbs point out to two important features of precision. First, they indicate that precision is a gradable quality. Secondly, the frequent combinations of *sufficiently precise* unequivocally point toward an interpretation of precision as a relative concept dependent on the criteria set as satisfactory for the objectives of an experiment or a measurement rather than as an absolute one.

Verbal collocates (*require*, *remain*, *provide*, *give* etc.) in the range specified in the collocate search are definitely rarer and of less importance for the understanding of the semantics of *precise* as they are more closely bound with the head nouns modified by *precise*, as in the examples below:

text#850	than 2 mm ones as it does not *require* very **precise** equipment to manufacture them. The
text#1196	confer further legitimacy to the EU." How **precise** this statement *remains* to be seen as case
text#2136	more repeats can be done to *give* a more **precise** measurement. Part C: Oxygen Consumption

Still, in view of limited data on the collocational behaviour of these verbs, it cannot be completely ruled out that the presence of *precise* might attract them into its collocational range. Having discussed *precise* in BAWE, let us now proceed to BASE to compare the use of *precise* in academic spoken English.

5 *Precise* and *Precisely* in BASE

5.1 Frequency

The total number of occurrences of *precise* recorded in the BASE corpus was 39. Considering the fact that the BASE corpus is 5.87 times smaller than the BAWE, it was expected that the number of occurrences would amount to about fifty, should the distribution of the lexeme in spoken and written academic discourse be similar. What follows is that the frequency of *precise* in the two varieties of academic English differs and amounts to 31.14 pmw in academic spoken English as compared to 34.42 pmw in the BAWE corpus. By contrast, there was observed an increase in the number of occurrences of the adverb *precisely*, for which the frequency index was twice as high in the BASE corpus (48.71 pmw) than in BAWE (24.59 pmw).

5.2 Grammatical Patterns

As can be gleaned from Fig. 5, in the BASE corpus *precise* appears in the same patterns as in BAWE, yet with a different frequency.

Fig. 5 Lexico-grammatical patterns of *precise* in BASE

Out of 39 tokens, as many as 21 (53.84 %) perform the function of premodifying adjectives of head nouns:

ahlct026 necessarily solve that thorny issue of the **precise** *relationship* between [[voiced pause]] the
lslct022 ‘s all important and finally to aim at a **precise** *figure* rejected candidates have a right
lslct038 verbal what you say matters enormously the **precise** *words* that you use how you say it and the
lslct038 ‘re not going to be concentrating on h the **precise** *nuts* and bolts of how you do it but the

13 tokens occur in constructions in which they are modified by degree adverbs, mainly *more,* as in the examples below:

lslct039 the training is extremely [[voiced pause]] **precise** in terms of conduct and attitude as well
lslct039 picked that pepper off off the plant a very **precise** [[voiced pause]] data management system
pslct012 will make [[voiced pause]] that much more **precise** when i come on to it but it forms the second

Another category, namely *and/*or, is represented only by six tokens (15.36 %), with no salient adjective as a collocate of *precise*:

lslct033	what they 're actually taking by taking a **precise** and *careful* drug history you may save the
sslct004	obviously it 's not good picture if this sort of **precise** scientific findings are to be of some help
sslct004	enq our enquiry must be directed by a less **precise** yet more economical stance that is far

Three other patterns that emerged from the analysis of *precise*, namely, adj_-comp_of, np_adj_comp_of and pp_in are very rare in the BASE corpus.

Comparing the lexico-grammatical profiles in the two corpora, it is clear that academic writers and speakers use *precise* roughly in a similar way, i.e., as an attributive modifier predicating a gradable quality.

5.3 Precise *in Academic Disciplines of BASE*

The comparison of the distribution of *precise* in both corpora in terms of academic disciplines shows striking differences. In the case of BAWE the highest relative frequency of use of the adjective, measured in comparison with the whole corpus, has been found in physics and planning (see Fig. 4).

By contrast, in the BASE corpus *precise* is relatively most common in ELT and linguistics, followed by economics, for which the frequency index was very low in BAWE. Similarly, the low frequency index attested for medicine in the BAWE corpus is much higher (86.10 %) in the BASE. This may suggest that factor of the mode of communication affects the use of *precise* (Fig. 6).

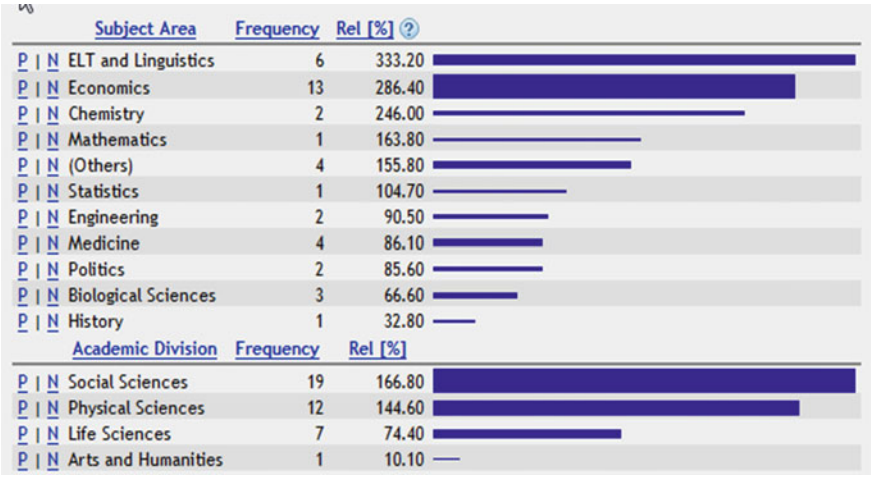


Fig. 6 Discipline frequency of *precise* in BASE

5.4 Precise *and Its Collocates in BASE*

Table 3 presents the most common collocates of *precise* in the 5/5 context, i.e. in the range of 5 words to the left and to the right with the cut-off threshold of 3 occurrences in the corpus. The collocates are again arranged in a decreasing order of logDice index (Rychly, 2008).

Table 3 The most common collocates of *precise* in BASE

		Frequency	T-score	MI	LogDice
P|N	Stance	3	1.731	10.625	9.941
P|N	Definition	3	1.729	9.376	9.061
P|N	More	8	2.796	6.441	6.452
P|N	Be	10	3.088	5.409	5.431
P|N	Say	3	1.689	5.316	5.322
P|N	How	3	1.684	5.166	5.175
P|N	Have	6	2.348	4.594	4.617
P|N	Very	3	1.656	4.512	4.528
P|N	About	4	1.911	4.496	4.516
P|N	From	3	1.655	4.494	4.510
P|N	Are	5	2.124	4.314	4.336
P|N	Not	3	1.636	4.173	4.192
P|N	This	6	2.299	4.023	4.048
P|N	You	12	3.244	3.976	4.003
P|N	To	14	3.477	3.820	3.847
P|N	As	3	1.603	3.743	3.764
P|N	A	11	3.059	3.688	3.715
P|N	That	11	3.056	3.672	3.700
P|N	On	3	1.596	3.666	3.688
P|N	Of	15	3.563	3.641	3.669
P|N	It	8	2.599	3.624	3.650
P|N	We	4	1.780	3.187	3.212
P|N	[[Voiced pause]]	8	2.511	3.155	3.182
P|N	And	8	2.459	2.938	2.965
P|N	Is	5	1.944	2.934	2.961
P|N	So	3	1.502	2.913	2.938
P|N	‘S	4	1.722	2.846	2.872
P|N	The	15	3.332	2.840	2.869
P|N	I	3	1.454	2.640	2.666
P|N	In	4	1.629	2.432	2.459

It is clear from Table 3 that in contrast to its collocational behaviour in BAWE, *precise* collocates with only two nouns if the same criteria of frequency in the corpus and frequency in the range are adopted. When less strict criteria are applied, the list of nominal collocations includes not only *stance* and *definition* but also *pattern*(*s*), *findings*, *question*, and *specification*, most of which appear as collocates of *precise* in BAWE, too. The low number of distinct nominal collocates follows from the different share of the lexical-grammatical patterns of *precise* discussed in Sect. 3.4. While the share of the *attributive adjective + noun* pattern is lower, there can be observed an increase in the number of occurences of *adverbial modifier + precise* pattern. The most common modifier in BAWE, i.e., *sufficiently*, does not occur in the BASE corpus, in which the two top positions are occupied by *more* and *very*.

What also stands out from the analysis of collocates is the fact that the range of verbs as collocates of *precise* is decidedly narrower and practically limited to the two basic verbs *be* and *have*, e.g.:

sslct004	these types of researchers has simply a more **precise** instruments of measurements and this is
pslct022	the other plane here we have to be more **precise** okay if we ‘ve got this acceleration going
pslct016	this here and then be a little bit more **precise** about it i ‘m assuming that when asked

5.5 Precise *Bundles in BAWE and BASE*

The term lexical bundle was introduced by Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (1999, pp. 989–990) and defined as “bundles of words that show a statistical tendency to co-occur” and also as “recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status”. According to Biber (2009, p. 283), unlike idioms for example, they are very common in speech and writing. Secondly, although lexical bundles function as whole units, the meaning of lexical bundles is transparent, which indicates that they are not idiomatic. Finally, they are structurally incomplete (Biber, Conrad, & Cortes, 2004; Byrd & Coxhead, 2010; Hyland, 2008a, 2008b; Simpson-Vlach & Ellis, 2010). Lexical bundles have been shown to be holistically stored and retrieved from memory, As such, not only are they conducive to efficient communication but, as stressed in the literature, the use of formulaic language allows speakers and writers to express solidarity with one’s community (Cortes, 2004) and to construct a disciplinary competent voice (Hyland, 2008a, 2008b; Pang, 2010).

Table 4 The most frequent lexical bundles (3-grams and 4-grams) of *precise* in BAWE and BASE (shared bundles *underlined*)

	BAWE		BASE	
n	*Cluster*	*Freq.*	*Cluster*	*Freq.*
1	A more precise	16	Patterns that are	4
2	Be more precise	7	A more precise	3
3	To determine the precise	5	To be precise	3
4	To be more precise	5	The precise specification	2
5	The precise nature of	5	Know precise patterns	2
6	The more precise	5	Precise patterns that	2
7	Sufficiently precise and	4	Needed the precise	2
8	Precise and accurate	4		
9	Is not precise	4		
10	A very precise	4		
11	A precise measurement	4		

An analysis of lexical bundles including *precise* has been carried out by means of Wordsmith Tools to investigate the range of such clusters and their use in spoken and written academic English. In Table 4 lexical bundles are ordered in terms of their frequency of occurrence in both corpora. It is evident that with the exception of *a more precise* academic writers and speakers use a slightly different stock of lexical bundles, some of which border on formulaicity, e.g., *the precise nature of*, *to be more precise*, and *precise and accurate*. This usage can be considered an argument in favor of the view that the construction of a disciplinary competent voice" is also mode-specific.

6 *Precise* and *Accurate* Compared

The above analysis sheds some light on differences and similarities in the usage of *precise* in academic speech and writing. Even more insight into the semantics of *precise* is lent if the lexeme is compared with *accurate*, the latter being a lexeme semantically similar, yet different enough to enter the *and/or* pattern as in *precise and accurate* (Fig. 7).

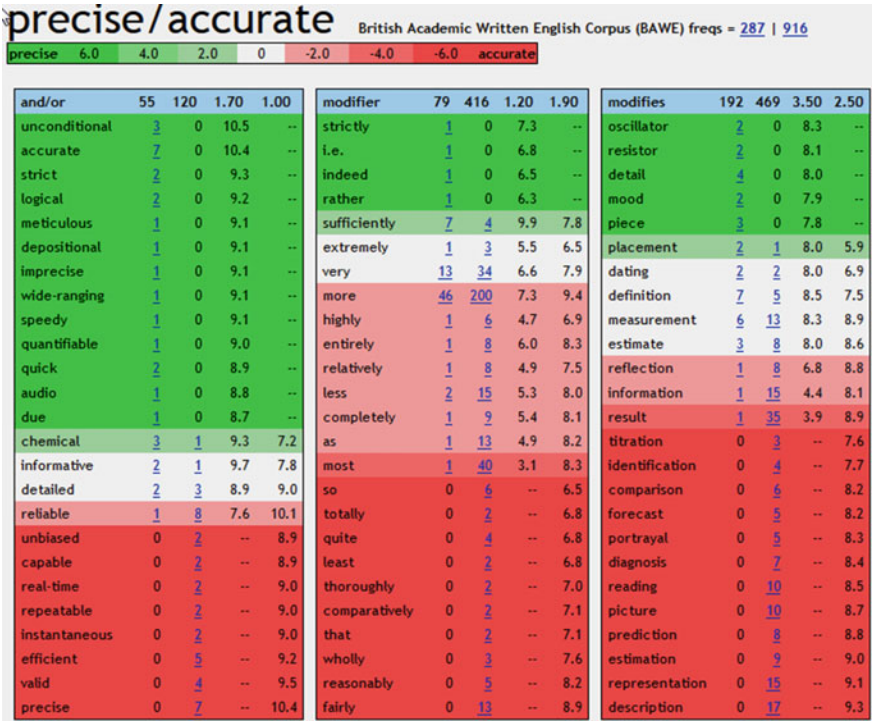


Fig. 7 Sketch differences: precise/accurate in BAWE

To study the two lexemes I used the *Sketch Differences* module, which performs a statistical analysis of two lexico-grammatical profiles providing a picture of grammatical and collocational relations specific of a lexeme and shared by two lexemes. Figures 8 and 9 display the profiles for BAWE and BASE, respectively. The green area of the blocks indicates patterns specific of *precise* and the red one shows patterns peculiar to *accurate*. The white area indicates patterns shared by the two lexemes.

The comparison of *precise* and *accurate* in each of the two corpora shows that the relation between the two lexemes is not constant and depends on the mode of communication. Consequently, the extent to which the two lexemes can be used as contextual near-synonyms also varies. The prototypical context shared by the two lexemes in academic written English is likely to take the following form: "It seems a/an [extremely/very] *precise/accurate* [and informative/detailed] definition/measurement/estimate". In this case the two adjectives are used to evaluate a result of research process. For academic spoken English the prototypical context is much shorter and is limited to a nominal phrase, which partly follows from the restricted range of verbs collocating with *precise*: "a/an very/more/less precise/accurate description/instrument", which refers either to the research process or its results.

adj_subject	14	117	5.70	13.70
formulation	1	0	11.1	--
bmi-	1	0	11.1	--
haemagglutination	1	0	11.0	--
burial	1	0	10.5	--
application	1	0	10.1	--
criterion	1	0	10.0	--
behaviour	1	0	8.6	--
equipment	1	1	10.2	8.0
figure	1	1	9.2	7.7
method	3	7	9.1	9.6
result	1	8	7.4	9.8
rotameter	0	1	--	8.1
svp-	0	1	--	8.1
model	0	3	--	8.6
plant	0	2	--	8.8
conclusion	0	2	--	8.8
report	0	2	--	8.8
prediction	0	2	--	9.0
laser	0	2	--	9.0
marker	0	2	--	9.1
experiment	0	3	--	9.4
100%	0	3	--	9.5
reading	0	3	--	9.6
inertia	0	3	--	9.7
value	0	8	--	10.0

adj_comp_of	4	17	5.30	6.40
collect	1	0	12.7	--
establish	1	0	11.4	--
prove	1	0	6.7	--
seem	1	2	5.3	6.3
become	0	2	--	4.8
get	0	1	--	6.8
make	0	3	--	7.3
provide	0	1	--	9.6
mention	0	1	--	10.4
say	0	1	--	10.4
demand	0	1	--	10.4
receive	0	1	--	10.5
obtain	0	1	--	10.6
conclude	0	1	--	10.7
give	0	2	--	10.9

np_adj_comp_of	3	14	10.70	14.30
make	3	10	5.9	7.6
keep	0	1	--	7.8
give	0	1	--	9.4
produce	0	1	--	9.6
obtain	0	1	--	10.9

pp_in	1	7	0.20	0.30
area	1	0	5.1	--
way	0	1	--	4.5
world	0	1	--	5.5
order	0	1	--	7.1
formation	0	1	--	8.4
description	0	1	--	9.8
pronunciation	0	1	--	10.9
brief	0	1	--	11.8

Fig. 7 (continued)

Generally, although there is much similarity between the two lexemes in academic written English, they are far outweighed by differences, especially in respect of nominal collocates. For *precise* to collocate with such nouns as *description, representation, picture*, *portrayal* or *reading* is virtually impossible. This follows from the semantics of the nouns, all signifying complex and elaborate constructs

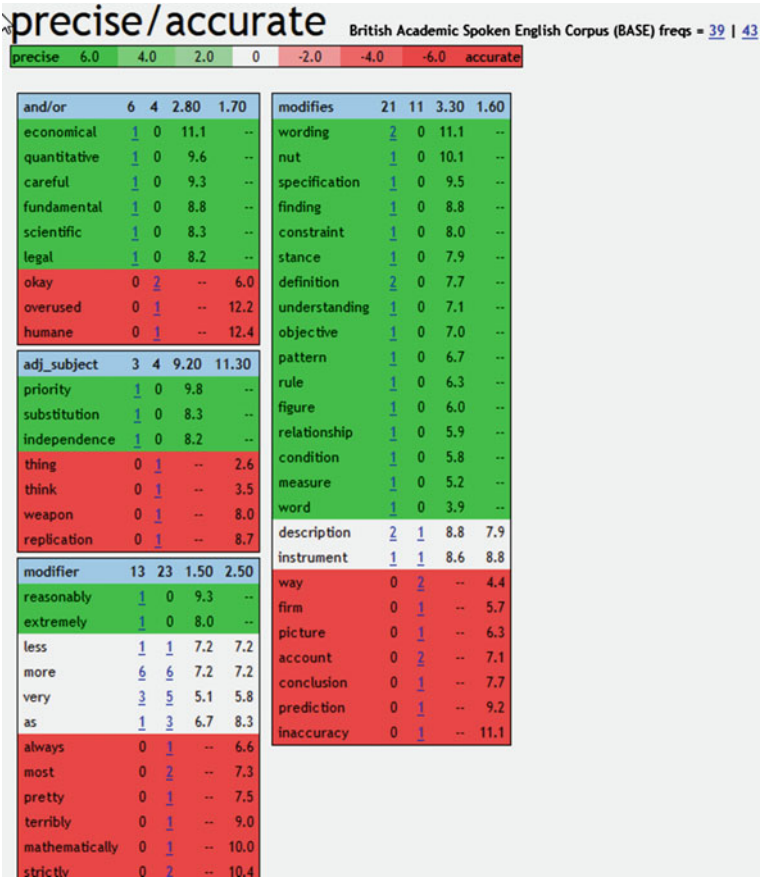


Fig. 8 Sketch differences: *precise/accurate* in BASE

perceived not so much in terms of exactness but rather globally in terms of truth and reliability.

In academic spoken English the number of shared contexts is even lower. Except for four adverbs of degree, the two adjectives collocate only with such nouns as *description* and *instrument*. Again, the same nouns seem to be excluded from the list of possible collocates of *precise* as collocates such as *account* and *picture* are specific of *accurate* and not *precise*. On the other hand *precise* but not *accurate* takes as its collocates *nouns* such as *definition*, *wording*, *constraint* and *specification*, which refer to entities perceived as requiring relative definiteness (of wording) rather than conformity to the actual situation.

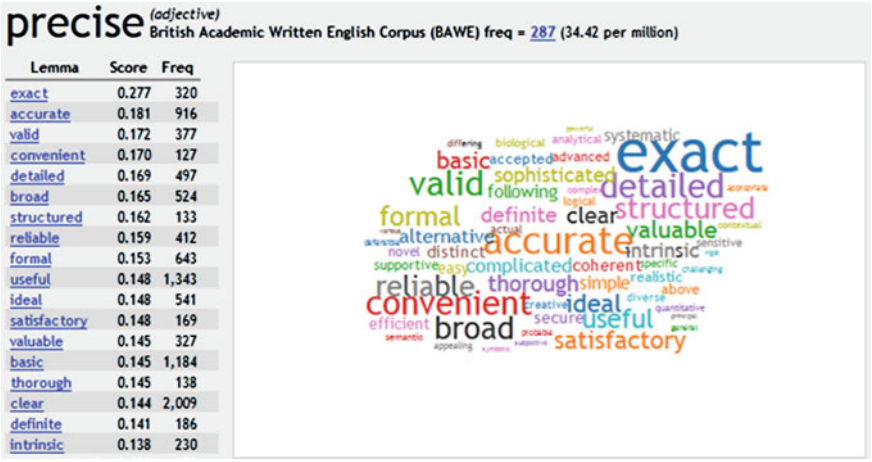


Fig. 9 Thesaurus: *precise* and similar words in BAWE

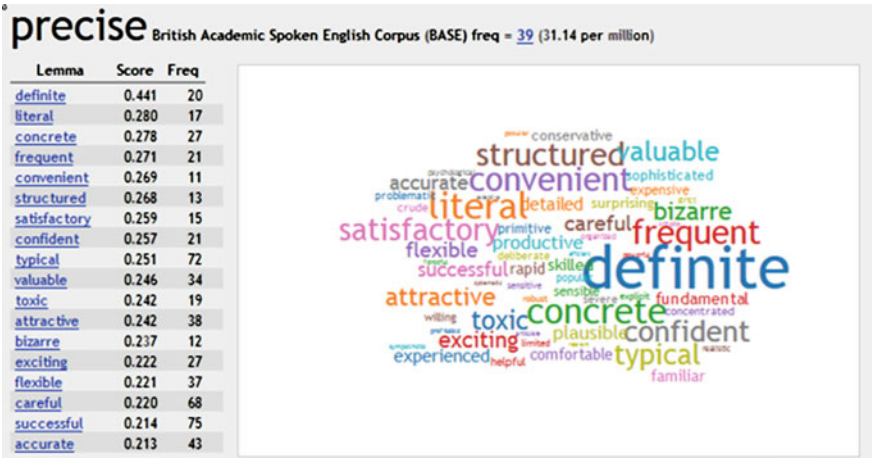


Fig. 10 Thesaurus: *precise* and similar words in BASE

The above observations on the usage and semantics of *precise* are reflected in the results obtained by *Thesaurus* module, which searches for words with similar grammatical and collocational behaviour (Fig. 10).

As shown in Fig. 9, in academic written English *precise* comes closer in its meaning mainly to *exact* and less frequently to *accurate*. By contrast, the sense in which *precise* is used in academic spoken English approximates *definite*. In BASE *precise* seems to have a much looser relation to *accurate* than in BAWE.

7 Concluding Remarks

It is an incontrovertible fact that the use of consistent vocabulary in academic communication is not only a means of expressing solidarity with one's academic community but also a means of ensuring validity of one's research. Using two corpora of Academic British English and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) it was possible to gain some insight into the ways *precise*, one of the key academic words, is used in academic communication.

The analysis has shown that the usage of *precise* in academic communication depends on a number of factors. First, there are differences in the frequency of occurrence of the adjectival and adverbial forms in British English and American English. Secondly, even though semantic-grammatical patterns of *precise* in written and spoken academic communication are similar, the range and types of collocates of the lexeme are mode-specific. Thirdly, there is a considerable variability in the usage of *precise* in academic disciplines when the factor of discipline is combined with the parameter of the mode of communication. Finally, depending on the same factor of mode of communication, *precise* tends to acquire two different central senses: "exact"/"accurate" (BAWE) and "definite" (BASE). This partial overlap of senses of *precise* and *accurate* may serve as an explanation of the misuse of the two words even by advanced Polish students of English.

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Statistics used in the Sketch Engine (in the Research section). http://www.sketchengine.co.uk

A Post-methods Perspective on ELT Materials in Pre-war Poland

Zbigniew P. Możejko

Abstract The paper invites the reader on a journey to pre-war Poland to savor selected ELT (English Language Teaching) materials published in the 1930s with the aim of displaying how modern and innovative some of them appear judging by what is known today about the foreign language didactic process. The first part of the paper is devoted to sketching a post-methods perspective on materials evaluation. The second part adopts this perspective for describing two course books for teaching English as a foreign language together with accompanying Teachers' notes. Despite the fact that nearly 80 years ago such notions as CLIL, or TBL, or LLS were unheard of, it will be demonstrated that certain tasks and techniques may safely bear such names by today's standards.

Keywords English language teaching (ELT) · Materials evaluation · Post methods · CLIL · TBL · Historical materials · Teaching English as a foreign language (EFL)

Okres wstępny powinien być dla ucznia okresem bezpodręcznikowym, bowiem ćwiczenie słuchu i wymowy jest w tym okresie zagadnieniem dominującem[sic!]. Niewątpliwie okres ten jest dla nauczyciela uciążliwy ale jakżeż owocny w rezultaty.

[The introductory period should be a time without a course book since the exercising of oral and aural skills assumes a dominant role. Undoubtedly it may be a period difficult for the teacher but it surely is most fruitful.].

(Klara Jastroch 1935 Foreword trans. by Z.M.[1]).

[1]All the translations from Polish are provided by Z.M. unless specified otherwise

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1 *In lieu* of an Introduction

It is with the opening motto that my encounter with historical foreign language (FL) course books began and it is the reality that this formulation establishes that had me wondering about approaches to ELT instruction in pre-war Poland. Not having experienced a 'coursebook-free' period in my own FL biography in mainstream institutionalized education, I turned to my students, a generation born in post-transformation Poland, in an attempt to find at least someone who would experience a more modern education language-wise. No hope here; they also testified to being taught in a traditional(?) manner, where the Teacher, beginning with day one, asked learners—often, the Young Learners of Primary Grade—to open the course book and to complete an exercise. This enkindled my curiosity. How come teachers' notes accompanying ELT course books nearly 80 years old speak of aspects of the FL didactic process which today are widely known and preached, but rarely practiced? Maybe these historical ELT course books contain more instances of contemporary good-practice? Or even more, maybe they treasure such fine examples of good practice that—through their sense of modernity—they would embarrass or awe the contemporary teacher?

With the above questions in mind, I have embarked on a quest to retrieve the answers; my approach was applicative throughout. Being an ELT teacher-trainer, whose pre-service courses offered encompass a component of methods and approaches survey, I oftentimes ask my students to trace instances of teaching traditions from the past in contemporary course books. In this project I have reversed the order: I was interested in tracking down examples which could easily make there way to the contemporary ELT classroom and act as an inspiration for ELT teachers. The applicative dimension of the study resides within the aspect of sensitizing pre-service teachers to various undercurrents permeating ELT materials —and the standpoint to be adopted is that of post-methods.

2 On the Post-methods Perspective

Despite the fact that various *post-s* have been announced to affect a multitude of areas of life (be it post-modernism or post-history, be it post-methods or post-communication), and despite the 'swinging of the pendulum' (Celce-Murcia, 2001), the world of ELT is still afloat.

In his 2003 book entitled *Beyond methods*, Kumaravadivelu identifies three parameters of post-method pedagogy: the Parameter of Particularity, the Parameter of Practicality, and the Parameter of Possibility (p. 34), which he supplements with a catalogue of ten post-method macrostrategies for language teaching (p. 39, numbering added): (1) maximize learning opportunities, (2) facilitate negotiated interaction, (3) minimize perceptual mismatches, (4) activate intuitive heuristics, (5) foster language awareness, (6) contextualize linguistic input, (7) integrate

language skills, (8) promote learner autonomy, (9) ensure social relevance, and (10) raise cultural consciousness. Macrostategies number 2, 5 6, 7, 10, though obviously not implemented perfectly, can be argued to appear in the analyzed historical coursebooks.

On a less serious note (the author himself calls it a tongue-in-cheek approach to language teaching history), Rodgers (2000) offers his personal decalogue of FL teaching methodology for the new millennium. Out of the neologisms that he have invented, the following may be traced in the historical course books under investigation: 2. Method synergistics; 4. Content-Basics; 5. Multi-intelligencia; 7. Strategopedia; 8. Lexical phraseology; 10. Full-frontal communicativity (Rodgers, 2000, numbering in the original).

Kumaravadivelu (2003) argues in favor of "a framework that can enable [practicing and prospective teachers] to develop the knowledge, skill, attitude, and autonomy necessary to devise for themselves a systematic, coherent, and relevant personal theory of practice" (p. 40). Such a theory of practice may come in the form of eclectism[2] or integration.[3]

Finally, while returning to the metaphor of the pendulum, let us also appreciate what it denotes for the future.

> I believe that one of the reasons for the frequent swings of the pendulum that have been taking place until fairly recently is the fact that very few teachers have a sense of history about their profession and are thus unaware of the historical bases of the many methodological options they have at their disposal (Celce-Murcia, 2001, p. 3).

Reinstating this sense of history, this sense of continuity, despite the swings and despite the fads is one of the aims of the present analysis.

3 On Principles of Materials Evaluation

Teaching materials have always been a part of the didactic process and have always had an effect upon its outcome. The present subsection signals two types of models of materials evaluation: global and detailed. Adopting a specific checklist enables a more systematic and objective evaluation, rather than superficial and impressionistic.

Global evaluation involves taking into account features of the entire course book; it may be also employed to undertake a comparison of two books (Table 1).

[2]"Eclectism must be principled. Selecting from a wide range of often contradictory approaches must be a rational process, informed by experience and a personal understanding of relevant theories" (Prodromou, 1992).

[3]"I prefer the term 'principled integration', because 'eclecticism' suggests picking separate things from the selection available, whereas 'integration' forces us to remember that everything has come from what has been before, and that everything that has gone before remains relevant today" (Lowe, 2003).

Table 1 A checklist for materials evaluation: global, comparative

	Course book no. A	Course book no B
M ethod		
A ttractiveness		
T eacher-friendliness		
E xtras		
R ealistic		
I nteresting		
A ffordability		
L evel		
S kills		

Adapted from Tanner and Green (1998); bolding added to display acronym

An alternative model of global evaluation (inspired by Komorowska, 2004) may involve such aspects[4] of analysis as: first impression (what are the first 'gut feelings'?); table of content (does it have a clear division into lessons? clear lesson aims? does it offer a quick or slow progression of new material? does it have regular recycling/revisions?); layout of the page (is it over-crowded or clear? what is the ratio of color to text?); color (is the esthetics appropriate for the age group?); instructions (are the instructions short and clear? is the L1 in instructions used necessarily or rightly skipped?); teacher's guide (is it truly helpful?); final impression (has the first impression managed to stand?). Again, the analysis may be applied to comparing two course books.

Contrary to global evaluation (Cunningsworth, 1995; Sheldon, 1988), detailed evaluation involves an analysis of a specific section/unit of a course book, with the aim of trying to establish how this unit may be used in actual teaching by envisaging the process (Scrivener, 2005). As argued elsewhere (Możejko & Krajka, 2011), detailed evaluation may involve different aspects of FL instruction: the learning/teaching of receptive skills (Table 2), productive skills, language systems (Table 3), language projects.

Table 2 A checklist for materials evaluation: detailed, receptive skills

Detailed evaluation: evaluating task sequences receptive skills: listening/reading	
Is the **aim** clearly defined? Is the teacher's book aim compatible with SB task?	
Is there a good **lead-in** to the reading/listening? Is there vocabulary **pre-teaching**?	
Is there an activity for the learners? Is there a **purpose** for doing the task?	
Is there a good communicative **follow-up** task (oral/written)?	
Will I feel **comfortable** using this task? Will I (as the teacher)/will my learners **enjoy** it?	

Inspired by: Ellis (1996), Rea-Dickens and Germaine (1992)

[4]Due to space concerns, only these aspects are mentioned which are different than the aspects signalled in Table 1.

Table 3 A checklist for materials evaluation: detailed, language systems

Detailed evaluation: evaluating task sequences language systems: grammar/vocabulary/pronunciation	
Is the presentation of the new structure **contextualized** (in a relevant fashion, meaningfully)?	
Are there any **guided-discovery** procedures?	
Is the **practice** of the new structure: adequate in number? varied? meaningful?	
Is the practice both **controlled** (accuracy) and **freer** (fluency)?	
Will I feel **comfortable** using this task? Will I (as the teacher)/will my learners **enjoy** it?	

Inspired by: Ellis (1996), Rea-Dickens and Germaine (1992)

Even though the checklists which are represented in this section will no be applied canonically, from beginning to end, to the historical ELT course books under investigation in this project, they are nonetheless valuable in delineating areas of potential interest and relevance for such an analysis.

4 On What Can Be Found in Historical ELT Course Books

When beginning the analysis of historical ELT course books, one needs to be made aware from the very outset about the stance adopted herein. The present paper does not make any claims concerning the comprehensiveness of the analysis; the aim of the examination is to trace instances of good practice, rather than to offer a quantitative investigation into the actual proportion of good materials to mediocre or bad materials. In other words, it would be unfair to claim that once an example of good practice is found, the entire course book is good. Having made this proviso, let me now catalogue the expectations (based on Richards & Rodgers, 2001; Stern, 1983) with which the analysis was commenced, cf. Table 4. What is understood as "*a*typical materials" (the right column) means examples of tasks which the analysis has revealed as surprisingly modern. This *a*typical side would also include instances of CLIL-*like* and TBL-*like* activities, as well as certain statements of belief or teacher recommendation from the Teachers' Notes. The ensuing analysis shall follow the sequence below.

Table 4 A classification of types of tasks in historical ELT course books

	Components typical for historical ELT materials	Components *a*typical for historical ELT materials
Authentic materials	Incl. literary texts (often abridged)	Incl. reference to contemporary themes
Reference to culture	Culture of the TL country	Culture of the Ll country
Structural tasks	Translations, conjugations, transformations, heavy metalinguistic apparatus	Pronunciation (practice enhanced via technology)
Short dialogues	Incl. "action series"	Incl. *proto* role-plays

4.1 Authentic Materials in Historical ELT Course Books

Authentic materials include excerpts of literary texts, often abridged. For instance Grzebieniowski (1935) employs adaptations of poems by T. B. Aldrich (p. 31), Lucy Larcom (p. 40), Edward Shiley (p. 49), W. B. Rands (p. 59), R. Sheckburg (p. 68), adaptations of stories by Robert R. Hyde (p. 36), L. Johnston (p. 37), and an adaptation of a play to be staged at the end of school year by Ella Adkins. Interestingly, there is also a second play (adapted from Robert H. Cowley) to be staged at the beginning of the school year, which relevantly for the occasion—the beginning of 2nd grade of *gimnasium*—tackles the issue of bullying. Let this taking note of a vital socio-educational matter act as a bridge to describing other contemporary themes in pre-war ELT course books.

Far more interesting than mere adaptations are references to contemporary themes including jazz bands, London tube, motor-bicycles; these themes could not obviously miss out the aeroplane (to use the original spelling convention) and the automobile. But it is not the aeroplane where modernity culminates. Here is a fragment of the play *The days of romance. A play for boys and gils* (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 78).

> Philippa: […] That's not an aeroplane
> Betty: What is it, then?
> Philippa: It's a tempoplane […] Oh, of course tempoplanes haven't been invented yet. We must have come back a long time, Billy
> Noel: I do wish you would explain what you mean by "come back a long time"
> Billy: I'm afraid our explanation is going to sound very strange to you
> You see a tempoplane is a machine for flying through time.

The travelers through time then said they had come from the year 2000, and the exchange continues about how old fashioned the dresses of the school girls seem, about motor-cars and motor-bandits, until it reaches the following lines:

> Donald: I'm going to telephone to Father and let him know who is here
> By the way, do you have telephones in the year 2000?
> Billy: Goodness, no! They went out long ago. We always use wireless

When presented to pre-service teacher-trainees, this excerpt unfailingly meets with their enthusiasm. And enthusiasm, both today and in the 1930s, is a good predictor of engagement, which leads to attention, which leads to learning.

4.2 Reference to Culture

Together with contemporary themes (4.1) often came reference to culture. One of the finest examples can be found in Grzebieniowski (1935, p. 20) in the text about the World Jamboree in 1929. It was, let me quote the opening lines, "[t]he greatest gathering of the youth that the world had ever seen [that] took place at Arrow Park, near Birkenhead, on the 31st of July 1929, to celebrate the coming of age the 21st anniversary of the Boy Scout movement" (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 20). Naturally, the presence of the TL culture in the text is abundant, with references to Sir Baden Powell, and to the Prince of Wales, with their photographs, with a copy[5] of the "Scout Law", and with an elaboration on what "true sportsmanship" means for the British. But there is also plenty of reference to L1 culture. There are Polish boy scouts taking part in the Jamboree. There are follow-up questions which cannot be answered by referring to the text, but rather to learners' own experience, for instance: "How many Boy Scouts are there in Poland? How many Girl Guides? What is the scout's motto? What does it mean? What does it mean to you?" (p. 21)—one could but wish for more of such tasks on personalization. And if one remembers about the stature of the scout movement in pre-war Poland, one may well imagine that this text could have enkindled genuine interest among Polish pupils.

Also Jastroch (1935) makes reference to L1 culture. For instance, section 40 is entitled "November 11th—Independence Day". It features two pictures, one of Independence Day Parade, one of schoolchildren decorating the bust of Marshal Piłsudski, and a text about Poland's heavily fought independence. By contrast, a different ELT course book[6] published around the same time in France (Carpentier-Fialip & Carpentier-Fialip, 1932), while it has reference to the TL culture, it does not offer any L1 culture references.

4.3 Types of Structural Tasks

With instruction of classical Latin (and Greek) offered in many classes of pre-war *gimnasium*, one could not but expect a similar structural syllabus in ELT heavily

[5]A most ingenious idea to provide FL learners with a text which they most probably know by heart in their L1.

[6]Unfortunately, a due analysis of the materials contained in that course book extends well beyond the scope of this paper.

ladened with formal metalinguistic terminology. So, there are plenty of exercises with Continuous Pluperfect, Nominative Absolute, or converting into the Passive Voice. But one section of *Grammatical revision* at the end of Grzebieniowski's (1935) course book won my heart. It is a simple list of Irregular Verbs (Table 5).

Table 5 An excerpt from "A List of Irregular Verbs" (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 131)

Bear (to carry)	Bore	Borne
Tear	Tore	Torn
Wear	Wore	Worn
Take	Took	Taken
Shake	Shook	Shaken
Break	Broke	Broken
Speak	Spoke	Spoken

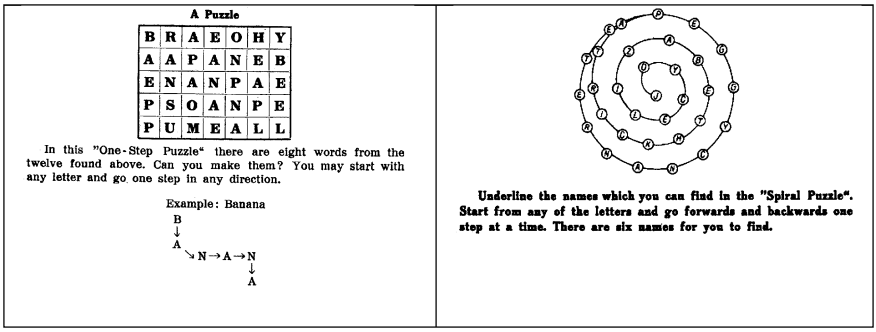
When I show the list to my students and ask them why it is different from what they used to know, at first they seem puzzled. Then, they notice the arrangement of verbs according to the pattern of their pronunciation. Finally, they start wondering why nobody has ever taught them like that before. Training to become FL teachers, the students may actually grow to become more aware and more reflective as future teachers; teachers who are capable of noticing the potential brought about by the materials, or capable of furnishing the materials with more effective solutions, if the original course book is lacking in any respect.

While discussing teaching pronunciation, I remember coming across in the French course book (Carpentier-Fialip & Carpentier-Fialip, 1932), which cannot be discussed now in full length, several instances of the logo of the British record company, HMV (His Master's Voice) indicating that a given activity has a supporting recording. I remember feeling a twinge of envy in my heart. In France, in the West, they have always had it better, they even enjoyed technology-enhanced FL instruction back in the 1930s, me thought. If only I could find something of similar prominence in Polish historical ELT course books. And this is what Grzebieniowski (1935) has to offer. His appendixed additional materials are accompanied by a footnote that reads:

> Dodatkowa lekcja "A Street in London" pomyślana jest przede wszystkim jako ćwiczenie fonetyczne. Tekst jej odpowiada płycie "Lesson Eight: w serii "Linguaphone Conversational Course". [The additional lesson "A Street in London" has be designed primarily as a phonetic practice. The text corresponds to the recording on record "Lesson Eight" in the "Linguaphone Conversational Course" series.

Let me end this section by showing one more innovative approach to teaching language systems; this time, to teaching lexis. Let us consider the following two word puzzles (cf. Table 6).

Table 6 Examples of "Spelling Exercises" (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 134)



A Puzzle

B	R	A	E	O	H	Y
A	A	P	A	N	E	B
E	N	A	N	P	A	E
P	S	O	A	N	P	E
P	U	M	E	A	L	L

In this "One-Step Puzzle" there are eight words from the twelve found above. Can you make them? You may start with any letter and go one step in any direction.

Example: Banana

B
↓
A
↘ N → A → N
↓
A

Underline the names which you can find in the "Spiral Puzzle". Start from any of the letters and go forwards and backwards one step at a time. There are six names for you to find.

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The graphical layout is so intriguing that it makes mundane vocabulary repetition attractive, and thus executable. In the next example to follow, vocabulary repetition seems attractive by the non-obviousness of the correct answers for the untrained pupil (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 135).

> Rewrite the following sentences using the correct words.
> 1) The (bean, been) has (bean, been) in the soup. 2) (There, their) house is (there, their). 3) (Write, right) the (write, right) word with your (write, right) hand. 4) John had (to, too, two) bananas; he gave one (to, two) me): he likes bananas; I like them (to, too, two).

And the same additional materials sport the poem "The Fly and the Flea" (Grzebieniowski, 1935, p. 140). This is an instance of a ludic element paired with pronunciation practice paired (minimal pairs) with word play (homophony)—all in the literary rigor of a limerick.

> A fly and a flea in a flue
> Were imprisoned, so what could they do?
> Said the fly "Let us flee!"
> "Let us fly", said the flea.
> So they flew through a flaw in the flue.

4.4 Instances of Communication Practice in Historical ELT Course Books

It is far too early to speak of 'communication' in the contemporary sense of the word when applied to pre-war ELT materials. One can come across dialogues which resemble *action series*, as exemplified below (Jastroch, 1935, dialogue no. 22):

> Teacher: Sophie, stand up. What do I say?
> Sophie: Stand up
> Teacher: Well, do so. Now sit down. Mary, write the word "stand up"

Mary: write (am writing) the word "stand up". […]
Teacher: Arthur, spell the word "stand"
Arthur: S – t – a – n – d
Teacher: Is it correct?
Mary: Yes, it is

But one can also find dialogues which are pre-prepared for in-pair interaction; I would venture to name them *proto*-role-plays. The example below (Jastroch, 1935, dialogue no. 20) preserves the original gaps to be filled in with authentic or quasi-authentic facts:

Q.: Where do you live?
A.: I live in _ _ _ street. […]
Q.: What is the number of your house?
A.: The number of my house is _ _ _. […]
Q.: On what floor do you live?
A.: I live on the _ _ _ floor

The Polish ELT course books which are analyzed here also provide instance of TBL-*like* and CLIL-*like* types of activities. The former is illustrated by an example of a form of admission (Table 7), which can lead to a potential TBL task:

Table 7 An example of a form of admission (Jastroch, 1935, Lesson 3) Nelly's Form of Admission

Christian name, surname, age and date of birth of the pupil	*Nelly Smith, 13 years old; born on the 26th of May, 1922*
Profession of father or guardian	*The father is a commercial traveler*
Has the pupil been to school before? Where, and how long?	*She has been at Liverpool, in a girls' public school foe the last 2 years*

The latter is illustrated by just one example of a set of comprehension questions, which Grzebieniowski (1935, pp. 27–28) applies so often across his book. Please note the source of the preceding text/questions. This is a genuine example of CLIL at its best: employing authentic L1 materials for L2 instruction. And the questions themselves are unique in the sense that they do not mere check comprehension of the text, but relate its meaning with the out-of-school life of the pupils. So, they are not *just* CLIL-like, they are also carriers of personalization, but also—though, this might be slightly too far-fetched—carriers of LLL (Life-Long Learning); specifically, the first question.

Do you make notes of what you see, when you are on a scouting expedition? […] Where did you go during your last scouting expedition? What did you see? Did you ever go to the sea-side?
What is the fishing-ground? How does a fisherman know where it is? (by recognizing the "land-marks"). How many kinds of fishing-boats are there? What difference is there between them?
(Adapted from *The highroads of geography. Book II*).

4.5 Recommendations in Teacher's Notes Accompanying Historical ELT Course Books

In the examples provided, I decide to keep the Polish formulation (alongside with its English translation) to preserve some of the flavor of the original Teacher's Notes. I will limit the commentaries to just two areas: to teaching pronunciation, and to teaching structures. The first quote indicates the reformist nature of teaching English as a foreign language in pre-war Poland (Jastroch, n.d. (1935), p. 3):

> Podręcznik *The first year of English* przygotowany został zgodnie z wymaganiami programu Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, z roku 1933, według którego w okresie wstępnym nauczania języka angielskiego nauka odbywa się bez podręcznika. [The course book *The first year of English* has been prepared in accordance with the recommendations of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education of 1933, which state that the initial instruction of English should be realized without the course book].

A similar thought is expressed by Grzebieniowski (n.d. (1937), p. 3), when he states a general rule for FL instruction:

> W okresie bezpodręcznikowym kolejność postępowania metodycznego da się najlepiej wyrazić francuskim powiedzeniem "D'abord entendre, puis prononcer; d'abord comprendre, puis parler". [In the period without the course book, the methodological sequence to be adopted can be best expressed by the French "D'abord entendre, puis prononcer; d'abord comprendre, puis parler".][7]

Grzebieniowski then goes on to extend his recommendation for the primacy of spoken language onto any regular lesson in the latter parts of the course as follows (p. 4):

> Sposób komunikowania nowej lekcji drogą ustną ma – prócz korzyści fonetycznych – również pewne znaczenie psychologiczne, gdyż stwarza warunki żywego i bezpośredniego kontaktu (bo bez pośrednictwa książki) między uczniami a nauczycielem. [The oral delivery of a new lesson, apart from phonetic benefits, has also a certain psychological importance, in that it enables a direct and live contact between the learners and the teacher, without the mediation of the course book].

Note that the above recommendation fosters the creation of the autonomous learner; the learner who is course book independent, and the learner whose psychological needs are recognized and catered for.

Let us not move on to the second area tackled in the Teacher's Notes (Grzebieniowski, n.d. (1937), p. 5), to the teaching of structure.

> Nie chodzi bowiem o to, by uczeń dokładnie opanował całokształt zjawisk gramatycznych tamże zawartych; wystarczy, jeśli w umyśle jego – w ciągu owego kursu elementarnego – wyciśnięte zostaną słabe chociażby ślady najważniejszych funkcji gramatycznych. Dzięki owym śladom będzie on mógł bez większych trudności rozumieć materiał narracyjny,

[7]Please note that in the Polish original the words in French ("First hear, then pronounce; first understand, then speak") have been left—should one add, unsurprisingly—untranslated.

> anegdotyczny i poetycki […] przy czym zainteresowanie narracją nie będzie zahamowane ani rozdwojone koniecznością ciągłych wycieczek w stronę gramatyki. [It is not that the learner should master the entirety of the grammatical material contained therein. It is sufficient that during the elementary course he develops in his mind certain, faint as they may be, impressions of English grammatical functions. Thanks to these impressions he will be capable of understanding without greater difficulties the narrative, anecdotal and poetic material in the initial lessons of the course book proper. At the same time, his curiosity related to the narrative will not be hindered or diverged by constant needs to consult grammar].

This extensive excerpt transmits a number of vital truths about FL instruction. It promotes language awareness and inductive learning. It stresses the importance of meaning-focused-instruction, before form-focused-instruction. As in the previous quote, it promotes learner autonomy. Finally, it gives grammar a proper place as the backbone of language that enables a relatively unobtrusive process of pursuing meaning which is of relevance to the learner.

5 Conclusions

Time for tentative conclusions. Is it so that the orthodox neo-Bloomfieldian motto "Once a phoneme, always a phoneme" can be transposed as "Once a good course book—always(?) a good coursebook"? In other words, regardless of the times the course book was created in and—to a certain extent—regardless of the conditions extrinsic to the process (advances in psychology, language education, pedagogy, etc.) and regardless of the immediate interests of the learners, if a course book is designed with the language, and the language learner in mind, it will remain a successful course book.

Secondly, the application of historical ELT materials. Such a critical analysis may sensitize pre-service teachers to the need of paying more attention to a proper and more systematic development of pronunciation. It may remind them about an array of vocabulary learning strategies. It may bring to their attention the importance of rooting FL instruction in everyday experience of their Ls (cf. contemporary themes and intercultural topics).

Thirdly, such a critical scrutiny of didactic materials may act as a good point of departure for teacher-trainees to hierarchicize their own teaching aims and classroom activities, to consider learners needs and learner autonomy. It may sensitize pre-service teachers to the educational potential present in (any?) course book and to properly weigh its assets and potential limitations.

And finally a word of caution. It comes from a contemporary Polish artist of the younger generation, Tomasz Praszczałek, vel PRASQUAL, when commenting upon the heritage of Karlheinz Stockhausen, a German composer of experimental music.

> Przeszłość i tradycja [w sztuce] jest jak wiatr w plecy – popycha i unosi nas do przodu, lecz jeśli zbyt często się odwaracasz wstecz – wiatr wieje ci w oczy. [The past and the traditional is like the wind blowing from behind and pushing you forward, but if you look too often backwards, the wind gets straight into the eyes.]
>
> (Tomasz Praszczałek, Program II Polish Radio, November 27, 2015)

Similarly to the discussion about the effects of past methods (cf. Sect. 2), the quote re-emphasizes the importance of appreciating the past as the roots where we belong, as the source of inspiration. At the same time, though, one should not delve in the past alone, but amass its treasures in order to pave a path forward.

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Breaking Down the Barriers of Online Teaching: Training TESOL Teachers in a Virtual Environment

Beata Malczewska-Webb, Alicia Vallero, Christian Peter King and Simon Hunter

Abstract This paper examines the theoretical considerations of pedagogy, educational and instructional design in building a language education program, through flexible mode content delivery and online teaching. The concept of training teachers online is still controversial and this paper addresses some of the concerns raised in the professional literature. The aim of the paper is to present a theoretical framework developed for an online Master of Arts in TESOL program at Bond University, Gold Coast, Australia. The framework adopted for the project incorporates a range of approaches to learning and teaching, and it addresses the ongoing debate of the place of teacher-centered and learner-centered approaches within education. The research methodology adopted for the design of the project is the iterative version of the ADDIE, a model of instructional design. The paper uses quantitative and qualitative data to support the theoretical underpinnings, and it presents examples of flexible learning resources, designed and developed for the Master of Arts in TESOL program. The theoretical approach and the teaching practices proposed in this project contribute an effective research-based framework for teaching in a virtual environment.

Keywords Online education · Synchronous and asynchronous e-learning · Direct and non-direct instruction · Online resources · Framework for online education · Virtual language teacher education

1 Introduction

This paper examines the theoretical considerations of pedagogy, educational and instructional design in building a language education program through flexible mode content delivery and online teaching. The concept of training teachers online can still be controversial, and this paper addresses some of the concerns raised in

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the professional literature. The paper analyses the development of an online language teacher education program in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) at an Australian university. First, some terms of reference used throughout the paper are defined. Then, the paper explores a theoretical framework applied to the development of the program in Sect. 4. Examples of how the theoretical framework has been used to develop flexible digital resources are presented in Sect. 5. The paper concludes in Sect. 6.

2 Definitions and Terms of Reference

The terminology used to describe technology use within education has increased significantly, and is subject to rapid change and trends. This section defines several terms used in this paper such as *traditional/face-to-face course*, *e-learning*, *learning management system*, *online course*, *blended course*, *web-facilitated course* and *technology enhanced learning*. Although they all refer to the use of technology to enhance learning, they are defined differently in the professional literature according to details which characterize their function. The terms *traditional delivery of programs* or *face-to-face* used in this paper, describe the delivery of content in the classroom, through writing or orally, without the use of online technology. Other terms including *e-learning*, *technology-enhanced learning and teaching* (TELT), *mixed-mode* or *flexible mode* of content delivery and *blended learning* denote that at least some learning in the program "is conducted in a networked environment" or "through network technologies" (Hrastinski, 2008; Keppell, Suddaby, & Hard, 2011; Rosenberg in Ninoriya, Chawan, & Meshram, 2011). A *virtual classroom* is an online learning environment where students can participate in synchronous instruction. The term *virtual face-to-face* describes all synchronous communication in the virtual classroom. The term *Learning Management System* (LMS) designates a software application for the administration of the teaching and learning resources, the storing and tracking of the content, and the delivery of any other electronic educational technology materials used for both traditional and e-learning type programs. Educational institutions adopt various types of learning management systems and some of the LMSs used at universities worldwide include Blackboard, Moodle and Angel. Bond University adopted the Blackboard LMS in 2006.

3 Research Project: Background, Aims, Research Methods and Methodology Using ADDIE

3.1 Background

The Master of Arts in TESOL program has been offered on the Bond University campus since 1989. The program has undergone many evolutionary changes driven by student needs, research and internal or external administrative demands.

In January 2013, a new program was introduced, the Master of Arts in TESOL Online, in order to extend the reach of the program beyond the university campus, nationally and internationally. The aim was to make it accessible to the students who, for professional or residential reasons, could not attend classes on campus. This was achieved by employing innovative digital technologies, in particular, the use of tools suitable for creating a virtual and interactive classroom.

The program content, originally prepared for traditional delivery, had to be redesigned and adapted for functional online learning experiences. This development work was initiated in September 2012, which effectively meant that the preparation, design and launch of the program's first semester, was to be completed within 4 months. Malczewska-Webb, King, Vallero and Hunter (2015), referred to this challenge as *mission impossible*.

Several issues needed to be addressed at this point of the program design. First, it was vital that the quality of the content and the effectiveness of the delivery of the new online program was able to match the content and structure of the existing MA in TESOL program offered on campus. This focus on quality programs reflects the Bond University's educational philosophy of 'teaching excellence', including two principal cornerstones of this educational philosophy; incorporating the delivery of high quality lectures with interactive tutorials to small groups of students. In order to achieve this parity, it was necessary to define, or, if needed, re-define, the broad pedagogical assumptions of the TESOL program and examine the resources available to address these assumptions in an online teaching environment.

The existing educational assets of the on-campus MA in TESOL program provided subject matter expertise and a well-formulated pedagogical approach, which formed a strong foundation for the development of an online program. The core resource design challenge was the interchange of ideas between subject matter expertise, pedagogy, technology and design. These four areas formed the foundation of, and they support the process of, developing the flexible learning resources appropriate for online or blended language teacher education program.

3.2 Research Aims

The aim of this paper is to (1) present an educational theoretical framework and (2) examine its applications in designing a language teacher education program (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) through a flexible mode delivery. The framework is informed by theories of instruction effectiveness, and has been applied to the development of flexible learning resources for the TESOL programs at Bond University. This paper presents two examples of learning resources used in the program. The first example illustrates how Camtasia and the PowerPoint Office Mix add-on were used to pre-record lecture materials. The second example demonstrates the use of Blackboard Collaborate to create a virtual classroom environment in the TESOL program. The next section outlines the range of research methods adopted for the development of a theoretical framework that underpins this program.

3.3 Research Methods

Research methodology applied for the purposes of this paper incorporated several research methods. The theoretical framework which forms the core and the direction of the TESOL program was based on a literature review analysis. Quantitative and qualitative data analyses were used during the development of program resources. For example, quantitative data was provided by the built-in analytics system that is part of Blackboard learning management system. This data demonstrated the frequency and patterns of use of pre-recorded lecture videos. The Blackboard Collaborate virtual classroom was assessed using qualitative data based on a formal student evaluation process and feedback provided to the program.

4 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction and Definitions

The language teacher education programs in the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) at Bond University (Gold Coast, Australia) features an online Master of Arts in TESOL program which incorporates a theoretical learning and teaching framework approach. The purpose of this theoretical framework is to provide an effective research-based background for teaching in a virtual environment, including relevant teaching practices and the creation of flexible learning resources. This section introduces the ADDIE model of instructional design, then outlines the concepts of direct instruction and minimal instruction in education and language learning. A more recent model is also introduced, the progression of thought and learning. This model forms the theoretical basis in which flexible resources are embedded within the teacher and learner-centered continuum.

4.2 The Basis of Instructional Design: The ADDIE Model

The TESOL online program adopted the iterative version of the ADDIE Instructional Design Model (Kearsley, 1999; Molenda, 2003) throughout the development of the theoretical framework. The ADDIE model refers to the processes which comprise the generic instructional systems development. The acronym consists of the following elements encompassing the instructional process: Analysis, Design, Development, Implement and Evaluate. The 'iterative' version of the model promotes the evaluation at every stage of the process, resulting in the on-going improvement of the program and its resources. Ten analytical elements of the ADDIE Model were used to analyze the MA in TESOL Online program at Bond University.

This program Analysis helped to establish the types of learners enrolled in the course, its structure, pedagogical concerns with the online mode of delivery, and the timeline for the program implementation. The subsequent Design stage aimed to establish the relevant learning objectives and goals for the required subjects, and to identify core content that was to be included from the existing on-campus program. However, one of the consequences of the process was the need for the core content to be re-organized and often re-formulated to suit the new model. The new model was based on a set of individual PowerPoint templates developed separately for each subject, which were to house the existing core content. Additionally, the lectures were to be recorded in small modules and, therefore, the content needed to be organized accordingly.

The next ADDIE stage, Development, involved creating specific learning resources and activities, by incorporating the core content into the new program design. The iterative design process, particularly distinct at this stage, proved more laborious than expected due to the added requirements of applying visual design principles, reducing cognitive load from individual PowerPoint lecture slides, improving visual communication using imagery, chunking the content, removing extraneous information and improving examples. A summary of the resources and activities developed for the new program is listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Resources prepared for the learning management system

Types of resources prepared for LMS	Types of resources	Activities for student engagement
Pre-recorded lectures	• Video	Watch, listen, note-take, comment on materials
	• Audio	
	• PDFs of PowerPoint lecture slides and other materials	
Internet links	• Videos of experts' lectures and examples of language lessons	Range of activities depending on the links; watch/listen, do tasks, work individually, in pairs/groups
	• Related information	
Student materials (printables)	• PDFs of lecture PowerPoint slides and handouts.	Range of activities depending on tasks
Online tutorials	• Black Board Collaborate	A wide range of activities in a virtual classroom

The wide range of developed resources and activities built a rich virtual learning environment for the online students and included materials typically associated with online delivery, such as pre-recorded lecture videos, but were not limited to these. The use of Blackboard Collaborate for instance, allowed for a high-level of virtual interactivity and communication with students in real time, and facilitated a 'virtual face-to face' mode of delivery.

The last two stages of the ADDIE Model, Implementation and Evaluation, have been an on-going part of the TESOL program development, and it is difficult to separate these two stages into individual time-lines. The program has already undergone three major changes to content design, and the iterative nature of the process continues to ensure that external influences or internally driven needs for change are addressed and implemented into the program. Program changes are initiated by a wide range of factors such as evolving learner needs, new developments in relevant research, course objectives or the emergence of new technologies. A good example of this is the most recent software addition to the program, the Office Mix add-in for PowerPoint, described in further detail in Sect. 5.2. Consequently, the implementation and evaluation stages are intertwined as they are both driven by ongoing reflection and experimentation feeding into the program development.

To re-iterate, the ADDIE model of instructional design has been used in the systematic development of the elements and stages of the MA in TESOL program. This model ensures an ongoing improvement process and takes into consideration the dynamic nature of educational design within the TESOL language teacher training program. The next section explores the debate on direct and indirect instruction, the outcomes of which inform the choices made for the development of the MA in TESOL curriculum and its resources.

4.3 The Minimal and Direct Instruction in Education

The impact of instructional guidance on learning outcomes has been at the centre of educational debate in the research literature for almost a century, and even longer in language education (Lawson, Abraham, & Renner, 1989; Richards & Rodgers, 2014). The debate has centered on two opposing educational paradigms; direct instruction and minimal instruction. Direct instruction encompasses a deductive approach using explicit teaching techniques. Conversely, minimal instruction engages unguided or minimally guided instruction, where students are expected to discover or construct the target concepts themselves without direct instructional guidance (Kirschner, Sweller, & Clark, 2006).

In direct instruction, which is incorporated into teacher-centered, or expository approaches to teaching, the role of a teacher is that of a provider of all knowledge and a manager of the learning and teaching processes. In this approach, the teacher explains the content or procedure using a deductive presentation, followed by students practicing the skills or content within parameters set by the teacher. Deductive approaches in education have many advantages such as clarity of step-by-step delivery and straightforward or systematic planning, as the process and the steps required are predictable (Harmer, 2012).

In contrast, inductive approaches are described by Kirschner et al. (2006), who cites Bruner (1961, in Kirschner et al., 2006), Papert (1980, in Kirschner et al., 2006), and Steffe and Gale (1995, in Kirschner et al., 2006), as involving unguided

or minimally guided instruction. Learners must discover or construct target concepts themselves, without direct instructional guidance. Examples of inductive approaches include discovery learning (Anthony, 1973, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Bruner, 1961, in Kirschner et al., 2006); problem-based learning (Schmidt, 1983, in Kirschner et al., 2006), inquiry learning (Papert, 1980, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Rutherford, 1964, in Kirschner et al., 2006), experiential learning (Boud, Keogh, & Walker, 1985, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Kolb & Fry, 1975, in Kirschner et al., 2006) and constructivist learning (Jonassen, 1991, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Steffe & Gale, 1995, in Kirschner et al., 2006). These models are influenced by two learning theories: constructivism (Piaget, 1967) and social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978). According to constructivism, learners are active constructors of their knowledge and learning is directed by learners' own curiosity leading them to explore a problem and discover its solution (Overall, 2007). Vygotsky added to this concept the idea that learning is a social activity and, therefore, individuals learn most effectively when in a group (Overall, 2007).

Education researchers have struggled to reconcile the conflict between teacher-centered and learner-centred approaches to education. Some have explored direct instruction (e.g., Aulls, 2002, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Chall, 2002, in Kirschner et al., 2006; McKeough, Lupart, & Marini, 1995 in Kirschner et al., 2006; Moreno, 2004, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Tuovinen & Sweller, 1999, in Kirschner et al., 2006) and others investigated instruction with minimal guidance (e.g., Brown & Campione, 1994, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Carlson, Lundy, & Schneider, 1992, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Hardiman, Pollatsek & Weil, 1986, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Schauble, 1990, in Kirschner et al., 2006). Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006) compare research involving direct instruction approaches (e.g., Aulls, 2002, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Chall, 2002, in Kirschner et al., 2006; McKeough, Lupart, & Marini, 1995, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Moreno, 2004, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Tuovinen & Sweller, 1999, in Kirschner et al., 2006) with minimal guidance research (e.g., Brown & Campione, 1994, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Carlson, Lundy & Schneider, 1992, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Hardiman, Pollatsek, & Weil, 1986, in Kirschner et al., 2006; Schauble, 1990, in Kirschner et al., 2006). The outcomes of their comparison indicate the lack of effectiveness of minimal guidance instruction methods. Kapur's (2008) findings, on the other hand, support the view that minimal instruction can be an effective tool for teaching.

The criticisms of the minimal instruction approaches also come from other disciplines. Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006) challenge the efficacy of inquiry based approaches on the limitations of working memory to retain and work with novel information (Miller, 1956 in Krischner et al., 2006; Peterson, 1959, in Kirschner et al., 2006). In contrast, building on information that has been previously learnt and stored in long-term memory provides unlimited working and access capacity (Ericsson & Kintsch, 1995; Sweller, 2003). They (Kirschner et al., 2006) argue that, when presented with novel information, learners should be shown what to do and how to do it to avoid an overload of the working memory's limited capacity that might interfere with the formation of mental representations (Sweller, 1988 in Krischner et al., 2006; Tuovinen & Sweller, 1999, in Kirschner et al.,

2006). This may result in misconceptions and encoding of errors (Brown & Campione, 1994, in Kirschner et al., 2006), a lack of appropriate practice and elaboration (Klahr & Nigam, 2004), as well as problems of frustration and de-motivation (Hardiman et al., 1986, in Kirschner et al., 2006).

Kapur (2008) concurs with the idea that, when compared with heavily guided direct instruction, minimally guided instruction does not lead to learners developing or discovering the solution to the problem presented, and this can be characterised as a failure (Kapur & Bielaczyc, 2011). However, he points out that these findings do not infer the lack of efficacy in having learners solve novel problems. In Kapur (2008) study, the students who solved ill-structured problems followed by direct instruction were more successful over those who were only offered direct instruction. He proposes that keeping a constant target content while changing the level of structure of the tasks (ill-structured followed by a well-structured task) may help students externalize their prior knowledge structures. Kapur (2008) also suggests that the structure might emerge from within the group as they work on the ill-structured problem rather than being imposed it from the outside. He also suggests that, when followed by a well-structured problem, the process of creating representations and methods will prove to be productive during the subsequent direct instruction (Kapur, 2008; Koedinger & Aleven, 2007; Schwartz & Bransford, 1998; Schwartz & Martin, 2004) and he points at his own research on productive failure (Kapur, 2008; Kapur et al., 2007; Kapur & Kinzer, 2009).

Other arguments supporting teacher directed instruction are formulated by Mayer (2004) and also supported by Kirschner et al. (2006). Mayer's suggests "(moving) educational reform efforts from the fuzzy and unproductive world of ideology—which sometimes hides under the various banners of constructivism—to the sharp and productive world of theory-based research on how people learn" (Mayer, 2004, p. 18). Consequently, many educators stress the importance of basing teaching on the current knowledge of human cognition and neuroscience (Hattie & Yates, 2013; Kirschner et al., 2006; Mayer, 2004). Kirschner et al. (2006) reinforces this, stating that current educational research provides "overwhelming and unambiguous evidence that minimal guidance during instruction is significantly less effective than guidance specifically designed to support the cognitive processing necessary for learning" Kirschner et al. (2006, p. 76). Kapur (2008) for his part, does acknowledge limitations of his study of ill-structured problems combined with teacher directed instruction, but believes his results to be an initial effort to collaborate in the better understanding of learning and problem solving.

In conclusion, Kirschner et al. (2006) and Kapur's (2008) views are not as divided as their papers indicate at first glance. They both agree that minimal guidance during instruction does not lead to positive learning results. However, Kirschner et al. (2006) limit their literature comparison to studies that look at learning designs that offer unguided instruction only. Kapur (2008), on the other hand, suggests that an allowance should be made for the concurrent possibility that, under certain conditions, even ill-structured, complex, and apparently unproductive processes have a hidden efficacy about them. Moreover, new technologies, such as the agent-based computer modelling used in his study, offer students the

opportunity to experiment and discover new concepts related to an ill-structured problem before receiving direct instruction, and, therefore, play a central role to the socio-constructive perspective (Kapur, 2008; Stahl, 2006). In this context the teacher takes a moderator role, guiding inquiry based, learner-centered activities that promote higher order thinking skills such as, analysis, synthesis and evaluation (Bloom, Engelhart, Furst, Hill, & Krathwohl, 1956) and provides feedback to clarify and correct student misunderstandings.

4.4 The Minimal and Direct Instruction Debate in Language Teaching

Long before the debate concerning teacher directed and learner-centered approaches in wider education, language education confronted a similar dispute between deductive and inductive teaching approaches. The debate was initiated in the late 19th century by the introduction of the Direct Method in language teaching, with its aims and practices opposite to the existing Grammar-Translation Method. The Grammar-Translation method involves teacher-directed instruction, employing deductive teaching techniques for the development of logical skills and language skills. Grammar-Translation Method is still incorporated into language curricula around the world, either on its own or in conjunction with other methods (Liddicoat, 2013; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Malczewska-Webb, 2014). The inductive approach, with the development of the Direct Method encompassed the inductive way of teaching. This dichotomy has lasted since then, with different approaches stressing the effectiveness of one, or the other, approach.

Currently, within the contemporary language teacher education paradigms, the value of deductive approaches has been recognized as an important part of the language learning and teaching and is included in most language teaching models. In fact, over the last 40 years, there has been a significant departure from 'the strong version' of communicative approach towards 'the weak version' of the approach. This shift encompasses the departure from the underlying principle of 'using the language to learn it' towards 'learning how to use the language'. The language educators acknowledge that some learners, despite a large amount of comprehensible input, will simply not learn through 'osmosis'; they will not 'notice' and recognise or formulate their own rules and will not become 'aware' successful language learners. Consequently, methods such as Task-Based Instruction or Content-Based Instruction have moved from being strictly inductive in the 1980s, to incorporating deductive teaching and teacher instruction as the crucial elements ensuring the success of learning (Harmer, 2007, 2012; Willis, 1996).

While the discussion on the effectiveness of instruction in wider education is still at the center of academic debate, this argument appears to have been harmoniously concluded in language education. To sum up, both approaches have been included into the contemporary language education models since the 1980s. Language educators support the view that both approaches form an integral educational

model, which simply addresses different stages and contexts of language learning. It is that inclusion, rather than exclusion, of particular approaches and the representative techniques, which has been a distinct feature of current models in language teaching. This healthy educational eclecticism has been based on the theories of language acquisition, language teaching pedagogy and their applications over the last 50 years. Its heterogeneous nature has been promoted strongly as it addresses many aspects of learner diversity, such as student background, previous educational experience or learning styles.

4.5 Addressing the Minimal and Direct Instruction Debate in Education

Despite the most recent research stressing the importance of direct instruction practices, the debate between guided direct instruction and minimal instruction is not over, and more research is needed into the effectiveness of both paradigms. The findings, in fact, support the effectiveness of both paradigms, depending on the context. Therefore, successful teaching design must incorporate both approaches in order to address the diversity of learning experiences. Teachers should plan for activities that engage students in different ways, such as activating and differentiating knowledge stored in long term memory before applying direct instruction approaches, though drawing attention to relevant critical characteristics of the content.

Other teaching models also demonstrate the effectiveness of combining both approaches to teaching. Scaffolding, for example, supports the usefulness of integrating different types of direct instruction and learner centered activities. This involves the use of structured supports provided to learners during the process of achieving their goals and becoming independent. According to Reiser and Tabak (2014) scaffolding provides three important elements to learning: it facilitates transfer; it helps develop an understanding of the objectives of the discipline; and it promotes students awareness of the relationship between the objectives of the learning task and the procedures necessary to achieve them (Reiser & Tabak, 2014). Scaffolding learning experiences provides a range of both direct and minimal instruction type activities and resources.

Another argument supporting the importance of applying both teaching approaches is embedded in student attitudes towards learning, and their perception of learning experiences. Here, the results are also inconclusive and complex. While some students rate collaborative activities as enjoyable, with supporting research indicating that they produce positive learning outcomes, others still prefer traditional lectures (Chen, Wang, Kinshuk, & Chen, 2014; Klionksy, 2005; Knight & Wood, 2005). Furthermore, some of the students that express a preference for taking part in cooperative learning activities, show a low level of satisfaction with the structure of the classes that incorporated those activities in their learning designs (Strayer, 2008). The outcomes of student attitudes towards different learning experiences are, yet again, varied.

To conclude, the inquiry into the complex debate on the direct and minimal instruction in education, has yielded equally complex outcomes. Depending on learners and the learning contexts, either one approach or the other proves to be, or is perceived as, more effective. Nevertheless, two unambiguous observations can be drawn from the presented research. Firstly, more research is needed exploring many aspects of both sides of the debate. Secondly, there is very strong evidence supporting the usefulness and the importance of both the direct instruction and the learner-centered approach to creating successful learning and teaching experiences. Consequently, the theoretical framework that underpins the online Master of Arts in TESOL program supports a combination of methods of instruction that include both guided instruction and learner-centered activities that lead to successful learning (Mayer, 2004) and facilitates a mixed instruction approach (Bishop & Verleger, 2013).

4.6 Progression of Thought and Learning: Mohan and McCain

The most recent addition to the framework incorporates the major learning theories of the 20th century into a progression of thought and learning model (McCain & Mohan, in McCain, 2015). Mohan and McCain's (2015) model illustrates learning as a continuum where students, while learning, conceptually move from a passive teacher centered approach to an active learner-centered one. Notable education theories incorporated into this model include Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom et al., 1956), Piaget (1972) developmental theory, Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, Gardner's (1983) theory of multiple intelligences, Vygotsky's (1978) theory of cognitive development, and Rogers (1969) theory of experiential learning.

Students moving through the development of thought and learning model progress from simple activities which are teacher directed such as listening to lecture presentations, to participating in minimal instruction activities including pairwork or individual independent assignments, and, eventually, complex real world experiences. Individual senses are typically targeted in a direct teacher instruction driven approach, such as reading a text or listening to the teacher lecture. In contrast, complex multisensory approaches are adopted for student driven collaborative exercises, where students employ a range of language skills.

One of the most important observations of this model is that students learn best when they move from a teacher centered approach to a student centered approach, but this process is a continuum with all elements playing a critical role in the development of learning. The two examples provided in the following section of this paper illustrate different stages in the progression of thought and learning. However, it is important to note that the curriculum design of the TESOL program addresses the entire continuum in order to provide an effective learning experience.

4.7 Theoretical Framework: Implications

Several conclusions need to be drawn from this discussion of the theoretical framework. First, the debate on the effectiveness of approaches to instruction in education is very complex, with significant research informing both direct instruction and minimal instruction. The results of these explorations, however, are ambiguous as to which type of instruction produces more effective learning outcomes.

It seems the recent research polarizes the debate rather than solves it, which, possibly does not need to be viewed as a type of educational dichotomy. Instead, research outcomes and also the theories and practices in other fields, such as second language education, suggest that both approaches are necessary to maximize learning outcomes. They both, in varying ways and contexts, address learner needs, learner diversity and learning objectives. Moreover, it appears more valuable and practical to view these approaches as a continuum is reflected in the model of progression of thought and learning.

This perspective of the educational continuum forms an ideal theoretical framework for developing resources for learning. The framework represents a set of flexible features, and, despite its progression, it offers a flexible range, rather than a prescribed linear succession, of theoretical features for flexible resources. The cognitive, pedagogical and design features of the continuum stages serve to provide a theoretical background to a wide range of resources which, in turn, result in a wide range of learning experiences. The framework underpins the view that, instead of deciding which approach is better and why, program designers must develop flexible resources addressing the whole continuum, with a rich range of cognitive and design features to be reflected in a rich range of flexible resources.

To sum up, the aim of the theoretical framework was to establish the background for developing program resources, which safeguarded the quality of the developed resources for both, on campus and an online program. While a traditional educational environment provides learning opportunities alongside the learning continuum, careful decisions had to be made about addressing the educational continuum to ensure the quality of the online MA in TESOL program. These decisions, as previously stated, concerned all the aspects of the process, such as the structuring of the core content, pedagogy and design. Two examples of the learning resources chosen for the inclusion in the online program are presented next. These examples illustrate the opportunities recent technologies offer to ensure the quality of research-based educational experience and its parity to the traditional learning environment.

5 Flexible Learning Resources: Examples

5.1 Introduction

Flexible resources designed for the students enrolled in the MA in TESOL programs at Bond University include a wide range of tasks, techniques, materials,

activities and quizzes, which provide various ways of presenting and engaging with the core content. Students engage in learning in a variety of modes, techniques and approaches. This section presents two examples of flexible resources developed for the MA in TESOL online program to ensure that online students are given opportunities for learning experiences addressing the broad educational continuum determined by the theoretical framework. According to Blackboard data, these two resources; the pre-recorded lectures and interactive tutorials, are also the learning tools favoured consistently by the TESOL students at Bond University (Malczewska-Webb & Vallero, 2014).

The first example, pre-recorded lectures, represents the asynchronous e-learning resource, where teachers and learners are involved in the learning process at different times (Hrastinski, 2008). This form of learning is fundamental in online programs as most of the students enroll in these programs for a number of time constraints such as jobs, family commitments, etc. and asynchronous learning provides them with the required flexibility of access. However, modern technologies, have changed the nature of e-learning, allowing for synchronous e-learning experiences, where teachers and learners engage in learning at the same time. The second example, a virtual classroom, demonstrates synchronous e-learning resource.

5.2 Resource 1: Pre-recorded Lectures

The first example includes two software applications used for pre-recording lectures that demonstrate the iterative approach to developing TESOL online program resources in the virtual environment. Initially, Camtasia software was used to pre-record lecture material. Very recently, Office Mix, an add-into PowerPoint, was adopted for the development of resources for training TESOL teachers. The existing Camtasia recordings have been superseded by the newly developed interactive presentations created with Office Mix.

The preparation of the core content for recorded sessions requires extensive changes to address research outcomes on learner engagement patterns in educational videos. Recently Guo, Kim and Rubin (2014) presented results from the largest-scale study of video engagement to date, using data from 6.9 million video watching sessions across four courses on the edX MOOC platform. They measured engagement by how long students are watching each video, and whether they attempt to answer post-video assessment problems. According to Guo, Kim and Rubin (2014), the length of the video was the most significant indicator of learner engagement. The results indicate that the optimal length of an educational video is approximately 6 min, and that students rarely finish watching videos exceeding 9 min. The shortest videos, up to 3 min, had the strongest engagement. A Kaltura survey (2015), of a predominantly higher education audience, found that 71 % of respondents believe that the optimal video length should be no longer than 10 min. One of the possible reasons for shorter recordings may be the fact that these videos

contain higher-quality instructional content and perhaps are better planned (Guo et al., 2014). Additionally, studies into paying attention and vigilance show that mental focus decreases after 10 min of intensive listening. Although individual differences need to be considered, after 10 min viewing time certain factors begin to interfere with a student's ability to focus such as ego depletion, mind wandering and simple boredom (Hattie & Yates, 2013).

Consequently, the process of lecture preparation for the virtual classroom involved the re-organization of the core content into shorter videos, a principal feature of what is otherwise referred to as the MOOC format (Guo et al., 2014). This required careful restructuring of the lectures into short chunks. The modules were saved as video and audio files and students were also provided with accompanying PDF files of lecture slides as well as lecture handouts. Another advantage of the short videos, apart from maximizing learner engagement, was small size of the files, which allowed the students to watch the videos on their mobile devices. Students were able to playback the video recordings with pausing, fast-forwarding and rewinding functions. Although the interactivity of Camtasia recordings was limited, the recorded video product was of a high quality.

Student engagement data collected from the Blackboard learning management system strongly demonstrated a student preference for pre-recorded lecture content (Malczewska-Webb & Vallero, 2014). A closer examination of individual subjects using blended learning resources reflected this student preference for pre-recorded lecture videos in all examined subjects and programs (Malczewska-Webb & Vallero, 2014). Data on student access to Blackboard LMS resources came from five individual subjects offering blended learning content in two programs at Bond University; (1) Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages and (2) Spanish Language and Culture. The data is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Student access to pre-recorded videos in five subjects

	TESOL Subject 1 (%)	TESOL Subject 2 (%)	TESOL Subject 3 (%)	Spanish 1 (%)	Spanish 2 (%)	Total average (%)
Rate of access	87.9	82.2	91.8	75.6	69.4	81.4

The average frequency of access to pre-recorded subject videos in all examined subject was very high, with 81.4 %. This meant that the significant majority of students used this resource for their learning. The subject with the lowest rate of access to the pre-recorded videos was Spanish 2. Although the subject is offered on campus, a majority of students, 69.4 %, used the videos for learning. By comparison, the next most regularly accessed resource in the Spanish subject was Blogs, with only 15.4 % of students accessing it, despite this being one of the assessment requirements. This data reflects the students' positive attitude towards pre-recorded videos involving direct instruction and teacher-centred learning experiences, despite the fact that these resources only address the teacher directed instruction stages of

the progression of thought and learning continuum, and do not actively engage students. Despite this, students who enrolled in the online Graduate Certificate in TESOL demonstrated the highest and most regular rate of access to pre-recorded videos, with 91.8 % of the student engagement accessing the content area with pre-recorded Camtasia modules.

As previously stated, Camtasia software was used until very recently and it has been superseded by the Office Mix Add-on to PowerPoint 2013 and later. Office Mix offers significant ease of use, analytics and interactive advantages over Camtasia which led to a recent decision to adopt Office Mix for recording the core content. While Camtasia recordings have been a favorite student resource, they provide limited interactivity and require technical editing skills in order to achieve a high quality product. Editing an existing Camtasia video to make revisions when, for example, research outcomes are updated, is a complex process. Office Mix, on the other hand, facilitates a simpler recording and editing workflow because the audio and video recordings are automatically split and attached to individual slides within PowerPoint. Each Office Mix recording is comprised of these individual slide recordings that can be modified, re-recorded or re-organized quickly and easily. This flexibility decreases performance stress related to the recording process, as the recording is not a 'final product' but rather, an open-ended project where changes and revisions can be added with ease.

From the student perspective, Office Mix allows for a very high level of interactivity and selectivity (Guo et al., 2014). Students are able to speed up, slow down and pause the video while watching, re-watch individual slides, search, and quickly navigate through the presentation using an outline view. Office Mix facilitates all typical video watching scenarios (Kim et al., 2014) including 'rewatch', 'textual search', 'visual search' 'return' and 'skim'. Office Mix also allows for increased interaction with the content through the ability to develop in-text quizzes. These quizzes offers immediate feedback in an asynchronous environment. Moreover, it provides the analytics that indicate the interaction traces and peaks and other learner engagement or disengagement patterns. This analytical functionality addresses goals formulated by Kim et al. (2014) which informed their design of data-driven video interaction techniques. Accordingly, Office Mix is able to provide easy access to what learners frequently watch, supports flexible personal and collective video viewing and provides lecturers with valuable insight into student lecture viewing patterns. In this sense, the Mix recordings address the requirements of the theoretical framework by providing the learners with an opportunity to engage in a wide range of learning experiences.

5.3 Resource 2: A Virtual Classroom

The second example of flexible learning resources chosen for the MA in TESOL at Bond University is the Blackboard Collaborate web conferencing software designed for online collaborative tutorials. The concept of incorporating interactive

tutorials using Blackboard Collaborate in the TESOL online program was introduced into the curriculum at the initial stages of the program development. Between January 2013 and August 2015, Collaborate Classic was used to teach interactive online tutorials in all the subjects. The decision was made to change from Blackboard Collaborate Classic to the new Blackboard Collaborate Ultra in September 2015, following positive experiences with the Collaborate Ultra beta release. Collaborate Ultra offered a much improved experience in many aspects of online delivery, including a simplified interface, lower technology setup requirements and improved video quality.

Blackboard Collaborate is a browser-based web conferencing tool, which provides a blend of synchronous, asynchronous, and mobile capabilities (http://www.blackboard.com/online-collaborative-learning). A study of 750 tertiary educators showed that, following its integration with Elluminate, Blackboard Collaborate is now the most popular commercial tool of this type in Australia and New Zealand (Bower et al., 2012; Tonsmann, 2014). Blackboard Collaborate is an example of a web conferencing tool which allows students and teachers synchronously represent concepts, interact and create a sense of connectedness (Bower et al., 2012). Blackboard Collaborate promotes student engagement through a wide variety of collaboration and conference tools. Some of the Blackboard Collaborate tools include classroom chat features, interactive shared whiteboard, application share, video and audio recording capability, the possibility of displaying multiple speakers at the same time and sharing PowerPoint or PDF formatted content with the rest of the group. In the classroom chat room, the students can communicate with other students and lecturers in real time, comment on the lectures, planned tasks. Real-time annotations and text on the interactive whiteboard enable the participants' instant collaboration, participation and feedback. A simple tool of raising your hands enhances student engagement in the lesson. In the new version of Collaborate, application sharing is very effective and allows participants to view anything appearing on the screen of the presenter.

There is a significant amount of research demonstrating the advantages of the synchronous web based virtual classrooms (Bower et al., 2012; Martin & Parker, 2015; Hrastinski, 2008; Oncu & Cakir, 2011). While an in-depth analysis of these is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to provide a brief outline of this research, in order to illustrate the benefit of synchronous e-learning to the TESOL online program. According to Hrastinski (2008), virtual classrooms support different types of communication including content-based, task planning and social support. These different types of communicative acts create learning experiences alongside the progression of learning continuum and in this way support the theoretical framework designed for the TESOL program. During content-related exchanges, students can ask or answer a content related questions, share information or express an idea or a thought. While engaging in task planning activities, students can plan work, allocate tasks, coordinate joint efforts, review drafts as well as negotiate and resolve conflicts. Accordingly, Blackboard Collaborate enables the students to express companionship, provide emotional support and give advice to one another. Students and lecturers can provide support with technical difficulties

such as navigation problems during seminar presentations. Another feature, pointed out by Hrastinski (2008), is that using emoticons supports social relationships in the virtual class. Last but not least, the participants can talk about things unrelated to study, which fosters social relationships.

One of the crucial advantages of synchronous e-learning exemplified by the use of Blackboard Collaborate in the TESOL program is the concept of developing 'a community of practice' (Martin & Parker, 2015). Socialization, support and informal exchange are three of the five functions identified by Finkelstein (2006 in Martin & Parker, 2015) of the synchronous environment, together with instruction and collaboration. Motteram (2001, in Martin & Parker, 2015) stresses the effectiveness of synchronous tools for the 'social' aspect of education. Park and Bonk (2007, in Martin & Parker, 2015) point to similar advantages such as strengthening social presence and fostering emotional support. Similarly, Huang and Hsiao (2012) suggest that synchronous web conferencing effectively bridges the gap and helps establish teacher-student connection. Kan (2011, in Bower et al., 2012) also notes the importance of video conferencing in promoting a sense of connectedness with overseas students while the universities are internationalizing their programs. In fact, Aydin (2008) research concludes that there were no differences between students' abilities to learn collegiality and teamwork skills in traditional and virtual classrooms.

The qualitative pilot study of the evaluation of digital resources in the TESOL program supports the effectiveness of Blackboard Collaborate in building a learning community. When asked for the effectiveness of the virtual tutorials for their learning, many students commented on the importance of the social aspects: "I love the sense of the group", "I feel I know you all", "made me feel so close to everyone". Students appreciated interaction ("I loved the interaction", "I loved interactive writing") and the learning experience was perceived as personalized: ("learning so personal"). The attitudes expressed were overwhelmingly positive with a strong element of surprise: "surprised it would be so fun". These positive attitudes are best summed up in the following student comment:

> Not only are the subject matters directly related to my everyday work - this is an enormous help - but online learning in this manner is turning out to be extremely engaging and collaborative, both attributes which are not often associated with electronic studies. The online BlackBoard Collaborate sessions bring us all together and we communicate intensely and constructively both with our lecturers and among peers. (Sara Lembo, personal communication, 16 November, 2015)

To conclude, the second example presented in this paper, Blackboard Collaborate web based video conferencing, creates a very rich synchronous e-learning environment. It has features associated with traditional classroom teaching and, consequently, offers a wide range of opportunities for virtual student engagement. As such, the possibilities for developing various activities for learning experiences are comparable, if not richer than those offered by a traditional classroom (Malczewska-Webb, King, Vallero, & Hunter, 2015). These learning experiences address all the stages of the framework developed for the TESOL project in a similar way it is done in the on campus program.

To reiterate, the two examples of flexible resources for learning presented in this paper included the pre-recorded lectures using Camtasia and the Office Mix and the virtual classroom using Blackboard Collaborate. The features of the pre-recorded lectures allow for the learning experiences related to direct classroom instruction, with some learner-centered activities in navigating and chunking the content. These learning experiences address the more passive and deductive learning styles. However, the virtual classroom offers opportunities for learning experiences which address the whole spectrum of the theoretical framework developed for the MA in TESOL program. This demonstrates that an online program compares with the quality of the content and content delivery with its on campus equivalent.

6 Conluding Remarks

This paper demonstrates that modern technologies allow for the design of a language teacher education program which ensures a rich and diverse range of learning experiences for students. These technologies facilitate a flexible mode delivery of the content in a networked environment. The Master of Arts in TESOL program at Bond University is offered in two modes of delivery, on campus and online. The aim of the online MA in TESOL project was to ensure that the online delivery program offers a level of learning opportunities comparable to the traditional delivery program. This paper outlined steps which needed to be followed in order to ensure the desired quality of both programs.

Developing a theoretical framework for the TESOL program was the first and the most fundamental instructional design stage. The aim of the framework was to underpin the decision making process concerning the development of both on campus and online MA in TESOL programs. Its role was to safeguard the critical elements and standards of the program, subject matter expertise, delivery and the resulting learning experiences.

After very careful consideration of the effectiveness of instruction, it was decided that the best way to construct the programs was to combine direct and minimal instruction approaches to learning and teaching. This was based on the research outcomes, which, on the one hand, stress the value of direct instruction, and on the other, focus on the importance of using both approaches in education. Language education is an example of the field of study where the two approaches complement each other rather than compete. In language education, with the dichotomy introduced as early as the end of the 19th century, the last 40 years or so have been reconciliatory, with language educators recognizing the value of both approaches used for different contexts, needs and purposes.

A particularly useful theoretical model has recently been introduced to show that many approaches to education can, in fact, be viewed in a similar manner; alongside a continuum. The Model of Progression of Thought and Learning was selected as a conceptual representation of the gradual transference between direct instruction and

teacher-centeredness, towards minimal (or none) instruction and learner-centeredness. The model creates a backdrop for designing a wide range of learning activities, experiences and resources, which must address different or all stages of the learning continuum. The optimal design of the resources embeds them alongside the continuum. The resources designed for learning must vary in the practices they employ and the resulting learning experiences.

The two examples presented in this paper, pre-recorded lectures and the virtual classroom, demonstrate that, with the use of appropriate technologies, it is possible to create resources which result in learning experiences embedded alongside the continuum. In order to create learning opportunities mirroring a traditional classroom, such resources must incorporate both asynchronous and synchronous e-learning as well as high level of learner engagement, interaction and personalization.

Another very important element of the program development is using the ADDIE Model of instructional design, which also ensures the on-going development and progression of all program elements. The changes have affected the core content, the design and the organization of the program, and also the software and delivery methods. This dynamic and iterative model of instructional design, through a careful analysis of all the elements, ensures a systematic ongoing evaluation of the program components.

This paper demonstrates it is possible to create resources for flexible learning using an evidence-based research framework, in order to develop a quality language teacher education program. The integration of resources such as Camtasia, Office Mix, and Blackboard Collaborate into the program provide students with a wide range of engagement opportunities, similar to the traditional mode delivery program. The principal difference lies in using different technologies and designing different resources and tools, to achieve the same learning outcomes.

Lastly, based on the research undertaken for this paper and the analysis of the Master of Arts in TESOL online program, it is important to reiterate that the quality of education goes beyond the mode of its delivery. The paper demonstrates the effectiveness of applying a theoretical framework to construct a high quality program, through an integration of the subject matter, pedagogy and design, in either traditional or online environment. Delivering a quality program will always require the teacher and instructional designer to harness the most suitable tool (or resource) that meets learner needs and program objectives.

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Educating Teachers—Reflectivity Through a Polish-Austrian Lens

Eva Vetter

Abstract In my paper I will refer to Danuta Gabryś-Barker's research in language teacher education and analyse language teacher education in Austria against the background of some crucial issues raised by Gabryś-Barker (e.g., the role of practice, the novice teacher's attitudes, mentors, etc.). Moreover, I will raise the question in how far multilingualism, another component of Gabryś-Barker's scientific work, can (or should) be part of the professional development of language teachers.

Keywords Teacher education · Reflectivity

1 Introduction

Danuta Gabryś-Barker's impressive scientific publications over the past few decades include extensive research on teacher education, particularly in language teacher education. Her contribution to this field is not only a perfect guide for those engaged in teacher education, it also constitutes a source of inspiration for all those, students, teachers or experts from different domains, who intend to conduct research on or engage in teacher education. Reading the fascinating *Reflectivity in pre-service teacher education. A survey of theory and practice* I was immediately attracted as a former teacher of French and Geography who, after 15 years of teaching at school, had, in Mok (2005) typology, reached phase three and should consequently be less concerned with "student discipline and relationship with students' than with 'teaching performance' and 'students' learning and performance survival" (Mok, 2005, pp. 63–65 cited in Gabryś-Barker, 2012, p. 16f.). But Gabryś-Barker's account also captivated me as an academic and a researcher who,

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since 2011, has been primarily concerned with re-thinking about and designing teacher education and has—albeit more modestly than her—contributed to research in this domain. These reasons compelled me to present this particular topic for this special edited volume.

In doing so, I opt for a pseudo-longitudinal approach designed to replicate Danuta Gabryś-Barker's conceptualization of teaching as an ongoing process of professional development. As I examine the professionalization process in the following, I suggest three perspectives in this article. This decision relates to empirical data available and research carried out in recent years as well as to theoretical assumptions: I will start at the beginner's stage and refer to student teachers' texts on their motivation for becoming a teacher. The second perspective considered is the practicum and the experiences reported by students. The practicum is generally considered an influential phase in trainees' professional development, warranting such a focus. Thirdly, I will refer to stories reported by students that relate to expert teachers. I have qualified this approach as pseudo-longitudinal, since it does not follow a particular group of student teachers through the different stages of their professional development from beginners to trainees to expert teachers, but examines different moments while working with different groups of (student) teachers.

2 Why Become a Language Teacher? What Can Be Learned from Students' Argumentative Texts?

The first stop is at the very beginning of teacher training. Once students have decided to become a teacher (and, since 2014, once they have passed the entrance exam in Austria), they attend courses at university that relate to the subject they intend to teach as well as subject didactics and pedagogy. One of the courses on subject didactics is the frame for the research I present here. At the very beginning of their study, i.e. in their first subject didactic course, I asked future teachers of French why they chose this profession. Until 2008, 250 of these narratives were collected and qualitatively analyzed within a larger study on the (future) teachers' awareness of languages (Vetter, 2008). Unfortunately (and due to my professional development at that time), large parts of this study still remain unpublished and thus I now return to the data and re-interpret them against the background of teacher professionalization. The research question informing the former study serves as a starting point: Which reasons do student teachers give at the beginning of their study at university when asked to explain their choice of career?

In the 2008 study, I opted for a qualitative approach to the data aiming at interpreting the social world—in this case the choice of career—in the categories of the participants, i.e. the future teachers (Flick, Von Kardorff, & Steinke, 2007). The analysis started with a qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2007) that yielded a list of topics the student teachers had mentioned as explications. These topics were

then aggregated into nine categories that appeared to explain the students' decision to become a teacher of French: languages and cultures in general, French, France, French culture, teaching, work with people, past school experience, family and ideas about life. To differentiate the explications, further categorizations were employed, such as the distinction between internal and external explications. Internal explications pertain to the students' attitudes and characteristics, e.g., their love towards language/s in general or French in particular and their positive attitudes towards the kind of work they expect to do later. External explications are positioned outside the individual and relate to, e.g., the characteristics of the future job. It goes without saying that there is no clear dividing line separating internal and external explications given in the argumentative texts. The initial, rather general description of the explications given by student teachers was then complemented by further analytical procedures.

In order to evaluate the topics and rank the explications in terms of importance, the qualitatively generated categories were quantified following the principles of Mayring (2007) Content Analysis. A coding guide allowed for analyzing the frequency of the explications (How many students explain their choice of career with a particular topic?) as well as the relevance students accorded to the particular explications (ranging from 0 = not relevant for the choice of career to 3 = explication of highest importance). The results indicate a clear hierarchy of topics: The category *family*, including explications such as "in my family there are other teachers" or "teacher is a family-friendly job", appears to be of low significance, since it is mentioned by less than 15 % of the students. This is also true for general experience at school: Only 14 % of the student teachers establish any kind of relationship between their choice of career and their (positive) experience at school.

In contrast, almost 34 % of all students cited their experiences as a student in the French lessons as important in some way. Here, the frequency counts show mostly positive experiences of medium importance. In summary, the family category appears as relatively insignificant, while specific experiences in French lessons as opposed to general school experiences prove relatively important (for one third of the group) in the category of *school experiences*. As to the category "languages and cultures", 30 % of the students mention a general interest in language as an important explication for their choice of career, while 20 % mention the intention to teach languages. As expected, the category *French* is most prominent. Nearly two thirds of the students attribute their choice of career to a particular interest in French, whereas their interest in teaching French is less relevant (see Fig. 1).

More than two thirds of the students see their interest in the French language as a reason for the choice of career, while approximately one third qualify their desire to teach French as important. For more than half of the students, their interest in French is relevant or highly relevant, which further emphasizes the importance for their choice of career. The comparison between these results and the results for *languages and cultures* suggests a first interpretation of the qualitative content analysis: The students of the teacher training program for French want to become French teachers because they are interested in French.

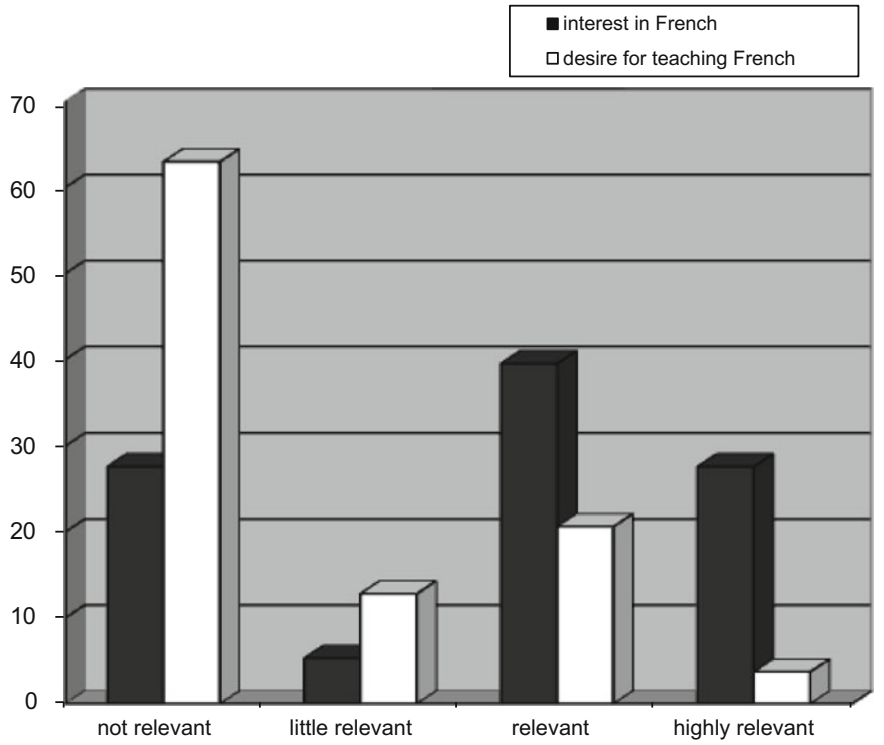

Fig. 1 Importance of French for the choice of career (in %)

The results for the category of French culture complete the picture: A third of the respondents considers French culture and its mediation to be significant for their choice of career. This demonstrates a clear cultural component relating to France, since only about 6 % indicate the Francophonie in their reasons. This roughly corresponds to the results of a survey with Romance Studies students in Vienna, conducted ten years before my study, which showed a clear distinction between the Eurocentrism of French students and a more open approach of Spanish students (Zenga, Dreuth, Thurow, & Hilt, 1998). Another point is that half of the students mention "work with people" and "teaching" as important. More than 40 % of the students already have experience in teaching when starting to study at university.

The evaluation of the explications given by the students and the content relationship between the categories entail the de-construction of the nine categories formulated on the basis of inductive categorization and re-categorization. Three major content categories appear to influence the students' decision to become teachers of French: the topics *French*, *work with people* and *languages and cultures*. Factor analysis partially confirms this re-categorization, although the category *work with people* is not statistically evident. The Cluster analysis finally allowed for clustering the students on the basis of the re-categorization and the

results of the factor analysis. The Cluster analysis (Ward Method) suggests to distinguish between four groups of students on the basis of the explications they give for their choice of career (for a more detailed description, see Vetter, 2008) and provides for a more nuanced picture than the simple counting of explanations given above:

The first group, what I call *language teachers*, justifies their choice of career predominantly with categories of the cross-language group. Languages, their cultures and mediation are the most important reasons to become French teachers. Interest in the individual French language group is a relatively ineffectual reason for their choice of profession, while interest in working with people is a slightly more relevant. These students, which comprise 35 % of respondents, study French for teaching purposes primarily for language and cross-cultural reasons. The second group, called the *educators*, justifies their choice of career particularly in terms of working with people and the corresponding teaching experience. Reasons of the French-specific group influence their choice of career somewhat and those of the cross-language group even less. Almost 17 % of students belong to this group. Students of the third group, the *French teachers,* have chosen the profession because they want to combine their interest in French with that in working with people. Categories from the cross-linguistic group turn out to be the least influential. 15 % of students make up this group. The fourth group is called the *French specialists*, as they founded their career choice especially on categories from the individual French language group, i.e. the interest in French, in the teaching of French, and in French culture. Almost 33 % of students are part of this group (see Fig. 2).

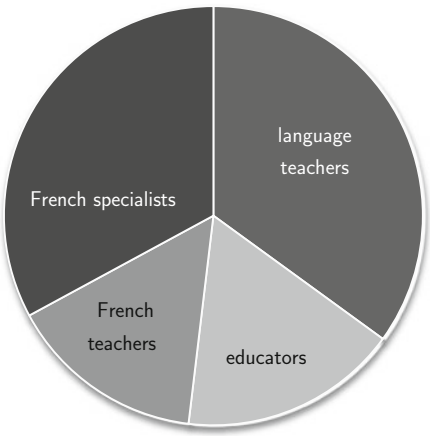

Fig. 2 Categorization of student teachers

In my earlier study, the results were interpreted against the background of trans- and multilingual/-cultural explications versus single language/culture explications. Results supported a clear distinction between students who give trans-/multicultural explications versus those who attribute their career choice to French-specific topics.

In contrast, this paper will focus on the results of the discourse analysis of randomly selected texts from the four groups of student teachers. In terms of argumentation theory, the texts establish a relationship between the author ("I") and the profession of teacher of French. This argumentative relation, the starting point for discourse analysis, is illustrated in Fig. 3.

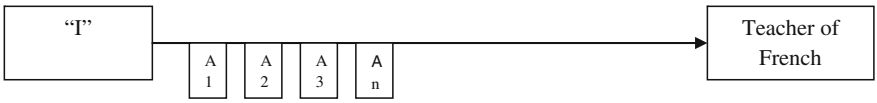

Fig. 3 Argumentative relation in the students' texts

While the content analysis revealed the topics of these arguments, discourse analysis here focusses on the micro-level of linguistic realization. Following the micro-analysis as suggested by the Vienna School of discourse analysis (Reisigl, 2007), the following questions were asked:

1. How are the actors and arguments linguistically constructed (nomination)?
2. Which positive or negative characteristics are attributed to the actors and arguments (predication)?
3. Which arguments help to justify or question the discursively constructed assumptions (argumentation)?
4. Which actions refer to the actors and arguments, which processes are linguistically constructed (characterization of actions and processes)?
5. How do the students position themselves with respect to the discursively constructed events and statements (i.e. nominations, predications, argumentation) (perspectivation)?
6. Is the linguistic realization (e.g. nomination, predication and argumentation) mitigated or intensified (mitigation versus intensification)?

The results relating to the actors show that different groups and individuals appear as actors in the students' text. First of all, the "I" relates to the students themselves in three different roles: as former pupils, as students and as future teachers. Furthermore, the texts include the authors' teachers and their future pupils. All of these actors appear in a particular kind of relationship, characterized by transfer (from teacher to pupil). From the texts we learn that it is not only content, but also attitudes that shall be transferred. These attitudes often relate to the emotional domain, such as love towards French and France, enthusiasm for languages and learning languages, etc. As to the quality of the transfer process, the verbs used indicate a certain change in the pedagogical domain: *inspire*, *stimulate*, and *prepare* characterize the relation between teachers and students/pupils, announcing a specific pedagogic view on the learners as developing from objects of knowledge transfer, who have to be taught, to subjects who construct their knowledge based on the inspiration provided by the teacher. This is in line with modern methodologies, in which the teacher is no longer primarily the expert but rather develops into a guide, facilitator and monitor of the learner (Gabryś-Barker, 2012, p. 39).

As a 'by-product', discourse analysis reveals a common normative paradigm, the so-called "lowest common denominator of justifications", which is identifiable via the linguistic realization (normative-deontic verbs and phrases such as *man muss*, i.e., *one must*). This common norm is the frame within which students interpret teaching and learning languages. It consists of the four elements included in Fig. 4.

Fig. 4 The normative program of language teaching and learning

To start with, *love and passion* is an attitude that is demanded from teachers as well as learners and is linguistically constructed as 'transferable'. The plea for transferring one's love to the learners is illustrated by the following example:

> *Mir gefällt die französische Landschaft, die Menschen und ihre Kultur – Primär wäre da einmal meine ungeheure Liebe für die franz. Sprache, die Kultur und die Menschen und genau das will ich auch meinen zukünftigen Schülern vermitteln:…* (1_06) [I like the landscape of France, the people and their culture – Primarily, there is my enormous love for the French language, the culture and the people, and that is exactly what I want to convey to my future pupils (1_06)]

However, it is not only attitudes, such as love, but also content—particularly language competence—that is seen as transferable from teachers to learners:

> *Ein Grund, Französisch auf Lehramt zu studieren war für mich unter anderem das relativ genaue Berufsbild: Einerseits finde ich die Arbeit mit Kindern im Allgemeinen sehr interessant. Auf der anderen Seite strebe ich an, eine gute Sprachkompetenz zu erlangen und diese an die SchülerInnen weiter vermitteln zu können* (3_39). [One of the reasons for me to study French as a teaching subject, among others, was the rather well-defined occupational profile: On the one hand, I find working with children very interesting in general. On the other hand, I aim to attain a good language competence and be able to impart that to the pupils (3_39)],

> *Sprachen zu unterrichten heißt nicht nur den SchülerInnen Grammatik und Wortschatz beizubringen, sondern sie auch in die Welt der Literatur und Kultur einzuführen* (5_33). [Teaching languages does not only mean teaching pupils grammar and vocabulary, but also to introduce them to the world of literature and culture (5_33)].

Although the data indicates a certain change towards more autonomy of the learner, the result of learning is still constructed as a merit of the teacher. This construction tends to be explicit rather than implicit, though the degree varies between students.

Es wäre mein Ehrgeiz vielleicht doch einige meiner Schüler von der Schönheit dieser Sprache und dieses Landes zu überzeugen (6_08) [It would be my ambition to maybe convince some of my students of the beauty of this language and this country (6_08)]

The third element is voluntariness and enjoyment. The student teachers want to increase joy and voluntariness among their pupils, whom they expect to voluntarily and joyfully engage with the French language.

Wenn sich meine Schüler auch nach ihrer Matura noch freiwillig mit Französisch beschäftigen oder auf den Geschmack gekommen sind, weitere Fremdsprachen zu erlernen, dann hätte ich als Lehrerin das Gefühl, mein Ziel erreicht zu haben (3_01). [If my students willingly spend time with French after their A-levels or have acquired a taste for learning further languages, then as a teacher, I would feel that I have achieved my goal (3_01)]

The fourth element of this paradigm summarizes the student teachers' outlook on their future tasks as challenging and anything but easy. In a nutshell, the analysis of the student teachers' argumentative texts shows that student teachers have quite concrete ideas about their future profession: Teachers have to make an effort so that the pupils love the subject voluntarily.

Two conclusions may be interesting in relation to Danuta Gabryś-Barker's work on teachers' self-concept, identity and reflectivity. The argumentative texts reveal that student teachers' self-concept can be described in terms of the tension between the constructivist and the instructive perspective on teaching and learning. The student teachers try to reconcile these perspectives, creating contradictions. Imagining teaching as transferring knowledge and attitudes from teachers to learners is hardly combinable with the idea of an autonomous and self-determined learner.

The second aspect refers to multilingualism. The study has also shown that although the main topic of the students' text is language/s, they often refer to monoglossic experiences. When reflecting on transfer processes, they refer to a monoglossic or even monolingual (French!) repertoire of past and present experiences. From this we can infer a certain difficulty in coping with multilingual and heteroglossic realities in present Austrian classrooms (Vetter, 2012, 2013).

Following Gabryś-Barker, the self-concept is fundamental to understanding the tensions and conflicts that teachers experience at the initial stage of professionalization (Gabryś-Barker, 2012, p. 32ff.). This study of beginners allows us to conclude that the student teachers' tensions result from quite contradictory pedagogic approaches, which they attempt to combine, and that the multilingual reality present in Austrian schools today is not represented in the teachers' attitudes.

3 The Practicum—Highly Desired and Positively Evaluated

After the stop at the very beginning of student teachers' professional development at university, I suggest we consider a later stage of their professional development, notably professionalization during the practicum. This period has been intensively

researched by Gabryś-Barker (2006), too. Her plea for action research is highly appreciated. Unfortunately, the present Viennese curriculum for student teachers does not yet provide for an extensive practicum to be accompanied by action research. The future, not yet implemented MA curriculum will allow for such opportunities. In my present contribution I do not, however, draw on one of the institutionalized teaching experiences required during university studies; instead, I analyze the students' experiences during a practicum undertaken in a pedagogical course focusing on the linguistic heterogeneity of pupils (Vetter, 2014). The student teachers taking this course are at various stages of study and study various subjects. In Austria, teachers generally teach—and therefore study—two subjects and students enrolled in the course (2015/2016) comprised future teachers of mathematics, physics, Latin, German as well as other subjects. The course discusses theoretical and methodological issues such as concepts of culture, language and identity, hetero- and monoglossia, language policy as well as language-sensitive teaching.

The theoretical discussion maintained constant dialogue with the students' practice in a school attended only by children (10–14 years) who use German as a Second Language, Turkish being the first language for most of them, and in a Learning Club at university that was opened in autumn 2015 in response to the massive refugee migration of 2015. It goes without saying that these settings are highly specific. Although linguistic diversity is impressively high in Viennese schools (Vetter, 2015), it rarely reaches 100 %. Although all teachers are likely to encounter refugees in the classroom, they will rarely teach children with refugee background between 9 and 20 years, which was the case at the Learning Club at university.

The small-scale study I present here is based on the following assumption presented by Gabryś-Barker (2012, p. 73): "It can be safely assumed that the development of reflectivity in the teaching context of pre-service teachers is not only theory-based through the courses trainees attend, but mostly it means experiential learning at school where their practicum occurs". It must be stressed that the focus of the course presented here was to position and develop teaching practice for linguistically super-diverse classrooms. Despite this rather specific focus of the course design, the practicum can be assumed to impact the overall professional development of the trainees. To accommodate the specific setting of the course, I adapted the questionnaire used by Gabryś-Barker (2012, p. 64; adapted from Bullough, Draper, Smith & Birrell, 2004). The 19 student teachers were asked the following questions:

1. In how far are you pleased with what you have accomplished thus far as a teacher?
2. Do you have any disappointments? Please elaborate.
3. Have you had any pleasant surprises? Please elaborate.
4. Has your resolve to become a teacher strengthened or weakened? Why?
5. Evaluate your period at school/in the Learning Club in terms of its usefulness for you as a future teacher.

As in Gabryś-Barker's study and following the students' generally high desire for practical experience (Schrittesser, 2014), the trainees "perceived their practicum in a positive light" (Gabryś-Barker, 2012, p. 67). Two students were not that clear

about their practicum, one of them because the teaching part of the practicum had not yet taken place at the time of the questionnaire survey and the other because she experienced the preparation of the lesson as a time-consuming and lonely activity. Nine trainees reported disappointing experiences, while all of them mentioned positive experiences during their practicum. All but one student viewed their practicum as a period that had strengthened their desire to become a teacher. All but one (the student who had not begun the teaching component) felt it was a useful experience.

These results are not at all surprising and correspond to previous research (e.g. Hascher, Cocard, & Moser, 2004). It may be worth noting that the experience reported here is perceived as particularly positive, even more so than the experience analyzed in Gabryś-Barker (2012), although (or even because?) it was considerably less intensive and shorter. On average, the trainees spent 15 h at school or in the Learning Club and taught no more than one lesson at a time. The positive attitude towards the practicum might therefore also indicate a certain lack of awareness of the complexity of teaching, which is supposed to develop later (Gabryś-Barker, 2007). Nevertheless, it is worth looking at what kind of positive and negative experiences student teachers report and if these can be interpreted against the background of my analysis of the students' explications of their career choice. Whereas the disappointing experiences were rather varied (e.g., "One moment, I had the impression that the children were overburdened" or "when I heard that my performance was too authoritarian"), the positive experiences can be easily classified in one of two groups. They related either to the learners' performance or to the attitudinal factors influencing the teacher-learner relationship: "At the end of my lesson on acoustic, X has correctly understood that frequency changes!" is a positive experience relating to the progress made by one particular pupil. It depends on what, in the words of the student beginners, one could call the successful transfer of knowledge. The great majority of the positive experiences, however, relate to the positive evaluation of the pupils' attitudes such as attentiveness, participation etc. To give a concrete example, the positive experience reports (as "Surprised each and every time, how great kids and teenagers are, when you work with them in a 'right' and 'professional' way, when you listen to them etc.") refer to self-efficacy without, however, taking the full complexity of teaching into account. There appears to be a nearly deterministic relationship between teacher behaviour and learners' attitudes, which is only one, albeit important part of teaching and learning. In light of existing models of teacher professionalization, this is not surprising (e.g., Mok, 2005, pp. 63–65). At the beginning of their teaching experience, student teachers are generally supposed to be highly concerned with "student discipline and relationship with students".

How might such statements be affected if the students had experienced a longer and more intensive practicum? What could we learn if they had documented their experiences in a diary such as the one used by Gabryś-Barker? It can be assumed that a quite nuanced and more reflective statement combining theoretical issues with concrete teaching experience would have developed.

4 The Power of Acting as a Teacher—Biographical Snapshots

In my teaching, I also give post-graduate courses on multilingualism. These are attended by adults from different backgrounds who wish to learn more about multilingualism or need more knowledge on issues relating to multilingualism for their professional development. All of them have a close relationship to educational settings, and many of them work as teachers in schools with pupils bringing a range of languages to the classroom. At the beginning of my course on multilingualism, I invite these students to write down a critical incident in which multilingualism became an issue. Their stories commonly refer to critical incidents that occur in a range of settings, some of which relate to education and school. The texts they produce are about unpredictable events that are "emotionally loaded, offering challenges and conditioning reflection at different stages" (Gabryś-Barker, 2012, p. 122). They differ, however, substantially from the critical incidents discussed in Gabryś-Barker (2012, pp. 119–139), since they do not refer to the teachers' awareness of their own activities in class, but of incidents they observed. These are biographical incidents, because they refer to experiences that are considered as important for the lives of those who report them. I would like to share two of these stories that refer to the crucial effect of teachers, translated here from their original German.

Story A

I can remember an eight-year-old boy I had worked with. He came from a Turkish family and went to a primary school in the 10th district [of Vienna]. His sister had contacted me and asked me for help, since her brother had considerable difficulties at school and at times did not even want to speak at all.

At the beginning, it turned out that working with him was quite challenging—he was very reserved and getting through to him was not easy. After some time, however, he opened up and I understood what was behind his problem.

Since the boy had scarcely spoken any German until the beginning of term (his parents only speak Turkish), he had to get accustomed to making use of the "new" language at school. Unfortunately, he had a teacher who was not quite sensitive to such stages of development and did not seem to have any patience. If the boy was not able to understand and answer a particular question immediately, she often called him "stupid child" in front of the entire class. Having had this experience several times already, he decided for himself not to speak anymore at all.

Regrettably, I do not know how things went from there. After some weeks together, I had asked his parents to let me talk to the teacher in question, yet it seemed that they did not want this to happen, since they have never contacted me since.

Story B

During the primary school enrolment phase I have looked at a number of primary schools with my son [in a town in Germany]. X [name of the son] had to present himself several times in front of a kind of committee and tell them a few words about himself. He then often mentioned that he spoke two languages. The teachers who observed him would then take notes of what my son had just said. By chance I found out that they wrote down on one of the forms under the heading "restrictions" the following three remarks: left-hander,

wearing glasses, multilingual. When we were leaving, the teachers reminded my son that he should speak GERMAN, even with his Italian father. I myself was informed about "errors" in my spoken German with the request to speak correct German with Francesco and to avoid lapsing into Austrian dialect.

I was not really aware that what happened could still happen in 2013. For a short time, my son then also stopped to speak Italian with his father, since "the teacher" had prohibited him from doing so.

These are two randomly selected stories. Maybe they give voice to indignation, a plea for better teacher education or other reactions. Moreover, they indicate a relationship between academic educational and linguistic knowledge and practice: the notions of "developmental stages in language acquisition" and "language is not a handicap" express the academic knowledge activated by the narrators, who were themselves also actors in the story. Against the background of this knowledge, the narrators express a critical attitude towards the teachers' practice. The contradiction between knowledge and practice becomes explicit in story A, when the teacher's lack of sensitivity and patience is mentioned, and in story B in the comment on what "could still happen in 2013". Both stories end at that point and we never learn if a transfer from the critical incident to a critical event (according to Gabrys-Barker, 2012) has taken place or not. The way the stories end seems to suggest that the narrators were left feeling rather helpless, without a cue to successfully combining academic knowledge and lived practice.

5 Conclusion

Starting out from a quite personal statement on self-reflectivity and after presenting rather arbitrarily collected data from three different stages within the process of teacher professionalization, I would like to discuss the data presented here against the background of Gabryś-Barker's research in this domain. At the initial stage of their study, student teachers already have quite definitive ideas about their future profession. These ideas relate to a transfer of knowledge and attitudes as well as a high responsibility for the learners' success. At the same time, career choice is an emotionally loaded enterprise and the language teachers observed here manifest an intense emotional relationship to the subject they are going to teach. For many of the informants in the present study, this relationship is monoglossic and bound to French. Classrooms naturally change and both, the idea of transfer as well as monoglossic attitudes, are likely to create tensions, if teachers do not further develop these ideas and remain open to such naturally occurring change. The first practicum brings student teachers back to the classroom and it has been confirmed that this is very positively evaluated by them and strengthens their professional choice. At the same time, it has also shown that the short period of the practicum analyzed here might have had positive effects on their self-concept. It remains, however, an open question if openness to change and critical reflection on one's own practice have efficiently been enhanced, since the trainees were primarily concerned with their relationship to the learners. Critical incidents referring to the power of acting as a teacher, the third step presented here, present opportunities for

reflection. The present data have shown that the identification of critical incidents must be recognized as only a first step.

There is, of course, no simple solution for academic teacher education. Indeed, the solution suggested in *Reflectivity in pre-service teacher education* is not simple at all, although promising. Self-reflectivity as presented here draws on the autonomy and individuality of teachers through encouraging their ability to analyze and interpret practice on the basis of academic knowledge. From a methodological perspective, action research is presented as an adequate frame for longitudinal professional development integrating critical incidents and diaries. There remains a final aspect to be mentioned. In her conclusion, Gabryś-Barker (2012, p. 262) reminds us of the power of cooperation between novices, experienced teachers, trainers and researchers. Keeping this in mind, communities of practice may develop into settings where reflection takes place in a quite holistic sense, involving not only students, but the other actors as well. For student teachers, the impact of reflectivity is likely to be of utmost importance:

Reflectivity is required in all areas of our life, professional and personal. It is my deeply-held belief that teachers who think of themselves as continuously developing learners become more successful and in the long run can avoid the well-known 'burn-out' stage in their career. This is particularly so if they 'catch the bug' early enough and get involved in their own classroom-based research, that is, action research (AR) conducted for their own purposes (Gabryś-Barker, 2011a, 2011b p. 9).

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