

Perspective taking

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パースペクティブ・テイキング

In this talk I discuss perspective taking, the ability to see the world through someone else's eyes. This can happen if people actually experience something that another person or group has experienced, or if they imagine themselves in the shoes of another. In my talk, I refer to both types of perspective taking. In particular, I discuss the following: 1) what it might be like to be a student in our own classrooms; 2) what insights we can glean from our own language learning experiences; 3) what it might be like to be a reader of our own writing; and 4) what it is like to do scholarly reading and writing in an L2. Reflecting on our teaching, learning, and professional writing from diverse perspectives can help us expand how we understand our students and our work as second language educators.

本講演では、パースペクティブ・テイキング、すなわち他人の眼で世界を見る能力について論じる。これが行われるのは、人が他人や集団が経験したことを実際に経験する場合や、他人の身になって想像する場合である。本講演では両方の種類のパースペクティブ・テイキングについて言及し、特に以下の点について論じる。(1) 自分自身のクラスの生徒になってみるというのとはどのようなものなのか、(2) 自分自身の言語学習経験からどのような洞察を得ることができるのか、(3) 自分自身が書いたものの読者になってみるというのとはどのようなものなのか、(4) 第2言語で学術的な読み書きをするというのとはどのようなものなのか。教授法、学習および職業的執筆について様々な視点から内省することによって、生徒を理解したり、第2言語教育者としての自分の仕事を理解したりする幅を広げることが可能となる。

Keywords: perspective taking; reflection; narrative; teacher as language learner; writer as reader; writing in L2 パースペクティブ・テイキング 反省 叙述 言語学習者としての教師 読者としての執筆 第2言語での執筆

PERSPECTIVE taking refers to the ability to see the world through someone else's eyes.

This can happen if people are given an opportunity to experience something that another person or group has experienced, or if they are asked to imagine such experiences. I refer to both types of perspective taking and explore how looking at our teaching, learning, and professional writing from various perspectives can help us understand our work as second language educators in more insightful ways.

Many studies of perspective taking come out of the experimental psychology literature that studies stereotyping, discrimination, conflict, and autism.

In this work, researchers design experiments that seek to reveal how different types of perspective taking influence people's attitudes toward minorities, cultural groups, or relationships in their lives. In some organizational literature, the concept of perspective taking has been used to study how communication within organizations can be improved (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995). Education scholars have used the concept of perspective taking in controversy-resolution tasks to argue that it can contribute to learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, 1990). Moreover, activities such as collaborative learning, role-play, and audience awareness exercises in writing instruction can be considered a type of perspective taking.

In second language education, we do not do a lot of conscious perspective taking. We rarely look closely at our own lives as language teachers, let alone at students' lives, or wonder what it is like to be in the shoes of another. My interest in this talk primarily involves asking how teachers and scholars in second language education might expand our understanding of our work by doing conscious perspective taking. For instance, many of us don't stop to consider what it might be like to be a student in our own classrooms. Nor have many of us begun learning a new language for years, and when we do, we rarely ask how our own learning experiences might help us understand our students better. Further, many L1 writers of English have never read or written academic papers, or even done journal writing, in an L2. These are things our students do all the time.

Expecting busy teachers to do these kinds of perspective taking might be a lot to ask. Our lives are packed, and filled with routines with which we have become familiar. However, we do not see what is familiar or what we take for granted. Perspective



taking, particularly by means of narrative, is one way of de-familiarizing what we know, and hence bringing it to conscious attention and providing us with new insights and understandings (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995). It is worth a small investment of time. The kind of reflection that perspective taking requires can help us see our students in more complex and understanding ways, see ourselves as they might see us, and see ourselves through other lenses as teachers, readers, writers, and language learners. All of these benefits will contribute to the depth and complexity of our knowledge of language teaching, learning, and scholarship. Let me now turn to some specific questions.

There are many ways to imagine ourselves as students in our own classes

My colleague Miguel Sosa and I have found it difficult to do this kind of perspective taking with ourselves and other teachers, because it requires us to look closely at our own teaching practices without getting defensive or assuming we know all the answers (Casanave & Sosa, 2007).

First, class activities: How would you feel doing the activities you have done with your own students? Do you mainly lecture? Do skits and role-plays? Textbook activities? In-class worksheets? Computer and Internet work? Do you give a lot of tests and quizzes or few or none? If you ask students to work in pairs or small groups, how would you respond to this kind of activity? Do you yourself prefer talking or listening in an L2 class?

Second, assignments: Do you give assignments that you yourself could realistically (and would willingly) do in your L2? For instance, do you assign daily activities or long-term projects in your classes? Do you require a lot of web-based work? How would you react to your own computer-based approach to teaching? Do you ask students to give presentations? Could you do this in your L2 and do you think you would find it helpful? How much homework, particularly writing, do you give that must be completed outside class? How would you react to your own homework assignments? What kinds of feedback do you give on assignments, and what kinds of feedback would you want on written work in your L2?

Third, language(s) used in class: Consider what language(s) you use with your students, and imagine yourself being an L2 student in your own class. What language(s) would you expect to be used? How would you react to a class conducted 100% in your L2? 100% in your L1, but for reading, writing, and presentations? Do you have a strict language policy in your classes, such as L2 only?

Fourth, student-teacher relationships and interaction: If you were a student in your own class, how would you expect your teacher to relate to you? What kind of presence do you have in your classes? Do you usually interact with students from the front of the class or from other locations? Would you want a teacher who is distanced, authoritative, and armed with a detailed syllabus and materials, or one who interacts more informally and personally with students without so much concern for coverage? How would you feel being a student in classes like these?

Language teachers benefit from being life long language learners

This includes periodically studying languages in which we are not already proficient as a way to experience what our students may be going through. We learn something about language teachers as language learners from the classic diary studies of the past (e.g., Bailey, 1980; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Schumann, 1980) and more recently from McCaughey's (2008) tale of his experiences as a learner of Russian and my own longitudinal diary study of my years of dabbling in Japanese (Casanave, n.d.). These studies demonstrate that we react strongly to local language learning situations—that our motivation and efforts depend greatly on how well a teacher and specific learning conditions suit our personalities and needs.

Here are some questions that once applied to ourselves can also be asked of our students: As a language learner, what are my goals? Do I function best in a formal classroom or in self-study? Why? What motivates me to keep up even a minimal effort? What aspects of an L2 do I find myself interested in learning, and what strategies of learning suit my personality and life style? What factors seem to discourage me and make me want to give up? How do I respond to L2 tasks that are too easy, and therefore boring? How do I react to tasks that are too difficult? What parallels to my L2 learning experiences can I make with my own students' experiences?

A third kind of perspective taking applies to us as professional second language educators and concerns our experiences writing and publishing. I mention only two aspects of this kind of perspective taking. First, I ask whether we ever imagine what it is like to be a reader of our own published writing. Would our writing keep us, as readers, willingly turning pages (see Richardson, in Richardson and St. Pierre, 2005), or would it leave us uninspired? This question also asks about the reasons why we write for publication. If we are committed to seeing our own writing from the perspective of a reader

who we hope will willingly turn pages, this suggests we have something we really wish to communicate. If we are less concerned about our potential readers, this indicates that our desire to publish our writing stems from other concerns, such as building a CV or having something to submit for job applications. In such cases, we need only to please the gatekeepers for our writing such as editors and reviewers. In both cases, it behooves us as writers to consider seriously the perspectives of readers. However, in only the first case do we seek willing page-turners from a broader audience.

Second, I ask L1 English speakers in particular to consider what it is like to read and write in an L2 for the purposes of graduate work and of scholarly publication. Throughout the world, L2 speakers of English are increasingly pressured to do this, not just to advance their careers but sometimes even to graduate from a doctoral program. As a reader of many graduate student theses and as an editorial board member of several journals, I regularly receive work by L2 speakers of English that needs a lot of attention to language issues. If I work too quickly, it is easy to let the language problems get in the way of my assessment of an author's scholarship and to overlook what it is like for someone to read and write scholarly works in an L2. At those moments, I remind myself that I have never written a scholarly publication in my strong L2 (Spanish), and have trouble imagining myself doing this competently. In other words, I am not sure if I could do what my own graduate students or L2 colleagues do on a regular basis. Wondering about this helps me see the reading and writing of L2 scholars with renewed admiration. (See Casanave, 2008 and Flowerdew, 2008 for different perspectives on the topic of discrimination against L2 scholarly writers).

Let me conclude by proclaiming the pleasures and benefits of the two kinds of perspective taking I discussed here: Perspective taking that engages us in the actual experiences of another, and perspective taking that we access by means of thought experiments. How might our attitudes toward language learning and teaching and toward scholarly reading and writing change if we were to regularly step outside ourselves and do these kinds of perspective taking? Insights and growth await us if we are language teachers who can envision becoming students in our own classes; language teachers who experience and monitor our own L2 learning; writers who can envision being readers of our own writing; and L1 writers who make an effort to become readers and writers in an L2.

Acknowledgments

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Christine Pearson Casanave lived and worked in Japan for over 15 years, most of them at Keio University's Shonan Fujisawa Campus, and also as adjunct at Teachers College Columbia University and visiting professor and adjunct at Temple University Japan. She has a special fondness for writing (reflective and essay writing, academic writing, writing for publication), for professional development of language teachers, and for narrative, case study, and qualitative inquiry. One of her long-term goals

is to help expand the accepted styles of writing in the TESOL field, and another is to argue for more humanistic, less technology-driven second language education.

Christine Pearson Casanaveは15年以上日本に在住・勤務しており、そのほとんどの期間慶應義塾大学湘南藤沢キャンパスに勤めている。また、Columbia University Teachers Collegeの助手およびTemple Universityの客員教授・助手でもある。語学教師の職業的育成のための執筆や、叙述、事例研究および定性的質問についての執筆(反省的・エッセイ作品、学術作品、出版向けの作品)に特に意欲的である。長期的目標は、TESOLの分野での執筆における許容可能な文体の拡大に貢献することや、より人間的で、技術論にとらわれない第2言語教育を推し進めることなどである。

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JALT2009 • PLENARY SPEAKER

The dialectics of instructed second language development

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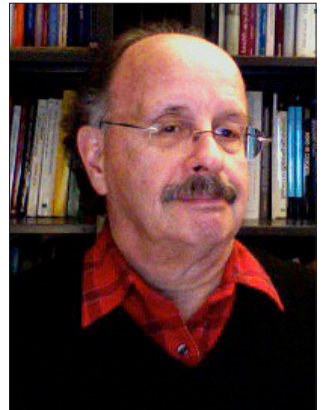
教授される第2言語の発達の弁証法

This presentation emerges from an on-going project on the implications of dialectics in Vygotsky's theory of consciousness for instructed second language development. Although most L2 research informed by sociocultural theory asserts that mediation through social interaction and cultural artifacts forms the foundational concept of the theory, I will argue that the real key to the theory is found in the notion of praxis—a notion that Vygotsky appropriated from Marx. The crucial feature of praxis in its contemporary version is the dialectic unity of consciousness (knowledge/theory) and action that gives rise to new forms of understanding and behaving. In making the case for praxis and language education, I will explain dialectics (i.e., the unity or fusion of opposites) with specific examples and will then discuss evidence from several studies that sustain the effectiveness of a praxis-based pedagogy for promoting language development.

本講演は、教授される第2言語の発達のためのヴィゴツキーの意識理論における弁証法の含意するところに関して現在行われているプロジェクトに由来するものである。社会文化理論に立脚した第2言語の研究のほとんどにおいては、社会的相互作用および文化的産物による仲介が同理論の基本概念を形成するとの主張がなされているのに対し、講演者は、同理論への本当の鍵はプラクシスの概念——ヴィゴツキーがマルクスから借用した概念——にあると主張する。現代版プラクシスにおける重要な特徴は、意識(知識・理論)と行動の弁証法的統一性であり、これにより認識と言動の新たな形態がもたらされる。プラクシスおよび言語教育を推進するにあ

たり、具体的な例を用いて弁証法(対立する事象の統一または融合)を説明し、次に言語発達の促進におけるプラクシスに基づいた教授法の効果を立証するいくつかの研究における証拠について論じる。

Keywords: dialectics, praxis, scientific and spontaneous concepts, zone of proximal development, second language teaching 弁証法 プラクシス 科学的概念と自発的概念 発達の最近接領域 第2言語教授法



Basic research and pedagogical practice

As important as the Zone of Proximal Development is for educational practice, I will not deal with it directly in this article. Instead, I will focus on the second, and perhaps less well known but no less crucial, feature of Vygotsky's conceptualization of developmental instruction (Davydov, 2004). This is the argument that the unit of artificial development in educational activity is scientifically organized conceptual knowledge. Before turning to this topic,



let me address another issue that differentiates Vygotsky from mainstream SLA—the connection between research and classroom practice.

I would like to make the same argument with regard to SLA that Vygotsky made for general psychology: SLA theory/research and pedagogical practice can and must be brought together into a dialectically unified theory. Indeed, from this perspective pedagogical practice *is* the relevant research that is not only informed by, but also informs, the theory. In other words, if the theory is not closely connected to pedagogical practice it is a problematic theory.

Scientific and spontaneous concepts: Schooling and praxis

Before children come to school, their language is largely automatic behavior and is not very visible to them. It is mostly what Vygotsky called spontaneous knowledge. When they enter school and encounter literacy, the language becomes visible and their awareness and control over it increases as they develop the capacity to produce and read written texts, the primary medium of educational activity. In other words, they develop scientific knowledge of language.

Vygotsky (1987, p. 218) argued that scientific (explicit, conscious, articulated) and spontaneous (folk, empirical, unconscious) knowledge each had its strengths and its weaknesses.

While several second language researchers acknowledge a role for explicit (i.e., conscious) knowledge in L2 instruction (e.g., Ellis, 2006) to my knowledge, only one (DeKeyser, 1998) has raised concerns about the quality of this knowledge and its impact on L2 instruction. But the quality of knowledge is a crucial matter. Hammerly (1982, p. 421), for example, supports rule-of-thumb knowledge, which he describes as “simple, non-technical, close to popular/traditional notions,” and recommends that grammar explanations be “short and to the point” because if they are complex and extensive “it is too much for the students to absorb” (p. 421). The problem with this approach is that rules-of-thumb are not always complete, coherent, or accurate. They generally describe what is typical in a specific context rather than an abstract principle that promotes a deep understanding of the concept.

The strength of spontaneous knowledge is that it is saturated with personal experience and its use is spontaneous, or automatic. Its weakness consists in the fact that it is tied to concrete empirical situations and is not sufficiently abstract to be flexible enough to be easily extended to a wide array of circumstan-

es. Its automatic quality, which is part of its strength, is therefore at the same time a weakness.

Because spontaneous knowledge is not easily accessible to conscious inspection, we have less intentional control over it to make it serve our needs. By the same token, the strength of scientific knowledge resides in its visibility and rigor, which imparts greater flexibility and control to the individual. However, its weakness is that it does indeed lack rich personal experience and it also requires a fair amount of time to gain the necessary automatic control (i.e., proceduralization) over it. Thus, for scientific knowledge to be of value it must be connected to practical activity—the domain where spontaneous knowledge dominates. Otherwise, the result is what Vygotsky, among others, describes as “verbalism,” or knowledge “detached from reality” (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 217). And as Ilyenkov (1974) notes, verbalism is “that chronic disease of school education.” This is what praxis overcomes: the connection between conceptual knowledge and practical activity.

I am arguing that scientific knowledge of the L2 is an essential, but too often overlooked, component of language instructional programs. Keeping in mind the principle of praxis, this is not an argument against communicative language teaching. On the contrary—communicative activity must continue to play a central role in language pedagogy, but it must be guided and shaped by the appropriate conceptual knowledge.

Praxis in a language classroom

Designing a pedagogy that comprises Vygotsky’s theory of praxis, Gal’perin (Gal’perin, 1967 and 1979; Talyzina, 1981) proposed a multiple phase procedure which begins with presentation of the concept and terminates with its automatization (i.e., internalization) in practice. These phases are bridged by two additional procedures: materialization and verbalization.

Materialization requires the conversion of the verbal representation of the concept into an imagistic depiction (see Figure 1). The assumption is that a concrete image is more coherent and more easily comprehended, and thus serves as a more flexible guide of activity, than does a verbal definition. Gal’perin uses the acronym SCOPA (Schema for Orienting Basis of Action) to capture the process of materialization.

In this section of the paper, I will discuss a sixteen-week university course in Spanish as a foreign language designed and taught by Yáñez Prieto (2008). The course focused on the dialectical relationship between everyday spoken language

and highly artistic literary language. It attempted to improve students' proficiency by providing them with scientific concepts and engaging in intense experiences with spoken and written language (including reading and writing). In other words, it gave them opportunities to tie the L2 to both scientific and spontaneous knowledge.

Let's focus on one feature of the course which exemplifies the theory of education that I have been discussing. To provide students with systematic understanding of the concept of verbal aspect, Yáñez Prieto designed the SCOPA in Figure 1.

The SCOPA in Figure 1 illustrates quite clearly the importance of speaker perspective on an event or state when deciding which aspect to use. Thus, in the case of preterit (perfect aspect), a speaker can focus on the beginning or end of an event, regardless of the status of that event or state in real time. By contrast, if a speaker wishes to focus on the mid-point of an event or state, the choice of aspect would be the imperfect.

Yáñez Prieto linked the concept to practice through the reading, analysis, and discussion (oral and written) of Spanish literary texts. The cata-

lyst through which the students experienced the full impact of aspect in making meaning was Julio Cortázar's short story *Continuidad de los parques*. In the story, the author plays with aspect in ways that obviously contradict rule-of-thumb pedagogy. For example, instead of using preterit to indicate that a character in the story entered a room or arrived on the scene, Cortázar casts these actions in the imperfect: "Primero *entraba* la mujer, recelosa; ahora *llegaba* el amante, lastimada la cara por el chicotazo de una rama" (Yáñez Prieto, 2008). [First, the woman was *entering*, suspicious; now her lover was *arriving*, suffering from a facial injury caused by a swinging branch.]

The instructor then contrasted the story with a scene from a Spanish-language soap-opera which used aspect shifts in a very different way. This contrast raised the learners' awareness of "free direct speech" as represented in the soap-opera versus "free indirect speech" as represented in the stream of consciousness depicted in Cortázar's story. The

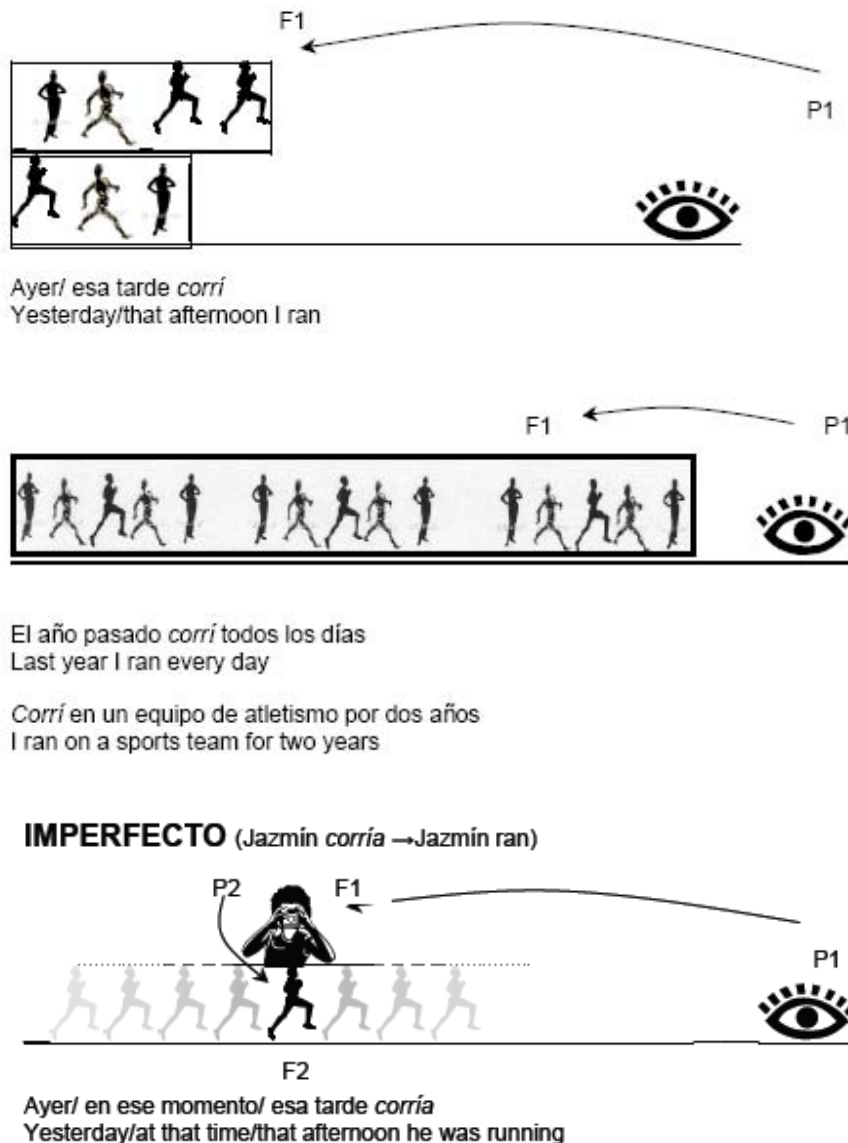


Figure 1. SCOPA for aspect in Spanish (Yáñez Prieto, 2008)

goal was, in presenting the difference between the story and the soap-opera, to create cognitive dissonance for the students that could be used to promote development. The students were then provided with activities where they had to transition between free direct and free indirect speech and explain the shifts in meanings that occurred in each case.

Initial reactions from students bore this out. For example, this student's initial encounter with the SCOPA created cognitive dissonance between her rule-of-thumb knowledge and the coherent concept of aspect depicted in the SCOPA. In a one-on-one interview, one student remarked:

This week we learned about aspect and perspective. I feel that I am starting to understand that there are many more uses for the preterit and imperfect than those introduced in textbooks. *It is confusing however to grasp the idea that the preterit can be used to describe something in the past, when we have been taught the "rules" that the imperfect is used for description in the past.* (Yáñez Prieto, 2008) [Italics in original]

As Yáñez Prieto points out, the comment does not yet reflect a reorientation toward a conceptual approach to aspect; instead, it indicates an attempt to expand the original rule of thumb to include preterit as an option for description in the past.

With further discussion and analysis of Cortázar's story, the students gradually began to gain in confidence in their use of aspect. One student produced a narrative describing the night her parents announced to the family that their mother had become seriously ill. When verbalizing her reasons for use of aspect, the student explained:

"Although a lot of my paper could have been written in either imperfect or preterit, I tried to use each tense strategically to convey different meanings. For example, when I was talking about the moments when we were in the dining room in silence, I used imperfect to depict everything as if the reader was there in the middle of the action, seeing everything as it was happening" (Yáñez Prieto 2008) [italics in original].

Later the student went to her mother's room to talk with her about the sad announcement regarding her illness. She shifted from imperfect to preterit aspect. When verbalizing her explanation for the shift to preterit, the student asserted, *"I used preterit for all the verbs. This time I wanted to show each action as a complete act"* (Yáñez Prieto, 2008) [italics in original].

According to Yáñez Prieto, the student's aspectual choices violate the traditional rule-of-thumb explanation. For instance, her use of imperfect to describe completed actions on the powerfully emotional evening related in her story runs squarely counter to what the rule-of-thumb states: "preterit recounts completed actions in the past." The student's intent was to emphasize how that particular evening was radically different from all other evenings for the family and "how the piece of news [on her mother's health] forever altered the family routine" (Yáñez Prieto, 2008). The student went on to say that her intent in using the imperfect was to "talk about the *middle of the moment* and, like... like, *let the reader see-up close*" (Yáñez Prieto, 2008) [italics in original].

Conclusion

The argument I've been making is that learning a second language under properly organized instructional conditions is a different process from learning it under other circumstances. The key expression here is "properly organized." According to SCT theory, this means making the dialectical link between scientific knowledge and practical activity, as called for in praxis, the guiding principle of instruction. We cannot merely leave learners to their own devices as they struggle to figure out the workings of a new language in the educational setting and reduce instruction to setting tasks or stimulating communicative interaction.

Educational praxis, not as the application of the findings of basic research and theorizing, but as a theory in its own right, has the imperative of overcoming the limitations of everyday spontaneous development, where the object of learning is usually not fully visible.

The importance of Vygotsky's integration of praxis into his theory of mind cannot be overemphasized. It is at the heart of the theory's dialectical orientation to mental development. As Roth (2008) points out, the dialectical aspect of the theory has not been taken up in Western scholarship. The other concepts of the theory, including mediation, the ZPD, regulation, internalization, private speech, and the genetic method, lose something of their significance if praxis and the dialectic nature of the theory are not kept on center stage.

Note: This paper has been excerpted from a longer version.

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It's easy to get caught up in the excitement and energy of the day, and completely forget about what your body needs. However, if you don't eat and drink, by the end of the day you'll feel like a zombie! Carry snacks with you to munch between sessions, eat at non-peak times to avoid rush hours in the restaurants or grab something for lunch on the way to the site, and act interested at the publishers' stands on the offchance you'll get an invite to a party at night. Hydrate regularly—all that talk will dry you out!



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Globalization and English language teaching: Opportunities and challenges in Japan

Aya Matsuda
Arizona State University

グローバル化と英語教授法—日本におけるチャンスと課題

The global spread of English and its extensive use as an international language has made English a popular foreign language option across the world. The national curriculum in Japan, for instance, specifies that English be taught as the required foreign language in middle schools because it is an international language. English is also the de facto foreign language offering in senior high schools and continues to play important roles in college and beyond. However, the linguistic, cultural, and functional diversity of English today complicates ELT practice by challenging some of its most basic assumptions. In my talk, I first present the current sociolinguistic landscape of the English language and illustrate how “traditional” ELT that focuses exclusively on US/UK English and culture is not adequate in preparing effective users of English as an International Language. Specific changes that can be incorporated into a traditional English curriculum are also suggested.

英語は地球規模で広まっており、国際語として広範に使用されているため、世界中で一般的な外国語の選択肢となっている。たとえば日本の学習指導要領では、英語は国際語なので中学校における必須外国語として教えなければならないと定められている。また英語は高等学校における事実上の外国語科目であり、大学以上の教育でも重要な位置を占めている。しかし、今日の英語の言語学的、文化的および機能的多様性から、ELTの実践は、その最も基本的な前提のいくつかが揺らいているため困難になっている。本講演では、まず英語の現在の社会言語学的状況を提示し、それから米英の英語と文化にのみ焦点を当てた「伝統的」ELTが、国際語としての英語の有能な話者の育成に不適切であることを明らかにする。また、伝統的な英語カリキュラムに組み込むことのできる具体的な改革案も提案する。

Keywords: English as an international language, World Englishes, globalization 国際語としての英語 世界英語 グローバル化

THE global spread of English and its extensive use as an international language have made English a popular foreign language option across the world. In Japan, it is a required subject in middle schools, and continues to play an important role in high school and university curriculums, including college entrance exams. Demand continues for corporate English classes and English conversation schools. In many settings, a primary instructional goal is to prepare learners for the use

of English in international contexts.

One characteristic of today’s English is its linguistic and functional diversity. The diversity existed for a long time, even before English established itself as an international language. For instance, in the US, different varieties of English existed because settlers came from different parts of England—which reminds us that distinct varieties of British English already existed back then.

It is, however, relatively recently that such linguistic variations have been recognized, especially in the context of English language teaching (ELT). And this new awareness requires us to stop and reflect whether the current presentation of the English language, its speakers, and cultures in our classrooms accurately reflects the reality of English today.

In recent years, scholars (e.g., Matsuda, 2006; McKay, 2002) have suggested how ELT practices need to be re-envisioned, especially in contexts where students are learning English as an international language (EIL)—i.e., to communicate with people from different national, language, and cultural backgrounds. The ideal approach would be to create a program, every aspect of which is informed by current sociolinguistic understanding of the language and where all teachers understand the diverse nature of English varieties, functions, and users. In reality, very few of us are in such a luxurious position to create or completely revise a language program. Many programs are required to follow national and/or institutional requirements and cannot be restructured easily. Those who teach a multi-section course with colleagues may



be required to follow a set curriculum. And even in a flexible curriculum, integrating the complex reality of English today may be a challenge if our colleagues do not agree with the assumptions and implications of such a perspective.

It would be unfortunate, however, to resort to our old way of teaching English simply because changes are difficult to implement. One thing we do as teachers is personalize lessons within various constraints in order to better meet our students' needs and to draw on our individual strengths. The same can be done to "internationalize" our classroom if we bring the same passion and creativity that we bring to other aspects of teaching.

In this paper, I will discuss how traditional ways of ELT may be inadequate in preparing future users of EIL, and present pedagogical ideas that can be considered at the classroom and program level.

Multiple varieties of English

The recognition of multiple varieties of English poses a challenge in English classrooms in Japan, where one inner circle model—usually American or British—is typically presented as the sole instructional model. Since we do not know which varieties of English our students will encounter in the future, selecting an instructional model is no longer a simple task. Even when one variety is selected as the dominant instructional model—as is the case in many programs—we must ensure that students understand that the variety they are learning is one of many and may differ from what their future interlocutors use.

There are two approaches to increasing student awareness of English varieties. One is to expose students to different varieties of English. Rather than relying exclusively on CDs that accompany the textbook, we can supplement with textual and audio samples of other varieties of English. If students are starting a chapter on Aboriginal culture in Australia, why not bring in a short documentary of Aboriginal culture which is narrated in Australian English?

The other approach is to increase their meta-knowledge about English varieties. For example, some textbooks include references to different varieties of English (e.g., a chapter on Singlish in *Crown English Series II* (Shimozaki, et al., 2004)). Reading and discussing the information presented in such materials provides an opportunity to explicitly teach students about Englishes.

Diverse profile of English speakers

The spread of English makes the profile of English speakers more diverse and heterogeneous than

ever. Our students' future interlocutors, especially in international contexts, will come from a wide variety of backgrounds and may not necessarily include Americans, Britons, or whoever they think of as "native" English speakers.

Because speakers and varieties go hand-in-hand, strategies to bring in different varieties of English also introduce students to diverse English users. Likewise, we can increase exposure to English varieties by having students meet English users from various cultural and national backgrounds. For instance, a program administrator may strategically diversify the background of teachers so that all three circles—and multiple countries in each circle—are well represented in the program. Alternatively, if a program is located in an area where international visitors or immigrants are easily found, they can be invited to the class to interact with students. Students will not only be exposed to different English varieties and users, but also witness the power of EIL by using English to interact with guests from different language backgrounds. Meeting local English users is also a way to reflect on the linguistic and cultural diversity in students' own community, which is often overlooked because of an assumption that Japan is a monolingual and monocultural nation.

Cultures in the EIL Classroom

The broadened recognition of English naturally expands the notion of *English-speaking culture*. It is now much broader than the cultures of the inner circle, such as American and British cultures, that typically dominated the cultural discussion in English classrooms in Japan. There are at least three sources of cultural materials for EIL curriculum: *English speaking culture*, *Global culture*, and *Local culture* (Matsuda, 2007). *English-speaking culture* refers to the culture of countries where English is spoken. It is similar to the idea of *target culture* (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; McKay, 2002), except that I expand its scope from inner circle countries to any countries where English is used. *Global culture* refers to beliefs, practices and issues that cut across national boundaries, while *Local culture* refers to the native culture(s) of English learners themselves.

Global culture and English speaking culture with a focus on the inner circle are already represented in many English classrooms. MEXT-approved textbooks often include readings on such global issues as peace, technology, and environment as well as topics from inner circle countries. Educational materials on other English speaking cultures (i.e., outer and expanding circles) are less available, but the Internet makes it possible to search for mate-

rial appropriate for classroom use. For example, an English website for international visitors created by the government of a country can be a good starting point to learn about that country or region. While it is impossible to introduce students to the full range of cultures found within a single nation or region, recognition of how diverse the cultures associated with English are today seems to be vital.

What is equally important for EIL users is the knowledge of students' own culture and the ability to explain it in such a way that outsiders can understand it. The purpose of using English is not to *learn from* English speakers, as we may have believed in the past. Our goal now is to establish equal, mutually-respectful relationships with others, and the ability to perceive and analyze the familiar with an outsider's perspective is essential in establishing and sustaining such relationships. Local culture is not limited to traditional culture, such as "kimono" and "kabuki" in the case of Japan, or knowledge of the formal political system, history, and the constitution. Any beliefs and practices in which students' experience is situated—e.g., school, family, community—also constitutes local culture. For instance, interacting with international visitors and trying to answer their questions call for the knowledge of, and the ability to explain, local culture. Creating an English website of their own school or hometown for international visitors is another possibility. These experiences allow students to critically reflect upon what they take for granted and work on skills to explain it while practicing their English in authentic communicative situations.

Politics of English and responsibilities of EIL users

In addition to the inclusive representation of English varieties, speakers, and cultures, EIL classes must foster sensitivity and responsibility among students. EIL users need to be aware of the politics of English, including such issues as language and power, relationships between English and various indigenous languages, and linguistic divide. I am not necessarily arguing for offering a World Englishes course to 7th graders or asking high school students to read and respond to Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Rather, I am advocating for equipping students with a critical lens that would allow them to use English effectively to meet their own needs while respecting the needs of others.

For instance, students must understand that the variety they learn—or even English itself, for that matter—may not be always considered as the most appropriate choice for international communication. While we as teachers try to find and teach a

variety that is considered appropriate in as many situations as possible, it would be impossible to find a language, let alone a variety, that always works. This is so because the appropriateness of language choice lies in the assumptions and expectations of members of the speech community and not in the language itself. It would be arrogant to think that the language or variety one knows is the choice preferred by all, and EIL users need to approach the issue of language choice sensitively.

Advanced students can read, watch, discuss, and write about issues that are directly related to the politics of English (or language in general). For example, topics related to dialects and language policies in Japan, or the possibility of Japanese becoming an international language, allow students to critically examine the relationship between language, culture, identity, and power, while gaining further understanding of their local culture.

Collaboration with colleagues

One great resource for pedagogical innovations discussed above is colleagues from other subject areas. The English website project, for example, can be integrated into two courses, one in web design and the other in English. Students can learn the technical aspect of the project in the former course while working on the content in the latter. If we want to introduce readings from a country or historical period, we may coordinate with social studies colleagues so that students who are in both courses read about the same country or event in two languages. Such collaboration allows teachers to benefit from each other's expertise and helps students take learning beyond individual classrooms.

Conclusion

The linguistic, functional, and cultural diversity associated with the use of EIL complicates the way we teach English, and requires us to critically examine every aspect of our practice, and every pedagogical decision we make needs to be informed by our understanding of how English is used by whom and for what purpose.

However, as I mentioned earlier, it is not realistic to expect any English program to be completely redesigned overnight. We must start where we can to help our students become effective and responsible users of English who can use the language to empower themselves. The pedagogical ideas presented in this article are not exhaustive or comprehensive, but I hope that they serve as the springboard for further innovations and creativity in many English classrooms in Japan.

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Aya Matsuda is Assistant Professor of Language & Literacy and Applied Linguistics at Arizona State University, where she teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in applied linguistics. Her research interests include the pedagogical implications of the global spread of English, integration of the World Englishes perspective into US education, and the role of Japanese heritage schools for Japanese families in the US. Her work focusing on these issues has appeared in various books and journals including *JALT Journal*, *TESOL Quarterly*, and *World Englishes*. Matsuda is originally from Japan, speaks English and Japanese fluently, and is raising her child bilingually.

Aya MatsudaはArizona State Universityの言語リテラシー・応用言語学の准教授で、応用言語学の学部課程および大学院課程の授業を担当している。研究対象には、英語の全世界的な広まりが及ぼす教育学的影響、米国教育への世界英語の視点の統合、在米日本人家族のための日本人学校の役割などが数えられる。これらの問題に焦点を当てた執筆作品は、様々な書籍や、*JALT Journal*, *TESOL Quarterly*, *World Englishes*などの雑誌に掲載されている。日本の出身で、英語と日本語を流暢に話し、子供を2言語で育てている。

Languaging and second / foreign language learning

Merrill Swain

OISE/University of Toronto

ランゲージングおよび第2言語・外国語の学習

The goal of this talk is that the audience leaves with an understanding of the concept of "languaging" and why it is important for second/foreign language teachers (and learners) to know about.

Languaging is a concept that has emerged from Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of mind. For Vygotsky, language is not just a means of social communication, but a tool of the mind: language mediates our thinking and cognition. Languaging is the use of language to mediate cognitively complex acts of thinking. It is "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain, 2006).

In it, we can see learning in progress. Students who engage in more languaging learn more than those who engage in less languaging. This has been demonstrated over many knowl-

edge domains, including biology, mathematics, and language. In this talk, I will illustrate the power of languaging with excerpts from students who are learning a second or foreign language.

本講演の目的は、「ランゲージング」の概念と、第2言語・外国語の教師（および生徒）がこの概念について知っておくことがなぜ重要なのかを、聴衆に理解してもらうことである。ランゲージングとは、こころに関するヴィゴツキーの社会文化理論に由来する概念である。ヴィゴツキーによれば、言語とは単なる社会的意思疎通手段ではなく、こころのツールである。すなわち、言語は我々の思考と認識を媒介するのである。ランゲージングとは、言語を用いて思考という認知的に複雑な活動を媒介することであり、「言語を通じて意味を形成し、知識と経験を形作るプロセス」(Swain, 2006年)である。ラン



ゲーミングにおいて、我々は学習の進行過程を観察することができる。ランゲーミングを行っている生徒ほど学習効率は高い。これはたとえば生物学、数学および語学といった多くの知的領域で示されている。本講演では、第2言語・外国語を学んでいる生徒からの引用によってランゲーミングの力を明らかにする。

Keywords: languaging, sociocultural theory, second language learning, cognition, mediation ランゲーミング 社会文化理論 第2言語学習 認識 媒介

An Interview with Merrill Swain

Merrill Swain needs little introduction to anyone who works in the field of applied linguistics. Long based at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto in Canada, she has again and again revolutionized the study of second language acquisition through a wide-ranging series of studies and publications, many of them in collaboration with colleagues and graduate students. This preference for collaborative research is not surprising, given her recent interests in the socio-cultural grounding of language learning.

Her seminal work on such fundamental concepts as *communicative competence*, the *output hypothesis*, *collaborative dialogue*, and *languaging*, as well as her intensive research into immersion and bilingual programs in Canada, form a powerful base for her more recent studies. These (e.g., Swain, 2006; Swain, et al., 2009; Swain & Lapkin, 2002 & 2007; Tocalli-Beller & Swain, 2007; Watanabe & Swain, 2007) have helped to expand our understanding of the SLA research paradigm; because of her contributions, a wider range of socioculturally-situated ways of understanding the process of learning a second language are available to us.

Swain's current scholarship takes much of its inspiration from the ideas of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1894-1938), whose influence can still be widely felt in contemporary education. In October, 2008, Stephen Mackerras had the opportunity to talk with Professor Swain for *The Language Teacher* while she was in Japan giving a series of lectures.

TLT: What led you to start working within the sociocultural paradigm? Was it a sudden change of research direction?

Merrill Swain: No, it was a gradual process. Significant change happens gradually. It's taken me a decade to transition from talking about the 'output hypothesis' to talking about 'languaging.' Why have I made this shift? Because I began to understand the limits of the output metaphor. Output conveys a role for language that doesn't reflect what people actually do.

For example, the notion of output suggests that language *carries* meaning rather than *creates* meaning. The output metaphor implies that language and thought are the same. Instead, there is a reciprocal relationship between them. Analysing data at a microgenetic level is hugely revealing, and I guess I started to shift my perspective as I worked at that level with language learning data that I had collected. I started looking for a theory that helped me understand what was going on instead of sticking with a theory that wasn't helpful.

TLT: What's changed in language teaching? Why do we need sociocultural theory (SCT) now?

MS: We need it now because we can't get much further right now within the cognitive paradigm. Other theoretical paradigms offer new possibilities and insights. In my view, new insights about additional/second language learning will come from understanding more deeply learners' and teachers' histories and experiences. To do so, we will need to use mixed-method research designs, that is, we will need to make use of both quantitative and qualitative data.

TLT: At the heart of SCT are collaboration and cooperation. To some classroom language teachers, that might look like "communicative language teaching." How is it different?

MS: In communicative language teaching the goal is simply to get the students to communicate in the target language, and there is little to no emphasis on teaching language form. But in collaborative learning, the emphasis is on the co-construction by participants of language and knowledge about language. This includes discovering *how to use* the target language to make it express the meaning you want to convey. The aims are broader because learners don't just practice using the target language, they discover how to use it as a tool to make meaning.

TLT: Let me ask you about your concept of *languaging*. Is languaging useful as a pedagogical tool for teaching listening and speaking?

MS: Yes. What many teachers (and learners) fail to realize is that we come to understand something (e.g., the content of a text or a grammatical concept) by talking it through; by talking about it. It's often when a student has to explain what they've heard in a listening exercise, for example, that they discover what it is they do and do not understand. Working together (collaborating), students can help each other to construct a fuller understanding. "Mainstream SLA" is still arguing that doing exercises

leads to learning because learning is happening *in the head* in some unknown way. I don't agree. I think we (researchers, teachers and learners) can see and hear learning happen in the collaborative dialogue students engage in during class. Teachers need to listen to their students' languaging. From it, they will learn a great deal about how the students are understanding the target language, and importantly, why they are doing what they are doing with language.

TLT: You've been travelling and teaching SCT to people in many countries recently. What do people find most difficult to understand?

MS: SCT is such an integrated theory: all the major concepts (e.g., mediation, internalization, zone of proximal development) are so interconnected, it's difficult to know where to "break into" the theory. And, of course, if you've been educated within the cognitive paradigm where everything happens "in the head", then shifting to an understanding that all higher-order mental processes have their origin in the social world, can be difficult. It involves re-cognizing how you understand learning.

TLT: What aspects of SCT are most useful for someone teaching English in Japan?

MS: That's a tough question for someone who doesn't teach English in Japan! Perhaps one way I can answer your question is by telling you about a study conducted by one of my PhD. students. The study illustrates ways in which communicative language teaching can be modified making use of Vygotsky's ideas about the importance of language to mediate cognition.

The student, Suzanne Holunga, developed a set of communicative language teaching materials focusing on accuracy of verb use. In her study, she had three different groups of learners who participated in 15 hours of instructional time.

To the first group of students, she gave the activities as they were. To the second group, she gave the same activities, but also taught them about four metacognitive strategies: predicting, planning, monitoring and evaluating. To the third group, she gave the same activities, she taught them about the same strategies, *AND* she taught them to verbalise what they were doing as they used the strategies. So not only did the third group of learners do the communicative activities, they also had to talk about what they were doing.

TLT: So you might call that the *languaging* group?

MS: Yes. The third group would say things like

"well, what are we supposed to do?"; "we should use the past tense."; "we have to say what would happen if..." "I think you just made a mistake. Let's listen and find out."

TLT: Did the three groups differ much in their learning?

MS: After 15 hours of instruction, one would expect progress in all groups. But that's not what happened. The first group made no progress in the accuracy of their verb use. The second group made some progress, but the third group made greater progress, which was maintained on a delayed post-test. When I describe these results to teachers, they are always surprised. But Suzanne and I weren't because it was so clear in the transcripts what was happening. Students in the third group were internalizing (learning) the strategies by verbalizing them, and, as a result, were much more successful at applying the metacognitive strategies. Without Vygotsky's insights about the role of language to mediate higher mental processes, we would never have even thought of setting up the study in this way.

TLT: And what language does the languaging occur in?

MS: In Suzanne's study, the students languaged in their second language. But for students who are less advanced, they may find it easier to language in their L1. Here in Japan, it seems to me not unrealistic for students who are beginning to learn English, to language in Japanese. I would argue that languaging in Japanese actually supports the development of their English. We found this to be the case with intermediate learners of French who languaged in English (their first/dominant language) about how voice is expressed in French (see Swain et al., 2009).

TLT: Some English teachers don't know Japanese. What you're suggesting might alienate them or make them uncomfortable.

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MS: Yes, I see your point. But I think there are possible solutions. For example, students could tape their own discussions and then summarize them in English for the teacher. Or, the teacher could tape some of what the students are saying and play it to a Japanese-speaking colleague (which might have the positive impact of creating partnerships between English-only teachers and their Japanese colleagues).

TLT: That sounds like a result that benefits everyone! Thank you for your time. We look forward to hearing your plenary talk at JALT2009.

Note: Original interview by Stephen M. Mackerras; editing by Deryn Verity and Merrill Swain.

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- L2 learning, teaching and testing, Merrill Swain is an award-winning educator, writer and scholar. She frequently gives workshops and lectures internationally, recently in the Asia Pacific region, Europe, and North America. Recent books of interest to JALT readers are the co-edited collections listed below.
- Bygate, M., Skehan, P., & Swain, M. (Eds.) (2001). *Researching pedagogic tasks: Second language learning, teaching and testing*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Johnson, R. K., & Swain, M. (Eds.) (1997). *Immersion education: International perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merrill Swainは、OISE/University of Torontoの「教育課程・教授・学習学部」の名誉教授である。カナダにおける2言語・イマージョン教育や、コミュニケーション的2言語学習・教授・試験に関する150以上の論文、および書籍中の数多くの章を執筆し、教育者、著作家および学者として多くの賞を受賞している。国際的にワークショップや講演を数多く行い、最近ではアジア太平洋地域やヨーロッパ、北アメリカで活躍している。JALTの読者が関心を持つような最近の書籍としては、共同編集のコレクション『教育学上の諸課題の研究—第2言語の学習、教授および試験 (Researching pedagogic tasks: Second language learning, teaching and testing)』(Bygate & Skehanと共同、2001年) および『イマージョン教育—様々な国際的視点 (Immersion education: International perspectives)』(Johnsonと共同、1997年)がある。

– JALT2009: TIP #48 –

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experience! How to register, where to go first, where to eat, how to ration your time, who are the best party animals to link up with... a little preknowledge helps a lot!

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Seven ways of looking at grammar: One way of looking at grammar—as “Grammar McNuggets”

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文法についての7通りの見方: 1つの見方—グラマー・マクナゲット

What is grammar and how is it internalised in the mind? Is it symbolic code or is it neural connection strengths? Is it the sedimented trace of previous conversations or is it an innate human capacity? However we answer these questions obviously has an impact on the way we go about teaching second languages. In this talk I will review some of the key models of grammar—often couched as metaphors—and look at their implications in terms of classroom practice. In so doing, I will suggest that models grounded in both sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics offer a more valid basis for teaching than do purely linguistic descriptions.

文法とは何か。文法はどのように身に付くのか。文法とは象徴的な符号なのか。それとも揺るぎない神経回路なのか。文法とは以前の会話の堆積した跡なのか。それとも先天的な人間の能力なのか。我々がこれらの問いにどのように答えるにせよ、それは第2言語を教える上で明らかに影響を与える。本講演では、いくつか重要な文法例—時に隠喩と呼ばれる—を検討し、授業で使用する上でのヒントを探る。それにより、文法例を、ただ言語学的に説明するよりは、社会言語学的、あるいは心理言語学的根拠から説明した方がより良い指導ができるということを提案したい。

Keywords: grammar method, metaphor, linguistics, emergentism 文法 方法 隠喩 言語学 創発主義

FEW topics are as likely to trigger such strong opinions as *grammar*. If asked whether explicit teaching of grammar is necessary in order to learn a second language, both proponents and opponents of grammar teaching will often appeal to common sense. It's obvious that you need it or it's obvious that you don't. When two conflicting beliefs are equally obvious, you may be reasonably sure that there is an ideological component to the argument. The argument is less about grammar than about what grammar *stands for*. It is an argument about values, group membership and identity. And, ultimately, because values and identity are being contested, it is an argument about power.

Grammar, I argue, is culturally constructed. It has been constructed through a range of meanings and practices that are culturally situated. Moreover, like other cultural artefacts, English grammar is mass

produced and serves a global market. In order to understand why such strong attitudes attach to grammar, it helps to apply the same kind of analysis that has been applied to the marketing of other globalised commodities (see Hall, 1997). How, for example, is grammar represented, produced, consumed, and regulated, and what does grammar mean to those who have an investment in these processes? In what follows I shall examine grammar from the perspective of its *production* and *consumption*.



Production

Grammar is not so much produced as *reproduced*. Ritzer (1998), writing about the so-called *McDonaldization* of the social sciences, inveighs against what he calls *cookie-cutter* textbooks:

When a particular textbook...is a big hit, competitors seek to discover the factors that made it such a success and then set about publishing clones....Repeated over and over, many texts come to look like every other one (p. 44).

This is particularly the case with the grammar syllabus: There is a canonical order for teaching grammar that defies attempts by innovators to change it. The same canon is endlessly reproduced, with minimal variation, and course book writers need look no further than a previous best-selling course for an acceptable model for their syllabus.

It is these processes of reproduction that find an echo in post-modern theories of consumption, which argue that we live in an age of copies and of simulation. Ritzer (1998) provides an example:

A perfect example of a simulated product is McDonald's Chicken McNugget. The executives at McDonald's have determined that the authentic chicken, with its skin, gristle, and bones, is simply not the kind of product that McDonald's ought to be selling; hence the creation of the Chicken McNugget which can be seen as inauthentic, as a simulacrum. There is no "real" or even "original" Chicken McNugget; they are, and can only be, simulacra (p. 10).

Much of what is taught as pedagogic grammar is of equally doubtful authenticity. The skin, gristle, and bones of language have been removed such that, as Kerr (1996) argues, "grammar exists independently of other aspects of language such as vocabulary and phonology" (p. 95). Moreover, the findings of corpus linguistics in particular suggest that pedagogic grammars only loosely reflect authentic language use and that "some relatively common linguistic constructions are overlooked, while some relatively rare constructions receive considerable attention" (Biber, et al. 1994, p. 171).

An enthusiasm for compartmentalization, inherited from grammars of classical languages, has given rise to the elaborate architecture of the so-called tense system, including such *grammar McNuggets* as the future-in-the-past, and the past perfect continuous, not to mention the conditionals, first, second, and third—features of the language that have little or no linguistic, let alone psychological, reality.

Consumption

The notion of the *grammar McNugget* also captures the way that grammar is reified and commodified by its consumers. Not only is grammar produced and merchandised as if it were a commodity, but it is consumed in similar fashion. Thus teachers are often heard to say "I presented the present perfect today" or "We did the futures last week"—much as package tourists can boast that they "did Italy".

In an informal study of how teachers construe their classroom practice, twenty-two teachers of general EFL in two different institutions in Spain were asked to recount the last lesson they had taught. Their accounts were transcribed and subjected to linguistic analysis. What emerged was the fact that not only had the majority of teachers (77%) based their lessons around a discrete area of language (and a grammatical one at that), but that they typically described the delivery of these discrete items in terms that were entirely consistent with a *transmission* view of teaching (see Barnes, 1976). Moreover, there was a high incidence of

transitivity in the extracts, as in this edited extract (transitive verbs emphasized):

I *gave* them a little test...
I *gave* them the word in Spanish,
they *wrote* it in English,
then I *put* those up on the board
and *elicited* them up on to the board...

In functional terms (Halliday, 1985), classroom processes are construed as *material processes*. "Material processes are processes of 'doing'. They express the notion that some entity 'does' something – which may be 'done' to some other entity" (p. 103).

Note, furthermore, that in the extract quoted above, the causal agent is for the most part the teacher (*I...*). The pattern finds a lexical echo in the high frequency of the uses of the archetypal transitive verb *do* in teacher's lesson accounts, especially in the cluster *and then we did*. As Thornbury (2001) concludes: "When teachers talk about this kind of teaching, they use transitive verbs (I taught the grammar) of which the teacher is the agent (*I...*). The object of the verb is typically grammar-as-thing (I taught the present perfect) or the students (I taught them) or both (I taught them the present perfect)" (p. 76).

Conclusion

Grammar exists—not simply as one of the ways in which language is patterned, but because it satisfies the need, on the part of many involved in language teaching, for a transmittable, testable, and, ultimately, marketable *subject*. An industry has evolved not only to service this need but to inflate it and perpetuate it. Academic institutions, publishers, and examination bodies are complicit in this process—a process that, I argue, parallels the marketing of fast food. Like the consumers of hamburgers, teachers and learners are "blissed out" by this constant diet of (junk) grammar. Everyone is kept happy and no one complains. The McDonaldisation of grammar provides the perfect means for capitalizing (literally) on the global spread of English. If it didn't exist, then we would have had to invent it.

If grammar has in fact become McDonaldised, and if the teaching of grammar has become nothing more than the delivery of grammar McNuggets, is there an alternative? Is there a home-grown product that would serve just as well? I believe there is: It would take the form of a pedagogy that values *learner* grammar and takes this to be the starting point and focus of instruction. It would be

a pedagogy that, instead of *covering* grammar, is aimed at *uncovering* the learner's emerging inter-language through the foregrounding of the learner's meanings and intentions. It would be a pedagogy in which knowledge is not so much imposed in the form of a pre-existing system of facts to be learned, but is jointly constructed via the interactions between learners and teachers, and between the learners themselves. It would be a pedagogy that prioritises *use* rather than *usage*, *performance* rather than *competence*, *practice* rather than *presentation*—a pedagogy that, in short, restores the C to CLT: Not *commodified* language teaching, but *communicative* language teaching.

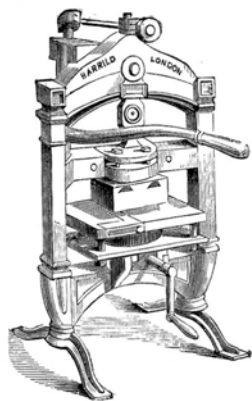
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