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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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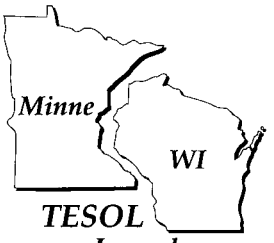

Volume 13, 1995-96

A Journal for Minnesota and Wisconsin Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Grateful thanks is given to Paul Edmunds and Bruce Challgren for their technical support, and to the General College, University of Minnesota.

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Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**
  The *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a Second Language in the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal.*

- **Manuscripts**
  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.* They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

  Submit two paper copies of the manuscript and abstract, accompanied by a labeled computer diskette. Please specify software. **Please use standard software.**

  Contributions to Volume 14 should be submitted to:

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  University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
  Eau Claire, WI 54701.

- **Advertising**
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Contents

Articles

Reviews

Poetry

INTRODUCTION

It is with great pleasure that we present this Journal, a joint venture of WITESOL and MinneTESOL. While we have a new title, this journal is a continuation of what has been previously called the MinneTESOL Journal and, so, we have designated this as volume 13, the next volume in the sequence. As before, this journal continues to be a publication devoted to articles of professional significance to teachers of English as a Second Language or Dialect. Over two years ago, members of MinneTESOL and WITESOL began a discussion of a possible collaboration on this publication: the result is in your hands. Working together to produce this 1995-96 edition has been a confirmation of how much our two states have in common, both in the populations we serve and in the issues we grapple with in our teaching and research. We hope that you will find the articles thought-provoking and useful.

The first article, "Iwareru and Meiwaku" offers a glimpse into the cultural attitudes of Japanese students and shows how these attitudes manifest themselves in a language class. Co-written by Masako Saito and James Robinson, this article explores two important cultural concepts which affect classroom communication and offers suggestions for how educators can help Japanese students feel more successful and comfortable in the more communicative, Western-style language classroom.

In "Reading in the Upper-Elementary Classroom," Alice Weickelt brings a wealth of suggestions for dealing with the task of teaching beginning reading to older elementary students. This article presents a variety of engaging teaching techniques that lay the groundwork for reading instruction as well as offer some creative ideas for classroom management.

Evangeline French's article "Reading Lab: From Pleasure Reading to Proficiency?" examines the impact of including an extensive reading lab component in reading classes for college-level intensive ESL students and the overall effect this has on reading comprehension. Her challenge to not just focus on reading skills in our reading classes but to provide opportunities for our students to read as much as possible is quite persuasive. She concludes her paper with a useful discussion on ways to implement a reading lab within any program.

The article "An Overview of Hmong for ESL Teachers," written by Lisa Dettinger and Thomas A. Upton, has the simple but useful goal of outlining key characteristics of the Hmong language and culture and the implication these characteristics have on the teaching and learning of ESL. As the number of Hmong ESL students in our school systems continues to grow, this paper should serve as a valuable resource to teachers seeking to understand the errors and difficulties many Hmong students have when learning English.

The final article, "The Paraphrasing Process of Native Speakers: Some implications for the ESL classroom" by Laurie E. Anderson, discusses the complexities of paraphrasing in a second language. She found her own class of ESL freshmen having difficulty with paraphrase, and yet writing textbooks surveyed were superficial in their treatment of the subject. To better understand the process of paraphrasing, verbal reports were collected of two native-English speaking college students as they paraphrased passages from a sociology text. This study sheds light on the process of paraphrasing and offers strategies which can be used in the classroom.

In addition to these articles, this volume includes book reviews for an adult education text and two teacher education resources, as well as a poem.

With this volume, I, Adele Hansen, end my tenure as co-editor of this publication. During my four years, I feel fortunate to have worked with the many dedicated contributors and editorial board members.

Your guidance and input has been crucial to the success of the journal. We, Robin Murie, representing *MinneTESOL*, and Thom Upton, representing *WITESOL*, look forward to continuing this collaboration between our two affiliates. This has been an exciting adventure for us and we hope to strengthen the interstate and inter-affiliate ties that have been established. We encourage each of you to continue to support this Journal by submitting articles and volunteering to serve on the editorial board along with Robin Murie and Thomas Upton.

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Iwareru and Meiwaku: A Comparative Analysis of Japanese and American Communicative Styles

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Because of cultural differences, Japanese students who come to study in the United States have difficulties adjusting to the American classroom. This interview study focuses on how two major components of the Japanese value system, *iwareru* (spoken of by others) and *meiwaku* (inconvenience to others), can be used to explain how Japanese tendencies toward group orientation and toward dependency on teachers result in more reserved classroom behavior. Ten Japanese and ten American students were interviewed as part of this cross-cultural research project. The purpose of the study is to provide ESL teachers with a knowledge of how these concepts work so that ESL teachers can help facilitate cultural adjustments by Japanese students to the behavior patterns expected in U. S. classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

Samorar and Porter (1994) have noted that cultural differences are a major problem in intercultural communication. One major difference is between group-orientation in a society such as Japan and self-orientation in a culture such as the United States. These cultural values play a significant role in relations beginning with child-rearing and extending to all relationships in society. For example, in Japan, bonding not only between parents and children, but also between children and other people—including teachers—is encouraged. Unlike Japanese children, children in America are treated as individuals at an early stage.

Because of these differences in orientation, Japanese students who come to study in the United States have difficulties adjusting to the American classrooms. For example,while American students have an easy time giving their personal opinions to others, Japanese students tend to be reserved and keep their opinions to themselves. Consequently, it is very

important for both ESL teachers and Japanese students to understand these cultural differences and to try to learn about each others' cultural values. This intercultural learning should then facilitate teaching and learning both in second language classrooms and other classrooms where students and teachers from both cultures interact.

Within the group-oriented value system of Japan, Clark (1983) has indicated that two major components are *iwareru* (spoken of by others) and *meiwaku* (inconvenience to others). As a way of helping ESL teachers understand Japanese students, this paper will focus on these two important Japanese concepts in Japanese group-oriented society. First, we will define *iwareru* and *meiwaku* within Japanese contexts. Second, these two concepts will be related to the boundaries between public and private self. Third, the paper will discuss how these two concepts manifest themselves in a distinctly Japanese communication style both in the Japanese and the ESL classroom. Finally, this paper will provide some suggestions on how ESL teachers can help Japanese students and on how Japanese students can help themselves to adapt to the American classroom.

IWARERU AND MEIWAKU

Iwareru and *meiwaku* are products of a group-oriented society and have their roots in the cooperative practices required of intensive rice agriculture in traditional Japan. With an emphasis on group harmony and loyalty, people had to be sensitive to the thoughts of other people and the ways of self-expression. Nakane (1970) states, "One would prefer to be silent than utter bold negative expressions such as 'no' or 'I disagree'" (p. 35). Clark (1983) defines *iwareru* "as spoken of or by others" and *meiwaku* "as inconvenience to others" (p. 60).

As previously mentioned, these concepts have even influenced Japanese child-rearing. Throughout childhood and adolescence, if you do something undesirable you will be *iwareru* (spoken of by others). For example, a mother might say, "Work hard so that you can go to at least an average high school. Every child around here goes to a higher level high school. If you fail, we will be *iwareru* and lose face." In this *iwareru* situation, there is a concern about what will be said by others. Consequently, parents are likely to overlook their children's individuality and put an emphasis on being a group member. Because of parents' emphasis on this restraint, *iwareru*, Japan is sometimes classified as a *haji* (shame) society (Clark, 1983, p. 60) as opposed to a guilt culture such as the U. S. As a result, in addition to trying to keep themselves together with the group, Japanese come to defend their private selves unconsciously so that they will not feel shame.

Meiwaku, or inconvenience to others, is another major restraint on behavior. For example, when asked for permission to go to a friend's house on Sunday, one informant's mother would respond, "Don't be *meiwaku* to others. If you go to your friend's house she can not study, or the chances are that you will disturb their day off." In this situation, as one informant reported:

> ...whenever a friend and I went to her room, her mother brought some sweets and something to drink or asked me to have dinner with them. For me, having dinner with them meant inconvenience for that family. So I tried to balance this inconvenience by bringing something for the host. This custom of never visiting anywhere empty-handed is very common in Japan and is related to the fear of being *meiwaku*.

In short, Japanese parents teach their children to always consider others.

This concept of *meiwaku* also creates difficulty in making a request or a refusal. For the Japanese, simple speech acts are not that simple. The Japanese have to consider whether or not it will be *meiwaku* or inconvenient to the person. Therefore, Japanese will be indirect when making a request or giving a refusal. First, the speaker will give elaborate explanations. Second, the speaker will pay close attention to the person's cues to determine if the message has been received. If *meiwaku* feelings are perceived, the speaker may decide not to take any direct action and drop the subject. For example, one informant reported that:

> ...when she wanted to move into an apartment nearer the university, she first broached the subject indirectly by telling her parents about how her classes were getting harder and harder, talking about the importance of the relationship with her teammates on the basketball team, and by reporting about how a friend had a really hard time going to school by train in winter.

During this long indirect explanation, the informant paid great attention to her father's facial expressions and tone of voice. When she noticed his feelings of "inconvenience," she decided not to ask her parents about living in an apartment. She reported:

> I did not want to be *meiwaku* for my parents. While I did not move into an apartment, the harmony of our home was preserved through these *meiwaku*-influenced communications strategies.

In contrast to the above mentioned *meiwaku* strategies with Japanese parents, most university age children in the United States would simply ask their parents directly if they could move into an apartment.

PUBLIC SELF AND PRIVATE SELF

Iwareru and *meiwaku* are closely related to the Japanese concept of self. Dean C. Barnlund (1975), in his contrastive study of communica-

tive styles in Japan and America, examined both the public self and the private self using a "Role Description Checklist." He found that American respondents see Japanese people as "Reserved," "Formal," "Cautious," "Evasive," Silent," "Serious," and "Dependent" (p. 55). On the other hand, Japanese respondents see Americans as "Self-Assertive," "Frank," "Spontaneous," "Informal," "Talkative," "Humorous," "Independent," "Close," and "Relaxed" (p. 54).

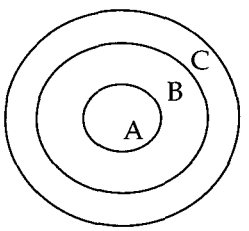

Figure 1
Japanese Public
and Private Self

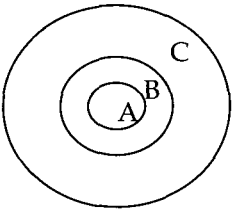

Figure 2
American Public Self
andPrivate Self

A = Unknown self
B = Private Self
C = Public Self

Using the diagrams in Figure 1 and 2, Barnlund points out that the Japanese public self is relatively small, and the private area is larger, compared to the American model (pp. 34, 37). In the figures, the smallest circle (A), which lies at the center, is the unknown part of a person that nobody can understand. The next area (B) identifies the private self, which is communicable but not often shared with others (p. 32). The biggest area (C) is the public self, which is easily shared with others (p. 33).

From a Japanese point of view, the boundary between public and private can be described as the difference between *tatemae*, or the polite meaning, and *honne*, or the inner true meaning. *Honne* is shared less often until people establish an intimate relationship. Across all topics, Barnlund emphasizes, "it is expected there will be less disclosure of private opinion and personal feeling," *honne,* in Japan than in the U.S. (p. 35). Further, the information provided would be phrased as polite speech. For example, one Japanese informant reported:

When I am asked, "What do you want to eat for lunch and then

> for dinner?" or "Where do you want to go next?" in a Japanese group, I always have difficulty in making decisions. If I am asked when I am in a larger group, it would be harder for me to express my choices. I do not want to speak first.

Again, *iwareru* and *meiwaku* are constraints in these situations, and these constraints are manifested in expressions of *honne* and *tatemae*. In order to avoid *iwareru* or *meiwaku* situations, a Japanese will express a thought that hides *honne* through an expression of *tatemae*. The informant continued:

> If I tell my opinions too honestly, such as "I don't want to eat Chinese food now; I want to go to a Japanese restaurant," and if my decision becomes the group's decision, chances are that it becomes an inconvenience to the others who love Chinese food. If my decision became the final word very frequently, other people might say, "She is selfish."

With no desire to be called selfish, this informant was in a potential *iwareru* (spoken of by others) situation. This informant could not express *honne*, an inner true feeling. Instead, she would express *tatemae* in a polite statement by saying, "Either one is OK with me." The problem is that everyone may say the same thing and the lunch will take a long time.

As the figures indicate, the American public self is larger than the Japanese public self: Americans prefer to share their opinions with others. Barnlund states, "What an American knows about himself—his opinion, attitudes, impulses, feelings—is more easily shared with others" (p. 36). The private self is relatively smaller in the model. One reason might be that Americans do not worry too much about the opinions of others in their self-oriented society. So it may be said among Americans, "Let's go and eat separately, there are two people who want to eat pizza, the rest want to eat hamburgers. Let's meet here an hour and a half later. See you then." Food courts provide a very American solution to this problem, as everyone can eat something different but still eat together.

But what happens when the group is composed of Japanese and Americans? If you take Figure 1 and 2 and move them toward each other, differences in the size of the circles for private and public self between Americans and Japanese could result in conflict.

The first problem may appear because the public self of the American begins to intrude on the private self of the Japanese long before the American is aware of any discomfort.In other words, the American may appear pushy or too inquisitive For example, direct questions which may require a "yes" or "no" answer operate within the public sphere for Americans but are more within the private sphere for Japanese, and so Japanese feel very uncomfortable with such questions. For example, one Japanese student reported:

"I often have a hard time saying simply "Yes" or "No" when I am asked to come to a party in front of others and can not go there because I have a paper or an exam."

The Japanese student in this situation worries that a direct negative response may spoil the atmosphere, and thus would not give a direct negative answer, as the ruined atmosphere would be inconvenient or *meiwaku* for the group. The Japanese student then also worries that the inconvenience may cause talk about him or her by others, a *iwareru* situation. So the student would say: "Maybe I can. Maybe not. I'll need to check my schedule," or something ambiguous. Relatively speaking, Americans are less concerned about what others may say and are less concerned about causing someone else inconvenience. As one Japanese student said:

> But I have noticed that saying, "No, I can't," is just fine in an American context. Other people will still have fun: It will not be *meiwaku* or *iwareru*.

Because of the formalities dictated by *tatemae* in conversation between Japanese and Americans, Americans might be confused by the seemingly ambiguous response of Japanese students to their direct requests. Japanese might unconsciously expect Americans to figure out what is *honne*, or inner true meaning, and what is *tatemae*, or polite meaning, by observing eye contact or by being sensitive to the tone of voice in order to get the inner feelings of Japanese people. But relatively speaking, Americans pay less attention to such non-verbals or give them less importance than Japanese would in the same situation. As Americans are fairly free to express their own opinions, they may find it hard to understand that Japanese may be afraid of *meiwaku* or *iwareru* situations and so be very reluctant to express personal feelings or opinions.

A second problem may arise when these two different concepts of private self begin to overlap. The Japanese might tend to protect his or her private self from the invasion of the American. This protectionism may partially explain the silence or passiveness of Japanese who have chosen to save face and to protect themselves against shame. One strategy to achieve these goals is to avoid expressing an opinion which may be judged and which they believe may end in an *iwareru* situation — feeling embarrassed. In an American-style conversation, Japanese may feel embarrassed by the Americans' intrusiveness (Barnland, p. 41). Japanese believe that people still can understand each other without entering each others' protective areas. But for Americans, it is very important to talk about their thoughts or feelings openly because "it fulfills an individual's need to express himself or herself" (Derlego & Grzelak, 1979) or because it leads to self-understanding (Journard, 1964). Japanese *iwareru* and *meiwaku* hinder these activities: These values encourage Japa-

nese to keep their feelings unknown, especially, their negative ones. As one Japanese informant reported:

> While people are talking about the party, I may just listen to others and be silent. If I give my ideas and the other people don't like them, I may feel embarrassed thinking that they are denying my personality. It took me some time to realize that I do not have to worry about the *meiwaku* and *iwareru* situations in the U.S.

Americans may interpret the silence or passiveness that accompanies these protectionist measures as suspicious or worse, as dishonest.

CONVERSATION STYLE: TENNIS AND BOWLING

The different characteristics in communicative manners discussed above influence styles of conversation, which creates an interesting situation when Japanese talk with Americans. Sakamoto (1982) states that the problem is not only language but also conversation style. She writes, "A western-style conversation between two people is like a game of tennis" (p. 81). If somebody introduces a topic, the ball in this game of tennis, the other person hits it back adding something, such as reasons for agreement or disagreement. Then the ideas are hit back again. "And so", she describes, "the ball goes back and forth with each of us doing our best to give it a new twist, an original spin or a powerful smash" (p. 81). Within this context, a group discussion would be played as a volleyball game. This American conversation style is based on the American principles of freedom of speech, which welcome personal opinions in public, and stress the belief that everyone has a right to express those opinions. Therefore, Americans can more easily disclose private opinions in public without the need for polite phrases.

A Japanese polite conversational style, however, may be compared to bowling. Japanese wait to be called on to take a turn. The ball is not shared: each person plays with his or her own ball. Sakamoto (1982) argues that the turn depends on such things as age differences, status, respect, and whether the person is a close friend or a stranger. When somebody takes his turn everybody politely watches. "There is always a suitable pause between turns" (p. 83). In other words, Japanese have to be careful not to disturb the group peace, not to be *meiwaku* to others. Consequently, they are reluctant to express personal feelings or opinions until it is their turn. As one Japanese informant reported:

> Although it was interesting and exciting for me to listen to many conversations, at the same time, it was hard to join the conversation or deal with it, especially in a group. Even when I could

> understand the English, I failed to say what I thought or my feelings because I was trying to take a Japanese style conversation, waiting for my turn. Now I think it was pretty funny: I was always nodding and looking at the conversational ball going back and forth and I did not know when my turn would be: When I said just, "Good-bye" or "See you" after all those head movements, I had a pain in my neck from trying to keep up with the conversation. When I missed some important parts of the conversation because my listening ability was insufficient, I could not even say a simple phrase, such as "Excuse me," because it was not my turn. This interruption seems minor, but from a Japanese point of view, it is a meaningful behavior.

In this situation, *meiwaku* caused her to worry too much about others: she did not want the conversational excitement to come to a halt. So, she was silent and passive. In addition, *iwareru* made her fear being considered difficult in some way. If she said, "Excuse me," everybody might think, "Can't you understand this simple conversation?"

Finally, and most importantly, saying "Excuse Me," would be too direct a revelation of *honne*, the private area. In other words, the exposure of ignorance or inability in English would be an exposure of the private self and would result in feelings of shame and a loss of face. So, she would instead hide *honne* and not say, "Excuse me," pretending to understand the conversation in order to save face. In short, because she wanted to defend herself from an *iwareru* situation, she would only share information at the surface level.

The informant said that after 4 months,

> I felt much better at saying, "Excuse me," because I noticed that I did not have to worry too much about *meiwaku*. When my American friends responded, "No problem," I realized my *meiwaku* fears were not required. One of my American friends also said to me, "I really want you to understand what I say. So you don't have to hesitate to ask any questions or ask me to slow down." Another simple phrase spoken by my friends, "You'll do fine," helped break the boundary guard of the private-self caused by *iwareru* situations. It seems that I was the only one who believed I was in an *iwareru* situation.

The simple support from American friends in this situation released this student from the restraints of *iwareru*. The experiences in these conversations shows how different ideas of the public self and the private self create different communicative styles and can create problems in intercultural communication.

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR

Japanese students often experience severe academic culture shock in U.S. classrooms because of the conversational differences discussed above. In addition to the conversational games of daily life, similar games occur in the U.S. classroom. As soon as the teacher mentions a topic, whoever is quickest hits it back, and an exciting discussion starts. Even if people in the class are close friends, it is easy to disagree with another person's opinion. After a big, exciting argument, the friends seem to forget about it entirely. In the American classroom, questions do not necessarily have pre-determined answers. Personal comments are always welcomed. The verbal exchanges are not just Question-Answer communication, as it is possible for students to stress their own thoughts and for others to respect their individual opinions. This style of classroom communication can cause a great amount of culture shock for the Japanese student.

For Japanese, the worries of both *iwareru* and *meiwaku* situations are heavier in school because school is so very important in determining one's future economically, politically, and socially. Therefore, Japanese usually have a harder time adapting to the American school situation than to the American social situation. As one Japanese informant reported:

> For myself, I was always wondering whether my questions were worth asking. While my instructor was explaining a topic or an important concept, I felt really sorry to stop the lecture to ask just the meaning of the verbs or nouns, which everybody else knew already.

The student was sure such an interruption would cause a *meiwaku* and *iwareru* situation. Because of these constraints, she felt uncomfortable not only during the lecture but also during classroom discussions. For example, this informant reported:

> When called on once, I was in a panic, thinking that these interjections might be *iwareru* and *meiwaku* situations. It was really hard for me to refer to what the previous person said because I had not gotten accustomed to giving personal opinions to the other person's ideas without knowing when my turn was. So I made an excuse, "This is a kind of surprise." It was my choice in order to get away from those situations. I did not have enough space in my mind for my personal opinions, and I did have a lot of room for memorized answers to certain questions.

In short, the student could not join the conversational game and the class discussion well because of the constraints of *iwareru* and *meiwaku*.

In the Japanese Classroom

In Japan, classroom styles are very different from those of the American classroom. First and foremost, in Japan teachers have authority and explain important points. During that time, students are supposed to listen carefully. In order to check whether students understand the points or not, teachers then ask some questions. As noted earlier, this Japanese classroom style is like a bowling game. There are few chances to have a discussion. Basically, teachers are supposed to call on somebody to answer a question. While the student who is called on answers the question, other students quietly and carefully evaluate whether he or she has done well or has got the right answer. Then the next person is called on and another question is asked.

In this circumstance, students are so sensitive to the others that they tend to hide *honne* (inner true feelings). They can not be active. The Japanese concepts *iwareru* (spoken of by others) and *meiwaku* (inconvenience to others) restrain them. When a student is called on, the common response to the question would be, "Could you repeat that again?" This response does not necessarily mean that the student did not pay attention but rather is an expression of *tatemae*, or politeness. Even though a student does not know the answer, the student can not say, "I don't know," which would be an expression of *honne* or true feelings, because the student has a strong need to protect those inner feelings and to save face in class. If he says, "I don't know," or gets a wrong answer, the teacher might think, "I thought you seemed to understand and could answer the question." In the same way, other students might say, "He could not answer such an easy question." The student is spoken of by the other students. So, the improper expression of *honne* publicly creates an *iwareru* situation, spoken of by the teacher, as the private self is revealed in public. As a result, the student will feel shame and lose face. In this situation, "Could you repeat that again?" means he gets a second try to guess the answer. Also, in order not to get in an *iwareru* situation, students may not ask questions such as, "Why is that so?" during the lecture, which sometimes is considered as trying to show off or trying to distract the class from the teacher's point.

Another way in which Japanese students' behavior reflects the *iwareru* concept is making excuses in response to the question. Some might say, "I'm sorry, I didn't listen to your explanation." In this case, the student has tried to save face in part, although that behavior runs the risk of incurring a scolding from the teacher and losing face—an *iwareru* situation. But the student can still retain some honor. If they do not know the answer and say, "I don't know," they would lose face. By using an ambiguous expression, they want not only the teacher but also other

students to think, "He could answer the question if only he had heard the explanation." While there is no doubt that it is very impolite to the teacher, it is still better than losing face. Consequently, this concept of *iwareru* makes Japanese students very reluctant to ask for clarification in class.

The other concept, *meiwaku*, is also important in a Japanese classroom. Specifically, if a student says, "Could you explain in more detail?" chances are that the teacher has to explain from the beginning. As a result, the teacher might not finish his lesson plan for the day. For the student, this will be *meiwaku*, inconvenience for the teacher. To the other students who have already understood the explanation, it would be boring and time-consuming. Again, for this student, it means *meiwaku* as it results in inconvenience for the other students. For example, as one Japanese informant reported:

> When I look back on my junior and senior high school days, the class which provided me relief was the bowling style one where the teachers called on students regularly, based on a student number or on an attendance list. It reduced the chances of getting into an *iwareru* situation and a *meiwaku* situation. I could guess what questions I would have to answer. If I could do that, I had enough time to prepare my answer, and got a right answer, which was convenient to the teacher. I also kept face. Although I missed many points, which I should have listened to during my preparation, still I thought it would be better to do that.

Honne and *tatemae* are important variables in *iwareru* and *meiwaku*. Since Japanese students can not tell *honne*, how they truly feel or think, they tend to remain silent, an expression of *tatemae* and of politeness. Japanese believe the saying, *Kuchi wa wasawai no moto*, or out of mouth comes all evil. With these constraints, then how do teachers communicate with students?

In this complicated environment, students tend to communicate with the teacher nonverbally without being noticed by the other students. Teachers can guess what their students think by these nonverbal messages. Japanese students do a lot of nonverbal communicating with teachers in the classroom. For example, as one informant describes, when the teacher asked a question and the student did not know the answer:

> ...I lowered my head, which meant, "I'm not ready to answer." I really needed to turn my eyes away from the teacher because I knew that the moment when my eyes met his, I had the highest risk of being called on. Sometimes, when I lifted my chin up to observe the situation, my eyes met his eyes. That was my least favorite moment. Then I inclined my head, which meant "I don't know." If he still gave me eye contact and seemed to want me to answer the question, then I shook my head intensely, which meant, "Please don't call on me!"

These three nonverbal communication acts were *tatemae*-based, as they

hid the inner feelings—*honne*—of the communicator. Avoiding any eye contact at all hid ignorance from public display. Looking away after eye contact hid a lack of readiness. Shaking the head intensely hid the fear of being called on. The teacher's role is to read these *tatemae* and *honne* cues so that the teacher will call on the right student to answer to the question. If the teacher reads the clues correctly, no one will be shamed and no one will lose face.

Similar strategies are also required when the student wants to communicate that he or she knows the answer.

> When I knew the answer, I turned my eyes on my teacher as a signal. Since I did not want the other students to think that I was trying to show off, I could not raise my hand. I was afraid of an *iwareru* situation. All I did was to wait until the teacher called on me.

In other words, the student hides his or her bid to answer a question by not signaling overtly for a chance to answer, which would be *honne*, but rather by signaling covertly through eye contact, which would be an expression of *tatemae*. The teacher needs to read the eye contact of students to determine who is ready to answer a question.

Unfortunately, the demands of these cultural values sometimes create a double bind:

> I sometimes had to face the dilemma of whether I should answer a question which other students could not get. If I did not, it would be *meiwaku* to the teacher because he could not continue his lesson plan. In this situation, the teacher would be inconvenienced if no one could answer the question, and the teacher may even lose face in front of the class. So, a student who knows the answer is pressured to answer in order to avoid causing this inconvenience to the teacher, but this positive result for the teacher can also be a problem: But if I did, it would be *meiwaku* to the other students who could not answer the question. I did not want them to feel shame.

Answering a question that no one knows is an inconvenience to other students, as the answerer breaks ranks with the cohort and then stands out in front of them and so shames them by this public display of their ignorance. The above example above shows how *iwareru* and *meiwaku* penetrate and influence the Japanese classroom.

While *iwareru* and *meiwaku* can cause constraints on classroom interaction, they can also be used to promote interaction in the classroom. Because Japanese students are sensitive to others, chances are that they will try their best to achieve the goals that their ESL teachers have set for them. Specifically, if teachers can establish a relationship with the students and the students like the teacher, they will try to work hard so that they will not be *meiwaku* for the teacher. For example:

> When I was a junior high school student, I did better in the class-

> room. One day, we had a class open to teachers from different schools. The situation was that all the students seemed to be nervous, and when our teacher asked a question, nobody answered. He seemed to want us to answer it voluntarily, even though it was an unusual request. There was a long silence. Since I liked my teacher very much I felt bad for him. I did not want him to lose face: I decided to pluck up my courage and raise my hand although I was a little shy. When I got a right answer and the explanation kept going smoothly, I was so happy because I felt I could return in some part the indebtedness that I as a Japanese have to my teacher.

Working hard in a class simply because students like the teacher happens quite frequently in Japanese classes. In the same way, in order not to be *meiwaku*, students might be able to work hard at group work. The same thing would be true about the other concept, *iwareru*. Teachers can have students feel good by praising or giving positive reactions such as, "That's a good guess!" in front of the other students, which gives students confidence and encouragement instead of having them feel shame.

In the ESL Classroom

In the Japanese classroom where Japanese students are group-oriented and tend to depend on teachers, it is crucial for American ESL teachers to know that Japanese passive classroom-participation is based on such concepts as *iwareru* and *meiwaku*. ESL teachers must be aware that the Japanese student is anxious about relationships with other students (*iwareru*) and about the relationship with the teacher (*iwareru* and *meiwaku*). The teachers need to provide security, encouragement, care and support until Japanese students have confidence in themselves. In this complicated environment, it is crucial for ESL teachers to strike a balance not only between teacher and students but also between a student who is trying to give an answer and the other students. The resulting balancing act on the part of all of these participants results in classroom harmony which will foster classroom participation.

In the American classroom where Japanese students are supposed to study independently, it is important for Japanese students to become aware of their communication problems which are based on their culture. Learning English means not only learning the language itself but also learning the culture. Instead of continuing to depend on the teacher, Japanese students need to notice the importance of self-reliance, which is one of the basic values in America. Also it is helpful to know that what they have as constant worries in their culture, *iwareru* and *meiwaku*, are not as important in America. Not all Americans necessarily view Japanese behaviors as *meiwaku* and not all of them necessarily put Japanese

students in an *iwareru* situation. Students can have more confidence in themselves and express themselves more verbally if they realize "I don't know" is just fine as a response to a question. In addition, Japanese students should realize that nonverbal communication is not always the best way to communicate with the American teacher. They also need to reconcile the gap between *honne* (inner true feelings) and *tatemae* (outer polite expressions).

These realizations would be major premises for Japanese students to establish classroom behavioral patterns that would be more similar to what is expected in the U.S. Moreover, ESL teachers can help Japanese students by providing encouragement until they have confidence in themselves. It becomes important for ESL teachers to be patient with their students' behavior because these attitudes are deeply rooted and won't change soon.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ESL TEACHERS

The following six suggestions should help American ESL teachers when working with Japanese students.

(1) Create a good relationship with students and the students will work hard to meet your classroom goals. Associate with students even out of the classroom and try to understand them. Do not make light of break time. That time is the only time Japanese students may feel at ease about expressing themselves.

(2) Let students who can not ask questions in the classroom or right after the class know that they do not have to worry too much about the teacher's *meiwaku*: Tell them they can feel free to ask any questions at any break time, any lunch time, after school, or even when you are walking outside alone. They will feel much better because they realize that the teacher does not have *meiwaku* feelings about being asked questions. Besides, in such situations, they do not have to be nervous about an *iwareru* situation. At this point, it is very important not to disappoint their expectations, however busy the teacher is or however tiny the questions are. When Japanese students start to ask questions in class, any negative reaction whatsoever can be very detrimental to further verbal activity in class. ESL teachers need a poker face at this time. If students notice a gap between what the teacher says about asking questions and the teacher's reaction to questions, they will feel that they can not depend on the teacher. It will surely hurt their feelings badly. The result will be that the students can not ask questions any more. It will make the situation worse.

(3) Be careful to make a comment so that students do not have to worry about an *iwareru* situation. Try not to cause students to lose face:

even if they get a wrong answer, still try to make a positive comment. Show understanding to the students. Keep in mind that losing face would be reason for disliking the teacher, which would have bad effects on the class.

(4) Call on students by name so that students who can not raise their hands because of an *iwareru* situation can have a chance to answer questions. Do not forget to provide a confidence building comment, which would protect against an *iwareru* situation.

(5) Have students do some group work, which is one of the effective ways to use the *meiwaku* concept positively. Chances are that they will try to work hard so that they will not be *meiwaku* to the other students in the same group. It will also help to ease the students' self-defense mechanisms used to save face or to avoid shame. Students who do not give their ideas to the teacher in the class might give them to the other members of the group. Moreover, they will feel relaxed because of the more informal group arrangement. During group work, teachers can go around the group and then the students should feel less restrained to share their opinions as these opinions have become group opinions. If teachers give students a positive reaction about group opinions, it might give them confidence and, as a result, make sharing opinions easier in the whole classroom.

(6) Notice the nonverbal communication of students and try to figure out the difference between manifestations of *honne* and *tatemae*. Misunderstanding nonverbal communication from a Japanese student may result in a worse situation in which students stop communicating with teachers. With practice, ESL teachers should be able to guess who is ready to answer a question and who is not, or to guess if it is time to explain in more detail or not.

CONCLUSION

In general, it is important for both ESL teachers and ESL students to understand these important concepts of *iwareru* and *meiwaku* and to be aware of the cultural differences of communication styles. Both teachers and students need to accept differences, although a different emphasis may be required depending on the situation: whether American teachers go to Japan and teach English or Japanese students go to the U.S. and study English.

More could also be done in Japan to prepare Japanese students for their education in the United States by having cultural orientations that compare concepts such as "individualism" and "collectivism" in order to help students gain an awareness of the cultural differences discussed in this paper and develop communicative competence in their

second language English.

*NOTE:

This article is the third in a series to be published in the MinneTESOL Journal from the best research papers submitted in the ESL and Culture class that is part of the ESL licensure and TESL MA at St. Cloud State University. As with the previous papers (Robinson & Fisher, 1992; Dunham & Robinson, 1993), both authors developed and expanded the original research paper into the article published here.

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Reading in the Elementary Classroom

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Learning to read is a very complex task. This paper will address how ESL teachers can teach reading to upper elementary students as they are beginning to speak the second language. These students need to be taught the building blocks (words) of the second language and how to string these words together in phrases to convey meaning. Older elementary students can learn to read and write these phrases as they learn to speak them. This paper will also show how to make independent readers who will love to read and will continue to read for pleasure and information.

INTRODUCTION

Learning to read can be compared with learning to ride a bike. Both processes require plenty of praise and enthusiastic support before the learner becomes independent. Both require ample solitary practice time. Suggestions for solving problems in learning how to do it (ride a bike or read a book) are given by well-meaning peers, siblings or adults (teacher and/or parents). The learner practices these directions (strategies) countless times until it becomes automatic. The ultimate goal is to be independent and to be able to travel to places one has only heard of and dreamed of going (either by bike or by books).

ESL students who begin their American school experience as third, fourth, or fifth graders need to learn to read well independently as soon as possible. They need to understand what the joy of reading can mean to their future. Getting the students reading early in their ESL career gives them a sense of real pride and accomplishment. This paper will overview a procedure I use in my elementary ESL class, incorporating aspects of Marie Clay's Reading Recovery program (Clay, 1991), to help jump-start the reading process in older ESL students.

When we first learned to ride a bike we fell down a great deal. Through encouragement from peers, parents, and siblings we got back on, listened to their suggestions and tried again. Similarly, when children are learning to read they confront many problems, which Stephen B. Kucer (1995) calls "blocks" or impediments to learning to read. Read-

ing blocks occur when students experience difficulty in understanding what is written, such as not knowing vocabulary. With encouragement and suggestions from the teacher, most students will "pick themselves up" and try again. Too often, however, teachers will correct students or give them answers but not teach them strategies to help them gain independence as readers. If this happens often, new readers will give up; instead, they will look to the teacher whenever they encounter trouble and will become dependent readers.

Kids are quick to see who is learning to ride (read) and who isn't. There is a stigma attached to a kid who can't ride a bike. His friends won't ask him to ride with them — they may just leave the poor rider (reader) in their dust. But, if the motivation is strong enough, he'll practice, seek advice, and practice some more until he can keep up with his friends. We as teachers need to provide this motivation.

READING READINESS ACTIVITIES

Before even beginning to attempt reading, second language learners need to learn vocabulary words for things, animals, and people (nouns); actions (verbs); position (prepositions); and description (adjectives). They also need to learn how to string words together into sentences. If words are like beads on a necklace, I want to lavish my students in strands of jewels before they even attempt to read. I spend several weeks, depending upon the students, teaching basic vocabulary and sentence structure in phrases; e.g., *in a boat, under the bed, behind the door, the little white dog, a great big tree, Mai Tong's book, my new car, his math book, a bag of apples, two big horses, is sleeping, was washing, will go, up in a tree, early one morning, late at night, once upon a time,* etc.. These activities are done with a bilingual paraprofessional available to translate the words, concepts and phrases. I have seen that if they are taught words within phrases from the beginning of ESL instruction, the students will read more fluently because the phrases will roll automatically off their tongues.

All of the above vocabulary building is done with student-illustrated phrase cards, using bilingual assistance. I have students check through magazines to see if they can find pictures that illustrate the phrase card with a picture. They then write the phrase under the magazine clipping.

These phrase cards are then put into sentences. The first step is to teach students how to manipulate groups of words. Students are shown how the phrases can be combined into sentences; e.g., *The little white dog/ is sleeping/under the bed.* Other phrases are put together to make lots of different and sometimes silly sentences, such as *My new car/is sleeping/up in a tree.* At the same time, students also learn the sounds of commonly used English words. In my class, this learning is done through a non-

threatening game mode . It does not really matter if they can not read the phrase cards at first; I am there to assist them. What is important is encouraging students to mimic phrases or groups of words. Spending some time on developing these basics of word and phrase recognition early in their ESL career will affect their future success in reading and writing.

However, it is not enough for ESL students to just learn words, phrases, and sentences. They need to hear them in stories. Students need to have books read to them and translated immediately. One successful technique is to have a bilingual paraprofessional translate each paragraph or sentence as the story is read in English. In my class ESL students are introduced early on to many children's literature classics. Books such as *The Three Billy Goats Gruff, The Little Red Hen, The Three Bears, The Gingerbread Man, and Rosie's Walk* (see Appendix for a complete list of titles) are read to students and their characters' voices are emphasized. These books provide a lot of repetition which allows students to more successfully predict what will happen next. More importantly, these books show the structure of typical American stories which have a beginning, a problem, and a resolution to the problem at the end (Spangenberg-Urbschat, 1994). By first reading in English and then immediately translating to the first language after each page or even each paragraph, it is possible to ensure that children understand both the story line and structure.

How does one know when students are ready to read? Students are ready to read when they enjoy hearing books read aloud, interact with books, ask to be read to, are able to retell stories, and are able to relate a book or story with something in their background (Hall, 1987). Often students spontaneously begin comparing books or characters that they are familiar with. Sometimes they begin telling folktales from their own culture if a story reminds them of one.

One way to encourage children to play with catchy lines from books is to stick phrase cards around the room, such as: *Run, run, as fast as you can, Who's been sitting in MY chair?, Trip, trap. Trip, trap. Who's that trip-trapping over my bridge?* and *Then I'll do it myself!* Students read these refrains that they see around them and soon are retelling or parroting parts of a book.

If students are playing with words and sounds, rolling tongue-twisters off their tongues, enjoying silly rhymes, memorizing nursery rhymes, learning songs, poems and chants, they are ready to read these same verses. Illustrated posters of rhymes, chants, poems, etc., should be available for students to read anytime they choose. Keeping and rotating reading posters near the door provides additional opportunities for students to read independently as they come in or out of the classroom.

If teachers value the process of reading, time must be scheduled for

students to read everyday (Crafton, 1991). This should be a time when they may choose what they read, where they read, and how they read. A book corner is a valuable place in an ESL classroom. A rug or carpet samples taped together in a space large enough to allow a child to lie down, a beanbag or rocking chair, as well as a desk and chair should all be available. While one student may enjoy reading at a desk, another may find lying on his stomach more comfortable. Students may choose to read in pairs and squish together on the beanbag. Another may wrap up in a small quilt. Reading should be enjoyable; providing a comfortable environment is the first step toward this goal.

What is stocked in the reading corner is also important. Magazines, basals, easy picture books, ESL picture dictionaries, *I Spy* books, seed catalogues, big books, recipe books, and telephone directories are all important types of reading material to include. But reading material should not be the only thing kept in the reading corner. Stuffed animals, dolls, and puppets are also useful as they often are held, cuddled, and read to! A small quilt or blanket and pillow are often used with dolls or stuffed animals.

Sneaking up and snapping photos of students reading and then displaying these reading behaviors on posters so everyone can see is an excellent way to show that reading is not only done around the table with a teacher present. Readers need an audience at times, and ESL students quickly learn that they can make their own non-critical audience of dolls and stuffed animals. In my classroom, I have heard my own voice being mimicked by a student talking to a doll! I have heard students "race-reading" to see who can read aloud the fastest. This was their invention, but what an excellent way to get the words and sounds coming fast and furious. Learning English takes practice, and who says the teacher must dictate all of the drill time? I've witnessed several students reading a play. They, not the teacher, decided who would read which part. Providing students with ample opportunities to read is what inspires reading.

STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF READING

"THE MORE YOU READ, THE BETTER YOU GET; THE BETTER YOU GET, THE MORE YOU WILL READ; THE MORE YOU READ, THE MORE YOU WILL LEARN." This saying is all over my ESL room; my aim is to make students aware of the importance of learning to read, reading to learn, and continuing to practice reading. I insist that all students take a book home everyday to share with siblings or parents, and students are required to discuss the book at home with someone, whether it be in their first or second language. In the words of Hall, "Children must see reading as a means to enrich their lives...language and reading have

power to create and explore worlds within their logic" (1987, p. 74). Reading should be viewed as a form of entertainment by children. This is difficult when many homes have little, if any, print material available for students to read. Consequently, family literacy often also needs to be addressed (Au, 1993). Sending home a book daily, in a zip-lock bag to keep it clean, provides one opportunity for students to read outside of school. Giving students magazines to take home and keep also helps. Providing at least these two sources of print materials in the home increases opportunities for families to interact together with the second language.

MAKING THE ESL CLASSROOM CHILD-CENTERED

Kenneth Goodman states "Uninteresting, irrelevant exercises are particularly tough on minority children who are constantly reminded of the distance between their world and their school world. It's hard to motivate kids when the stuff they are asked to read and write, hear and say, has no relation to who they are, what they think, and what they do" (1986, p. 9). ESL classrooms should be filled with "the stuff" that real language deals with. In particular, our students need maximum exposure to the conventions of written language. Upper elementary ESL students have so much to learn in such a short time that as we teach oral language we also need to teach phonemic awareness to prepare our students for reading. Vocabulary should always be introduced with the written word attached to a picture, or better yet, the real thing. Students need to see that anything we can say we can also write. Teachers need to model writing notes, songs, lists, as well as the students' own stories; "...we need to let them get inside our heads as we are constructing meaning" (Crafton, 1991, p. 14). As they are learning English, ESL students need to learn that words carry meaning and that a specific combination of letters says the same thing every time it is read.

MONITORING THE ESL READER'S PROGRESS

"Kid-watching" is a term coined by Goodman and it is one that every ESL teacher needs to become familiar with. In his words, "one can learn much more about pupils by carefully watching them than by formal testing" (Goodman, 1986, p. 41). Watching how a student uses free time in the book corner gives you a good idea of how close students are to being ready to begin the reading process. Observing and charting when students begin to converse with peers in English can give you an idea of their comfort level with English. A clipboard with student names could be kept near the book center to record such things as:

> Who starts the conversation? Who is asking the questions? Does the teacher, bilingual paraprofessional or student initiate the conversation? What errors are made in English by students using spontaneous English? How are the children interacting? Are they discussing, joking, sharing, making deals and rules, or arguing? How much English are they using? (Hall, 1987, pp. 14 - 15).

If you have bilingual assistants, ask them to observe and record observations about new English speakers. Gear your ESL instruction to what the students are doing. Teach them the words they need to argue, to share, to joke, etc. Inform students what you are doing and explain why you are doing it. It will accelerate their English learning.

While you are teaching, it is also helpful to jot down observations of students. I place a manila file folder on the table in front of each student so I can jot things down as they happen. Entries may read, "appears tired today," "really full of good ideas," "keeps copying Pao's paper...didn't yesterday...I need to re-teach that." Ideally the observations of students will dictate what direction your teaching will go (Crafton, 1991). So much happens every day in the ESL class that I cannot remember everything. However, as Hall points out, "Reflective observation is critical. Children do not always learn what the teacher thinks is being taught" (1987, p.80). I also share my observations with the students as they are not a secret. If they know what you are doing and why you are doing it, they will soon ignore your recordings. They may even begin asking what you're writing. When parent-teacher conference time rolls around, these notes provide a wealth of information to share with parents rather than the old stand-by, "He's doing fine and learning a lot." Classroom notes allow a teacher to itemize concrete progress made in social situations, reading, spelling, and writing.

FIRST READING ACTIVITIES

Once students are ready to read, what should he/she read first? I've selected some short, easy books to get upper elementary students started (see Appendix for a complete book list). Each book is selected for a specific purpose. I use *Tommy's Tummy Ache* (Butler, 1989c) first. It shows and labels all kinds of foods that should be eaten in moderation such as cake, cookies, and ice cream. Many ESL students new to America tend to over-do these foods. With bilingual assistance, students learn many different groups of foods and their names, and we talk about the food pyramid. As foods are something that students deal with on a daily basis, they have strong background knowledge which helps them to quickly make the connection between the words they already know orally and their printed forms.

We read *Monster Meals* (Butler, 1989b) next and talk about the silly things the monsters are making soup from, such as wheels, desks, and pencils. We discuss real soups that students' families make, and we write recipes for them. Our discussion includes the measurement of ingredients: a cup, a pinch, a handful, a tablespoon, a teaspoon. I then read *Stone Soup* (McGovern, 1968) to them. We discuss how we could make soup, too. Students volunteer to bring in a vegetable and I bring in a soup bone and a stone that has gone through my dishwasher. We make a list of who is bringing what and a small note to tuck into their pockets so they won't forget. We actually make soup and write invitations to invite some special people to join us. We even use a tablecloth and cloth napkins. Through this activity, students discuss how to set the table and use good manners. As we read these three books we also read and discuss the school lunch menu; then we create a bulletin board of pictures of these foods that students have cut from magazines and labeled. Through all these activities I am trying to show the close relationship between written and spoken English as well as how reading relates to the stuff of everyday life, key steps in helping students to see the importance of learning to read.

Students may be memorizing these first books, but in so doing they are learning to read many of the high frequency words that they must know. Most of these books have rhyming word patterns imbedded in the story text that help students see how families of words can be built (Gentry & Gillett, 1993). In my class, we make a small wall chart of each rhyming family (e.g., sand, stand, and; in, pin, thin, skin, win; at, cat, bat, that) to be posted for future reference to assist students with writing or other reading activities.

Reading to students at least once a day allows teachers to model good reading behaviors and point out what good readers do when confronted with a difficult word (Kucer, 1995). We read a new book every three days. While our reading class is only 30 minutes per day, much of the ESL day revolves around the books we are reading. The instruction is fast paced, so we can cover a lot of books and subjects. As mentioned earlier, students are encouraged to take these books home to read and re-read to their families so they will practice their reading and learn the stories well.

Once students are familiar with the story in a book, I follow a procedure, created by Marie Clay (1991), to further assist students in learning to write short summaries of what they have read. With the assistance of the bilingual paraprofessional, the students orally summarize each book. Students discuss what happens both in the beginning and the end of the book so they can continue to build story sense. This summary sentence is not the teacher's words. It is the combined efforts of all the students. The teacher is simply helping students put their thoughts into sentence

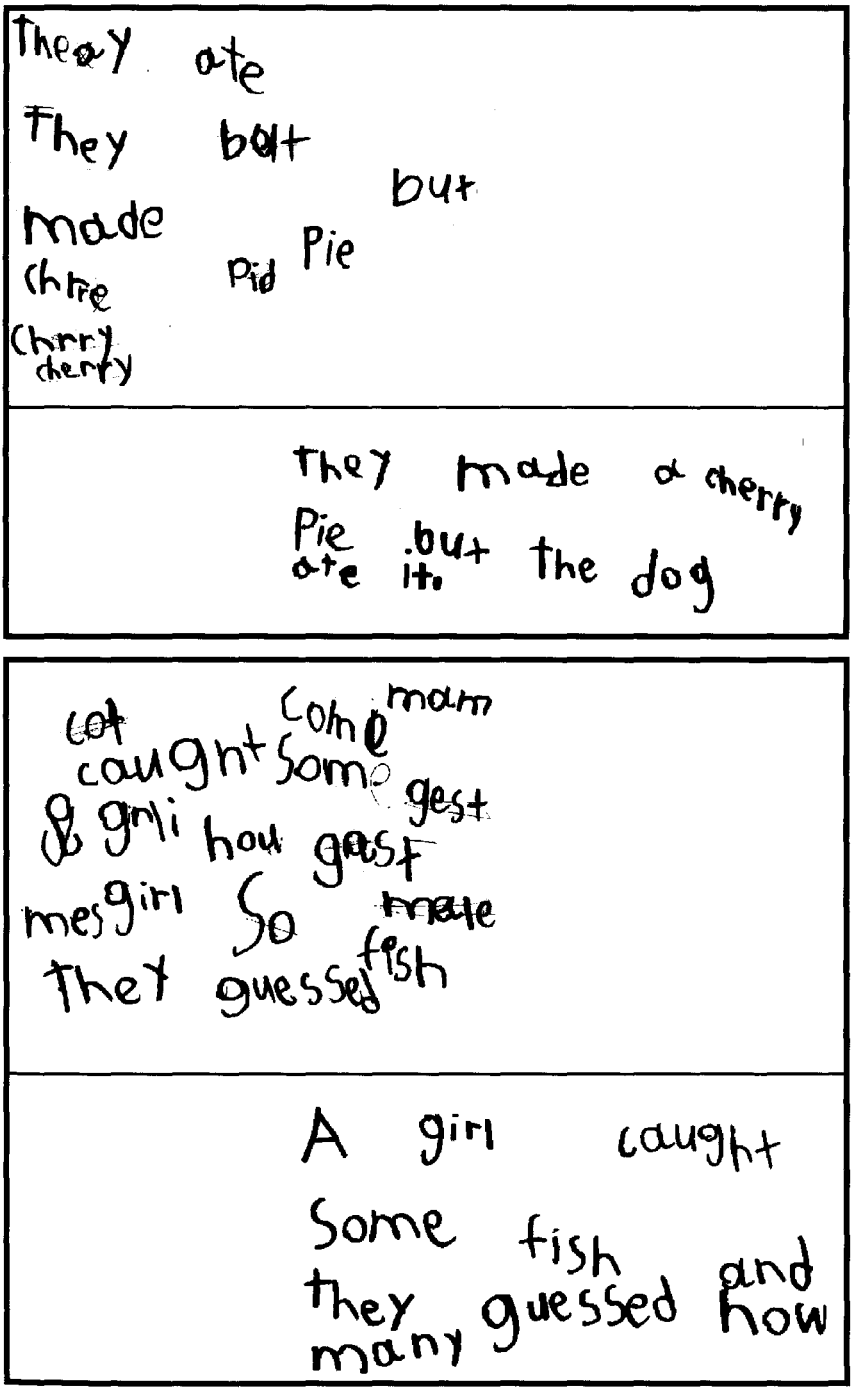
form. As the year progresses, the teacher guides students through the formation of increasingly complex summary statements.

Each student records the summary statement created by the class in a booklet made from sheets of unlined drawing paper stapled together and opened flat on the table with the binding horizontal to the student. Students first attempt to spell a word on the upper portion of the booklet. This is where they practice their spelling. I use the following technique in helping them to transfer their oral summaries into writing. Pronounce each word in the summary sentence distinctly and then stretch it out so each sound is heard. Encourage students to make the sounds of each letter in the word as they write the letters. They should not say the name of the letter but the sound it makes. Allow them to skip any letters that cannot be heard, but let them write any letters that they remember are in the word but can't hear. Immediately ask how they know that letter belongs there, even though we can't hear it. This use of metacognition is an exciting portion of instruction, and it is wonderful to see how students have learned words. Maybe they remember it from when they were in the refugee camp, or maybe their cousin taught it to them, or maybe they even saw it on a sign in PE class. Sometimes students will say they remembered how to spell it from seeing it in a book or somewhere in the ESL classroom.

Teachers need to help with any letters of a word under construction that cannot be heard while at the same time begin to teach some of the rules of English spelling and phonics. One of the first rules will probably be how the silent "e" at the end of a word changes the sound of the preceding vowel. When the first word of the summary sentence is properly spelled, students then transfer it to the bottom section of the booklet. The teacher waits for or prompts the students to say the next word of the summary sentence. The process is then continued in the same way, orally drawing it out, attempting to write it on the top portion of the booklet, and then transferring the correctly spelled word to the bottom portion (see figure on opposite page).

Have the students read the summary sentence as they construct it. For example, "Tommy ate lots __ _____." By having them do this for every word added, they can predict what the next word in the sentence will be. This subtly builds their knowledge of sentence structure and orally prepares them for cloze activities. This is important when, as they are gradually exited from ESL, they are confronted with worksheets or tests within the mainstream classroom for Science, Social Studies, Spelling or Reading. They are learning where nouns, verbs and adjectives go even if they don't know the terminology.

When the summary sentence is complete and correct on the lower portion of the booklet, I write the sentence on long strips of tag board;



Reading Booklet

one sentence strip for each student. These strips are cut into phrases and we practice putting them together into the summary sentence. When students perfect putting the phrases together, I cut the sentence into individual words. The students put these phrases and/or words into an envelope and take it home, along with the book, so they can practice putting the words together into a sentence. Later in the year, I then separate compound words and even break words apart by syllables.

This technique of building summary sentences as a class, writing those sentences in booklets, and reconstructing them after cutting the sentences apart, is all part of Marie Clay's Reading Recovery program (Clay, 1991). With amazing speed students learn to spell all the high frequency words we cover in class.

To further enforce the basics of written English, I use a list of the 500 most frequently used words in English (Kress, 1993) and assess students' progress in recognizing and using them. Students work on this activity individually and then correct their own papers immediately. These quizzes are dated and filed for future reference so students can see their own progress. These papers are also one more item that can be shared with parents during conferences, with mainstream teachers, with next year's teachers, and with students at the end of a school year so that all can see the progress made.

STEPPING INTO MORE DIFFICULT BOOKS

Once students are comfortable with reading entry-level books — which encourage reading success while teaching high frequency and content-specific words — and have a solid base of basic vocabulary, more difficult books are introduced. Good examples of these types of books are published by Wright Group and include *Rapunzel, The Tortoise and the Hare, Rumpelstilskin* and *The Shoemaker and the Elves* (see Appendix for a complete list). In my class, students are already familiar with all these stories as I have read them out loud sometime in the past. These books are easy to read but are longer: approximately 12-16 pages with about 12 lines of print per page. One technique I use for introducing these harder to read but familiar books to older ESL students is to give them the book with only a little discussion about the cover and what they remember about the story line. Everyone is then asked to read the story aloud to themselves, all at once. I listen carefully during this "chaos reading" when everyone is reading aloud at the same time at their own speed. As I "tune into" and listen to each student read, I jot notes about their performance. For example, I might write: "reads with good expression," "stuck on the word 'everyone'...work on easier compound words," "doing well, skipped an unknown word," "good sounding on the word 'drip',"

"glanced at the picture and then figured out the word."

When everyone is finished reading, I ask a few comprehension questions about the main characters, the conflict in the story, details, and conflict resolution. Invariably, when I ask if there were any words that they do not know, they all scream, "Yes!" I try to show them that knowing EVERY word is not essential. We can still read a book and enjoy it while skipping a few words. Good readers do that, too. I share what I've written about each student on the manila folders and the strategies I saw them use to figure out a word. I then add any new strategies to our poster of "What To Do When You Are Stuck on a Word." This is a poster, displayed prominently in the room, for students to refer to when they are in the book corner doing independent reading or doing guided reading with the teacher.

Discussing and practicing reading strategies is essential for beginning readers. As Kucer writes in his article *Guiding Bilingual Students Through the Literacy Process*, "we must supply students with a box full of tools (strategies) to use when they encounter blocks in their reading and writing...strategy wall charts enable students to work through their blocks and become more independent readers" (1995, p. 20). A strategy wall chart could include the following:

1. Skip it; read on.
2. Look at the picture for clues.
3. Go back and read the entire sentence again .
4. Make your mouth ready for the first letter of the unknown word.
5. What word would make sense in the sentence?
6. Cover up the -ing, -est, -ed, -en, -es on the end of a word.
7. Do you know a word family that looks like this? (e.g., and, stand)
8. Can you divide the word into two little words? (compound)

Another important part of the early ESL reading program is keeping reading records to determine how well the students are reading and what kinds of errors they make while reading. For my class, I encourage students to choose books to read from ones we have already read together. I then sit beside/behind the student so I can see the text. On a sheet of paper I make a check for each correct word the child reads aloud. If the student gets stuck, I write the word and the child's attempt. I also jot down what strategies the student is using effectively to get rid of any blocks. I try to be a silent observer and recorder, but sometimes I may need to encourage the reader to "skip it" and go on if he/she is taking more than 30 seconds to think about a word. When the student has finished reading the book, I enlist my bilingual assistant's help to explain what my observations are. First I count all the correctly read words. The

student often wants to help do this. I then praise him/her to the sky! The next step is to find all the words he/she was stuck on but figured out (self-corrected) and review the strategies used. I praise again. I then point out one word that didn't get figured out and help the student find a strategy that was overlooked. This whole technique provides me with another observation/notation system of student behavior that in turn drives my teaching.

When using a record system like the one I describe above, remember to share what strategies students are using effectively with the entire group. Refer to the strategy chart and add to it if necessary. Remember that you have a community of learners, and they will all learn from each other. As Crafton puts it, "There are very many smart people in our classroom... not just the teacher" (Crafton, 1991, p. 43). Stress individual students' strengths and how each student can help others learn. The elementary ESL classroom should be a non-competitive environment where all students are actively working at learning to read to learn.

CONCLUSION

Remember when we learned to ride a bike? The instructions were shouted to us by the person supporting the bike, running along beside us. They'd give us a shove and we'd be fine on our own for awhile. But often we'd fall down. If we repeated the directions to ourselves and practiced enough, we'd soon be on our own again, riding effortlessly, sailing along into lands unknown. That is how learning to read should also be: sailing into lands of our imaginations, thoughts and dreams. It should be as satisfying as learning to ride a bike.

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An Overview of Hmong for ESL Teachers

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ESL teachers working with Hmong students need to become more aware of how the Hmong language differs from English in order to more effectively address the language acquistion problems their students face. This paper attempts to identify the basic structures of the Hmong language through a contrastive analysis of Hmong and English in order to provide a platform from which an ESL teacher can benefit. Phonetic, phonemic, morphemic, syntactic, and cultural and sociolinguistic differences which may affect language acquisition are discussed. The paper concludes by outlining some approaches to help ESL learners overcome these differences.

Since 1975, the United States has been culturally enriched by a group of people whose homeland in the plateaus of northern Laos has been shaken by war. These people proudly refer to themselves as the Hmong. The Hmong language is spoken by several million people in China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Burma. Since the end of the Vietnam War many Hmong have also resettled in such countries as Australia, France, French New Guinea, and the United States. It is of surprise to many that Wisconsin and Minnesota are ranked second and third, after California, in the number of Hmong residents within their borders, with each in 1990 having more than 17,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992) with a growth rate of about 2,000 Hmong each year (Fass, 1991). Naturally, students in our public schools continue to increase every year as more and more Hmong move to our communities.

It is difficult to get comparable figures on the number of Hmong students in Wisconsin and Minnesota public schools as both have different ways of reporting their numbers. The Minnesota Department of Education reports that in the school year ending in 1994, there were more than

15,000 Hmong students in the public schools, grades 1-12 (Biagini, 1995). This number includes students in both ESL and mainstream classes. Wisconsin does not track the total number of Hmong children in its schools, but as Minnesota and Wisconsin have comparable Hmong populations, it is reasonable to assume that the number of children in Wisconsin public schools is similar. During fall 1995, according to the Wisconsin Department of Instruction, there were 8,025 Hmong students in kindergarten through grade 12 classified as Limited English Proficient and receiving some form of ESL assistance (Hunt, 1995)[1]. Many of these students come from homes where only Hmong is spoken and thus are placed into ESL classes where teachers, unfamiliar with Hmong, must try to help them learn English so that they can be integrated into the mainstream classroom. Again, it is reasonable to assume there are a comparable number of Hmong students in the Minnesota school system receiving ESL assistance.

As with all Asian languages, the Hmong language is very different from English in many respects. ESL teachers working with Hmong students need to become more aware of how the Hmong language differs from English in order to more effectively address the language acquisition problems their students face. This paper attempts to identify the basic structures of the Hmong language through a contrastive analysis of Hmong and English in order to provide a platform from which an ESL teacher can benefit. There are other resources that address the structures of the Hmong language more thoroughly (e.g., Bliatout, Downing, Lewis, & Yang, 1988; Clark, 1989; Fuller, 1985; Hendricks, Downing, & Deinard, 1986; Smalley, 1976; Smalley, Vang, & Yang, 1990); however, the goal of this paper is to serve as an introduction to teachers who are challenged by the language acquisition difficulties of Hmong students in their classrooms.

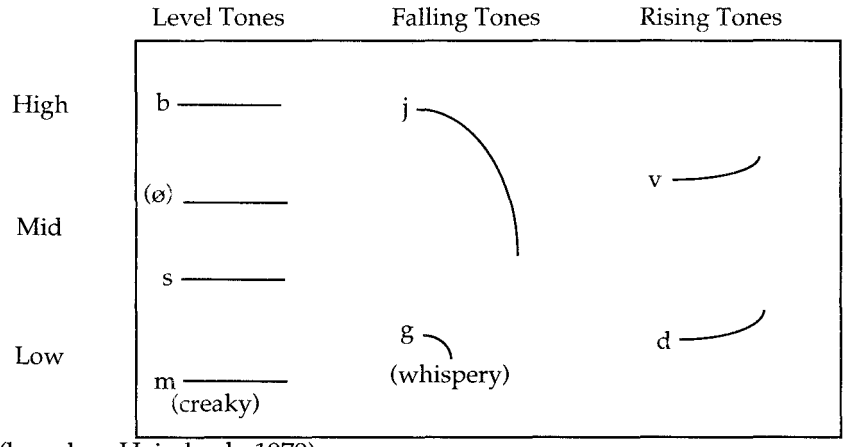
There are two principal dialects of Hmong (White Hmong and Blue/Green Hmong), but this paper will focus on the more common White Hmong dialect. Although the White and Blue/Green Hmong dialects do vary, they are usually mutually understandable, as is the case with dialects of American English. More specifically, this paper will focus on four aspects of the Hmong language as it contrasts with English: 1) basic differences at the phonetic and phonologic level, 2) basic differences at the morphemic level, 3) basic differences at the syntactic level, and 4) basic differences at the cultural and socio-linguistic level which may affect language acquisition. Lastly, we will look at approaches that might be taken to help ESL learners overcome the stated differences.

DIFFERENCES AT THE PHONETIC AND PHONEMIC LEVELS

Sound/Symbol Differences: One potential source of problems that Hmong learners of English face can be traced back to the extensive phonetic differences between English and Hmong. This is an issue particularly for older Hmong children and adults who are literate in their own language. Unlike English, Hmong spelling is phonemic (Smalley, *et. al.*, 1990). Each letter or combination of letters represents one sound and this sound is consistent from one context to the next. For example, in English the letter "c" may be pronounced /s/ in one context (as in "cigar") or /k/ in another context (as in "cake"). However, in Hmong "c" is always pronounced as an unaspirated palatal stop /c/ (a sound we generally don't use in English).

As illustrated with the example above, a further distinction between the letters in the English and Hmong alphabets is that many of the Hmong letters have values that are very different from their English values. In Hmong, the letter "o", for example, is always pronounced [ɔ] (as in "on") — unlike the English "o" which can be pronounced /ɔ/, /ow/ (as in "no"), /uw/ (as in "do"), and even /a/ (as in "not"). An even bigger difference occurs when the vowel is doubled. Doubling a vowel in Hmong indicates that the vowel sound is followed by the nasal /ŋ/ (as in "song") (Smalley, et al., 1990). Thus, while the English pronunciation for the double "o" vowel can be pronounced either as /u/ (as in "book") or as /uw/ (as in "moon"), in Hmong the vowel sound stays the same except for the addition of the velar nasal /ŋ/.

Tones: Another way in which some Hmong letters have very different values than English is with word final consonants. Generally, and to the great confusion of English speakers, the consonants at the end of a Hmong syllable represent tones, not consonant phonemes (Smalley, *et. al.*, 1990). This can be exemplified by the word "Hmong," which is written in Hmong as "Hmoob". The double "o" indicates the nasalized vowel /ɔŋ/ (or "ong") while the letter "b" at the end of the word actually represents a high level tone, not the consonant sound /b/, as it does in English. The tonal values marked by the consonants at the end of each syllable directly affect word meaning, which is why Hmong is considered a tonal language. Although English uses intonation to enhance communication (such as using a rising pitch at the end of many questions), it is not considered a tonal language because these pitch changes do not result in changes in word meaning. The White Hmong language includes eight basic tones, which are diagrammed below:



(based on Heimbach, 1979)

Thus, the word "koj" in Hmong (pronounced "kaw") means "you" because it is pronounced with a pitch that begins high and falls, as indicated by the last letter in the word, "j". Note that the /j/ sound is not pronounced, as the letter is a tone marker, not a consonant.

The following list of words further demonstrates how a change in tone changes word meaning. Each word below is pronounced exactly the same way, /ka/; the only difference is in the tone, which to the untrained ear of an English speaker can be frustratingly indiscernible[2].

WORD	TONE	MEANING
kab	high, level	insect
kam	low, level creaky	willing
kad	low, rising	same as "kam" but sweeter
kav	mid, rising	control; 'coining' a sick person
kas	mid-low, level	worms
kaj	high, falling	clear (in terms of light, etc.)

What can be even more confusing is that several of the consonants used to represent tones at the ends of syllables are also used in other parts of the word to represent pronounced consonants. This is not confusing to the Hmong as most words have only one or two syllables with each syllable containing a single initial consonant (if there is one) and a final vowel; so the actual pronounced consonant always occurs at the beginning of each word. Obviously, speakers of non-tonal languages find tonal languages such as Hmong very difficult to master; on the other hand, as Walker points out, "the lack of tonal significance in English (ex-

cept for intonation) may present problems to an individual who has a developed ear for different tones" (Walker, 1985, p. 59). Teachers need to watch for confusion which may arise due to the lack of tonality in English, with many of the problems occuring in inappropriate intonation and stress.

Consonants: The biggest difference between Hmong and English consonants is the sheer number of consonant sounds that can be used at the beginning of words in Hmong. In all, there are 57 different stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, liquid, and glide sounds in the Hmong language, which are represented in the RPA (Romanized Practical Alphabet) System (Smalley, et al., 1990) as:

> c, ch, d, dh, f, g, h, hl, hm, hml, hn, hny, k, kh, l, m, ml, n, nc, nch, hk, nkh, np, nph, npl, nplh, nq, nqh, nr, nrh, nt, nth, nts, ntsh, ntx, ntxh, ny, p, ph, pl, plh, q, qh, r, rh, s, t, th, ts, tsh, tx, txh, v, x, y, xy, y, z^3.

However, even though Hmong has many more consonant sounds than are used in English, there are a few consonants used in English which are not found in Hmong and can frequently be a challenge for the Hmong to learn. These include the consonants /θ/ (as in "thin"), /ð/ (as in "the"), /z/ (as in "zoo"), /w/ (as in "walk"), /b/ and /g/ (as in "ball" and "go" — it is the voicing they have trouble with), /dz/ (as in "judge"), and the unusual English /r/ (as in "red").

A Hmong word is made up of three distinct parts: an optional initial consonant, a vowel, and a tone. Other than nasalized vowels, mentioned above, consonant sounds are never used in the word-final position. As discussed above, for Hmong who are literate, consonant letters occurring at the end of a word in Hmong indicate the tone that is used and are never pronounced as a consonant sound. This lack of word-final consonants raises no end of problems for Hmong learners of English who must learn to pronounce consonant sounds in places they are not accustomed to. While Hmong students will have no trouble saying the word "bee", for example, it can be extremely difficult for them to produce the plural "bees" because the word final consonant "s" is unknown in Hmong.

Vowels: As with consonants, Hmong has a few vowels that English does not and English has a few vowels that Hmong does not. Hmong has six basic vowels: 'a' (as in "not"), 'e' (as in "pay"), 'i' (as in "see"), 'o' (as in "all"), 'u' (as in "do"), and 'w' (which is pronounced like the unstressed vowel in "prizes"). As mentioned previously, there are also three nasalized vowels, represented by doubling the vowel letter: 'ee', 'oo' and 'uu.' Hmong also has five diphthongs: 'ai' and 'au' which are like the vowel sounds in "high" and "how", and 'ia', 'ua', and 'aw', which have no comparable vowel sounds in English (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978b).

More importantly for ESL teachers, there are four vowel sounds in English which do not occur in Hmong and which may need to be given special attention in the ESL classroom:

/ow/ as in "no"
/ə/ as in "up"
/æ/ as in "cat"
/oy/ as in "boy" (a diphthong) (Bliatout, et al., 1988)

Obviously, the biggest frustration for Hmong students of English — particulary those who are literate in Hmong — is that, unlike Hmong, the letters representing the vowel sounds in an English word take on different values depending on the context. In Hmong, for example, the letter "a" is always pronounced the same regardless of the consonant it follows. However, in English, the letter "a" varies greatly, depending on its context in the word, as illustrated below:

/æ/ as in "cat"
/ey/ as in "pay"
/ɔ/ as in "all"

Attention must be given to pronunciation of both English vowels and consonants, in particular to word ending consonant sound. Intonation, word and sentence stress also need to be addressed by ESL teachers as the role of stress and intonation in English serve very different functions from the tones used in Hmong and they are not automatically acquired when learning the language.

DIFFERENCES AT THE MORPHEMIC LEVEL

Syllables: Like many other Asian languages such as Chinese, Hmong is monosyllabic; that is, most Hmong words are only one syllable long (Heimbach, 1979). While there are some words which are more than one syllable in length, they are almost always made up of syllables which can stand alone as independent words. Obviously, polysyllabic words can prove to be quite a challenge to Hmong students, especially when they have to learn that there can be primary, secondary, and even tertiary levels of stress on different syllables. For example, in the word "biological", the first syllable is lightly stressed, the second, fourth and fifth syllables are unstressed, and the third is heavily stressed. This can be all the more confusing as stress also plays a role in both vowel and consonant pronunciation, as can be noted by the letter "a" which is pronounced /æ/ in the stressed syllable of "Candy" but as /ə/ in the un-

stressed syllable of "Mexican" even though it is preceded by the letter "c" and followed by the letter "n" in both contexts. Words whose meanings change depending on the syllable stressed are also a problem, such as:

Progress: first syllable stressed /prog´-res/ = a noun (movement toward a goal)
second syllable stressed /prə-gres´/ = a verb (to advance)

Digest: first syllable stressed /di´-jest/ = a noun (a synoposis of written material)
second syllable stressed /di-jest´/ = a verb (to change food into a form that is easily absorbed into the body)

(All examples taken from *The American Heritage Dictionary*, 1983.)

Affixes and Inflection: Being a monosyllabic language, Hmong words do not have prefixes and suffixes (Heimbach, 1979); consequently, the idea that an affix carries meaning independently (such as "re" in "reheat" indicating "again, or "ly" in "quickly" indicating an adverb) can be initially challenging to grasp. Furthermore, in English, words are generally inflected for tense, number, possession, etc. by the addition of a suffix. Not only is this not the case in Hmong, but there is a complete lack of inflection of any type. In English we inflect to indicate number (spider, spiders), possession (Mary, Mary's), person (I bake, He bakes), tense (wait, waited), as well as comparatives and superlatives (faster, fastest). In Hmong, there is only one form for each word. Inflections that are normally performed on English words are indicated in Hmong by the order of words and the context (Clark, 1989), or by auxiliary particles (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a).

When an English speaker says "I made supper," the listener knows the action occurred in the past because of the verb's inflected past tense form ("made"). When Hmong speakers express the same idea, they will generally provide context so the listener understands the action occurred in the past. The following Hmong sentence illustrates this point:

Nag-hmo kuv mus.
(Yesterday I go.)

In this sentence, it is obvious the action occurred in the past because of the word "yesterday" and, from the Hmong perspective, there is no reason to have an inflection on the verb to indicate this. Likewise, where

English includes plurals and possessive endings on words, Hmong provides context words which conveys the same meaning. For example, the English statement "We should bring our children" would be represented in Hmong as (Strecker & Vang, 1986):

Peb coj menyuam mus.
(We bring group child go).

From this statement, the possessive "our" is understood and the plural "children" is indicated by "group."

Auxiliary Particles: Auxiliary particles are frequently used to express the grammatical functions that English verbal inflections perform, but, as indicated above, are not always required when the context is clear. These particles, usually occuring before the verb and after the subject (with a couple occuring after the verb), can be "stacked up" in a sentence in a specified order (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a). The Indochinese Refugee Education Guide gives the following example for how particles are used to perform the inflection functions of English verbs (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a, p. 12):

Koj yoav mus. "You will go."
you will go

Koj yuav tsum mus. "You should go."
you will must go

Koj yuav tsum tau mus. "You should have gone."
you will must 'past' go

Bliatout, *et.al.*, illustrate well the above discussion when they note that "with respect to the size of words and lack of inflection a Hmong sentence is more like *We all like to see play when we go New York* than like *Everybody enjoys attending theater performances in Chicago*" (Bliatout, et al., 1988, p. 52).

Discussion: ESL teachers working with Hmong students need to help the students recognize and understand the functions and pronunciation of the various syllables in words, especially in those words which differ in meaning and pronunciation depending on sentence context. Furthermore, Hmong students will not necessarily know, for example, that "walked" is the past tense of "walk". Students need to be taught that they indicate the same action but at different times. Similarly, students will also have great difficulty with various word forms; for example, recognizing that "quick" is an adjective that modifies nouns, "quicker" is an adjective which relates one noun to another, and "quickly" is an adverb

that modifies verbs. The use of appropriately inflected forms of verbs and nouns is often difficult for ESL students in general and particularly for students whose native languages, like Hmong, do not use inflection.

DIFFERENCES AT THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL

Sentence Structure: Syntactically, the Hmong sentence at its basic level is similar to English as it 1) uses a subject + verb + object structure, 2) has prepositions, and 3) uses compound and complex sentences that can look very similar to English sentences (Clark, 1989). However, as discussed above, the biggest differences probably occur with the Hmong reliance on the use of surrounding contextual words to impart detailed meaning rather than relying on inflectional or derivational transformations, as English usually does. That is, the Hmong use only a single word form in various settings as noun, verb, and adjective. This is somewhat comparable to the English word "talk" in the following sentences: He wants to talk to you (verb); He wants to give a talk (noun); He was on the talk show yesterday (adjective) (Bliatout, *et. al.*, 1988).

Besides the lack of transformations in Hmong words, there are some word order differences between Hmong and English. Adjectives, for example, usually follow the noun they are modifying (Clark, 1989). For example, the English sentence "I am drinking some cold water" would be represented in Hmong as

"Kuv tabtom haus dej txias"
(literally "I drink some water cold").

The exception to this is if the adjective is directly connected to the noun, as in the two syllable word for "child:" Menyuam ("littlechild"), where "little" and "child" are connected words (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a). This type of combination of two words into one is not unusual in Hmong and is similar to English compound words like "mockingbird" and "blacktop," where either word can also stand alone.

Negatives, Questions, and Auxiliary Verbs: Another syntactic difference between Hmong and English involves the formation of negatives and questions. In English, negative transformations are produced by incorporating the proper negative form into a verb or between a verb and object as in "I do not want any part in it" or "I want no part in it." Hmong, on the other hand, uses only one form of a negation, "tsis," (or "txhob" for plural subjects such as "we"), and has no auxiliary verb such as "do" (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a). This negation is usually found right before the verb, so the construction of "I do not know" would be *"Kuv tsis paub"* (I not know).

Likewise, Hmong questions do not use an auxiliary verb, nor do they

invert word order as English does (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a). In analyzing an English transformation of a question such as "What are you doing?" one can see that the root sentence is "You are doing what?" ("What" being the direct object). The Hmong language uses this type of root sentence in its questions. So, "What do you do?" would be translated in Hmong as:

Koj ua da tsi?
(You do what?)

And, "where are you going" would be:

Koj mus qhov twg?
(You go where?)

Yes/no questions in Hmong are constructed by simply placing the word "puas" before the verb. So the English question "Do you want to eat?" would be translated as:

Koj puas xav noj?
(You [question particle] want eat?)

As is seen by the formulations of negatives and questions, the Hmong language does not use auxiliary forms with their verbs. Likewise, infinitives are nonexistent in their language. The English sentences "I would like to go home" and "Do you want to play a game?" include the infinitive forms of "to go" and "to play." In Hmong, the sentences would be literally heard as "I want go home" and "You [question particle] want play game?" Needless to say, infinitives can be a source of frustration for the Hmong student learning English.

Pronouns: Another major difference in syntax between Hmong and English involves the use of personal pronouns. Although they are similar in that both Hmong and English use possessive pronouns before nouns and use pronouns in both subject and object positions, the pronouns differ in meaning. For example, in English, the pronouns "I," "you," "he," "she," and "they" are used in the subject position while the pronouns "me," "you," "him," "her," and "them" are used in the object position. Possessive pronouns in English also differ according to whether they are in the subject or object position. In Hmong, however, pronouns such as "I," "you," "he," "she," and "they" remain the same in either the subject or object positions. Further, the Hmong make no pronoun distinction between "he," "she" or "it" - they simply use a neutral third person pronoun for all. However, there is a distinction in the Hmong lan-

guage between "they" or "them" when referring to people, versus "they" or "them" when referring to objects. Thus, the pronouns in the Hmong language include the following (National Indochinese Clearinghouse, 1978a):

kuv - I, me, my, mine
koj - you, your, yours
nws - he, him, his, she, her, hers, it, its
lawv - they, them, their, theirs (people)
cauv - they, them, their, theirs (objects)
wb - we, us, our, ours

Determiners and Classifiers: Another consideration regarding the syntactic structure of Hmong concerns the use of determiners with nouns. Although the Hmong and English languages are similar in that they both use a type of determiner, they differ in the way that the determiners are used. These determiners are considered as "classifiers" by Hmong scholars, and occur before nouns in the following five circumstances (Clark, 1989):

1) after a number
2) when a demonstrative is used
3) when definite reference is being made (analogous to the English definite article)
4) after a possessive pronoun
5) when a quantity word is used

An important point to understand regarding Hmong classifiers is that they are semantically categorized. In other words, unlike English which has no true classification system, the Hmong classifiers actually "classify" the nouns they precede. For example, words like "rope" are preceded by the classifier "txoj" which indicates that the following noun is "long and thin." Some of the semantic categories indicated by classifiers include the following (Clark, 1989):

tus - cylindrical (e.g., "*tus ntiv*" = finger)
daim - flat things (e.g., "*daim pam*" = blanket)
lub - round object (e.g., "*lub taub hau*" = head)
txoj - long and thin (e.g., "*txoj hlua*" = rope)
phau - volume, collection of things put together
tsab - communication, oral or written

An example of how these classifiers work can be seen with the words

"phau ntawv" (book) and *"tsab ntawv"* (letter, as in mail). The classifier preceding the noun determines whether *"ntawv"* is a collection of papers, as in a book, or whether it is a sheet of paper used for interpersonal communication, as in a letter. (The use of classifiers is also complicated by the fact that they designate definiteness or specificity, and can often be deleted when referring to nonspecific items (Clark, 1989).)

CULTURAL AND SOCIO-LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY AFFECT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

So far, this paper has presented several important aspects regarding the contrast between the Hmong and English languages. These contrasts, however, extend far beyond linguistics as both languages are rooted in very different cultures as well. As pointed out by Walker, "regardless of the contrasts between the L1 and English that present linguistic difficulties, it is learning the cultural dimensions of the language and developing sociolinguistic proficiency that are often the greater tasks"(Walker, 1985, p. 60). The following section deals with the more general but equally important aspects of cultural and socio-linguistic differences between Hmong and English which may affect language acquisition.[4]

Literacy: To begin with, one of the biggest socio-linguistic differences between Hmong and English is that the Hmong did not have a widely accepted written language of their own prior to the end of World War II (Bliatout, *et. al.*, 1988). Even now, the majority of Hmong are not literate in their own language and there is not much published in Hmong. This is emphasized by the recent opening of a Hmong bookstore in St. Paul that was noted as one of the only bookstores in the United States of its kind. Although Hmong has been a distinct oral language for at least 4,000 years, this oral tradition is in stark contrast to the literary heritage of the English language, which extends back hundreds of years.

Although Western missionaries developed a written version of the Hmong in the early 1950's based on the Roman alphabet, which is now the more widely accepted script, there is also a second semi-alphabetic writing system used. This system, called "Pahawh Hmong" (and looking a little like Hebrew to the untrained eye) consists of 60 consonant symbols and 104 vowel and tone symbols, not including some minor ambiguities due to pronunciation differences between the White and Blue/Green Hmong dialects. This written language has been revised and simplified many times, and consequently, is known only to a few Hmong and is not widely used, even by those who are literate in Hmong (Bliatout, *et. al.*, 1988).

Education: The Hmong's experience with formal education is also

very different from that in the United States. Formal education for the Hmong of Laos only became generally accessible in the mid-twentieth century (Knop, 1982). Even when the opportunity was available, education was a privilege generally reserved for boys, and even then they could usually only attend a few years as they were needed by their families to assist in farming. It was only in the 1970's, as the Hmong took refuge from the war, that more importance was placed on formal education as they had increasing contact with western languages and cultures in Thai refugee camps (Bliatout, *et. al.*, 1988; Knop, 1982, Walker, 1985).

A very basic implication in this difference in educational exposure is that many older Hmong children and adults do not have a complete understanding of Western or academic concepts. Consequently, even if something can be translated from English to Hmong, that does not necessarily mean that comprehension will occur. Things that we take for granted, such as banks which pay interest, can be confusing to the Hmong farmer who used to bury his silver treasures in his field. Along the same vein, the value of formal education in American culture may not be fully understood — although the need for learning to speak English is recognized — since traditionally formal education was not an essential element of their society (Knop, 1982).

Furthermore, the concrete, analytical, and scientific approach that Americans often take to describe and understand the world around them is quite different from many of the Hmong who see spirits and the spirit world as directly responsible for everything that happens. For the Hmong holding these traditional views, getting sick, for example, is not due to bacteria or infections, but to the departure of one of their spirits (Quincy, 1988). In education, the idea of learning disabilities may also be a difficult concept to explain. Just as with many native English speaking parents, learning problems may be viewed as reflecting a lack of effort on the part of the child. Obviously, it would take a pretty thorough understanding of the Hmong culture and educational traditions to fully understand how great a conceptual gap there can be between the Hmong learner and the American teacher. A good teacher will expect and look for these differences.

Although the Hmong and English cultures contrast in many ways, they are similar in that the Hmong culture today places a very high value on obtaining literacy and education for their children. There are, however, three difficulties that Hmong parents have in supporting their children as they go through the U.S. education system. One problem is that since many Hmong parents have not themselves received formal education, they may not understand the behaviors required for their children to be successful students (Knop, 1982). Consequently, Hmong children may not receive the academic and emotional support that ESL children

from families with higher levels of education receive. However, efforts are being made in many schools to address this concern (e.g., Morrow, 1989; Phommasouvanh, Diaz, Pecoraro, & Biagini, 1988).

Another problem which more drastically affects the language acquisition of Hmong students is that English is often used only during school hours while Hmong is used at home and for social gatherings. This makes it more difficult for Hmong children to learn both social and academic English at the same rate as their peers with more exposure to English. Also, since many older Hmong parents are illiterate in both Hmong and English, they are not able to help their children with homework as many English speaking parents do, nor are they able to model literate behaviors such as reading the newspaper. Fortunately, as the Hmong strive to become more self-sufficient and productive members of this culture, many are also striving to become better educated at all ages. Family literacy programs have assisted in meeting this need.

Cultural Values: Another important cultural consideration that may affect language acquisition for Hmong students concerns the role of women in Hmong society. In the United States, the role of women has been transformed so that women are often able to set and achieve the same goals as men. In traditional Hmong society, the roles of men and women are often very different. As previously mentioned, education in Laos was usually reserved for boys. A daughter was rarely selected to go to school because when she married, she would become an integral part of her husband's family. Thus, investing in her education (and therefore, earning potential) would benefit her in-laws, not her birth parents (Bliatout, *et. al.*, 1988; Guskin & Goldstein, 1983; Knop, 1982). This tradition may affect Hmong girls' education today as well. If her parents do not consider her educational development to be as valuable as her brothers', a Hmong girl may not become motivated enough to achieve success in her second language acquisition and may not even realize the need to complete high school.

There are other, more subtle socio-linguistic differences between English and Hmong which may affect the Hmong student's acquisition of English. For example, in some situations, the Hmong value submissiveness and unassertiveness. This means that some Hmong children in a mainstream classroom may be more passive learners and refrain from asking questions about something they don't understand (Knop, 1982; Walker, 1985). The Hmong culture does not allow for a display of negative emotion (dissatisfaction, anger, frustration) in front of elders and/or higher status people. This means that in a classroom, a Hmong child may not understand something but would not feel comfortable admitting it or displaying any kind of emotion which would cue the teacher to a problem the student might have. If asked by a teacher or elder if the

child understands, he/she may respond with a "yes" or a smile simply to "keep the peace." This is quite different from many native English speakers, who often become competitive at an early age and learn the value of asserting themselves in the classroom and elsewhere.

APPROACHES TO HELP ESL LEARNERS OVERCOME DIFFERENCES

It is one thing to become familiar with the differences between Hmong and English in terms of language and culture, but it is quite another to use that knowledge to the benefit of Hmong students. There are several approaches that can be taken in both areas to help ESL learners overcome these differences and become successful students and citizens. The first step in helping a Hmong ESL learner is to appreciate the language differences between English and Hmong and to teach to the specific language aspects which will be the most different, and frequently the most difficult, for Hmong students to learn. For example, because all Hmong syllables and words end in a vowel sound, it is often difficult for the Hmong to remember to pronounce consonant sounds at the ends of words. The ESL teacher should place special emphasis on these ending articulations, using exercises and games to promote consistency in that area. Also, since the Hmong language does not include inflectional or derivational endings, more time should be spent on developing the students' understanding of what an "s" means, or how the use of "er" or "or" at the end of many nouns means "one who does," to list a couple of examples.

Since the concepts of time that are given in verb conjugations are new to Hmong students, the teacher should try to use real-life situations to help them comprehend the differences.

Also, pronoun usage in subject and object positions and the personal pronoun differences of "he" and "she," which the Hmong language does not use, should be reinforced in day-to-day activities, using concrete examples of who "he" (him) and "she" (her) are.

It is evident by the way the Hmong use classifiers that they categorize the world differently than English speakers do as well. The ESL teacher would help his/her students by using concept-mapping and word webs, and by describing the relationships within various types of "systems" such as animal kingdoms, seasons, food groups, etc.

Pronunciation along with intonation and stress will need some attention, especially since the rules for each are so irregular and quite different from Hmong. However, there are general and predictable patterns of pronunciation, stress, and intonation which students need to learn. This area of language acquisition should not be ignored as it is often a

major source of miscomprehension when Hmong students are attempting to communicate with native speakers of English.

Culturally and socio-linguistically, Hmong students first need to know that they are valued for who they are as well as for their rich heritage. Since Hmong children have descended from a people with a strong oral tradition, their learning styles will most likely require a "see and do" method of teaching. The ESL teacher should focus on teaching specific strategies that will allow the students to become independent and reflective readers and writers, and should take advantage of their oral tradition by encouraging Hmong students to read orally to their peers and family, and to work cooperatively on classroom tasks.

Perhaps one of the most important ways the ESL teacher can help his/her students is by involving the parents as much as possible in the education process of their children. This will allow them to understand that they are an essential contributor to their children's education and will also motivate them to encourage and support their children in their education. Also, keeping parents informed about the academic and related successes of both boys and girls will help them to realize, if they don't already, that both sexes can become equally valuable members of society regardless of the strict roles that have been placed on them in the past.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As the Hmong people become more prominent members of our culturally diverse country, they will need to be appropriately equipped. This "equipment" primarily stems from an education that is provided by teachers whose knowledge and abilities meet the specific needs of the Hmong students. It has been the intent of this paper to better clarify those needs through briefly discussing the differences between Hmong and English on several levels. Having accomplished this task, it is important to point out in conclusion that there is little doubt that, in the words of Walker, "success in English is affected more by economic, social, and circumstantial factors than by ESL programs, teachers, materials, and curricula. While educators may prefer to think that their efforts at langauge teaching make the largest contribution to proficiency, learner characteristics and outside experiences and circumstances have a far greater impact on the ultimate development of L2 proficiency" (Walker, 1985, p. 61). It is hoped that the contents of this paper will help provide insight on, and therefore a new respect for, the Hmong people, their language and their culture which will in turn allow us to provide a more supportive context in which language learning can successfully occur.

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NOTES

[1] This number compares to 7,089 students in pre-kindergarten through grade 12 classified as Hispanic and LEP (Hunt, 1995).

[2] We would like to thank Pang Cher Vue, Arts and Sciences Outreach Specialist at the University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire, for checking the accuracy of all Hmong examples given in this article which were not drawn from published sources. However, any errors in the examples are solely the responsibility of the authors.

[3] In the RPA system, each consonant sound is represented by a series of one to four letters which indicate the features of the sound. For example, the RPA symbol "nplh" indicates that the sound is a nasalized (n), labial stop (p), with an affricated, lateral release (l), and is aspirated (h).

[4] For an extensive bibliography of material written on the Hmong, contact the Southeast Asian Refugees Studies Project, Institute of International Studies and Programs, University of Minnesota.

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Reading Lab: From Pleasure Reading to Proficiency?

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The value of extensive reading in English as a second or foreign language through the use of a "reading laboratory" is explored in this paper, which describes a study carried out with ESL students at the intermediate level in the Minnesota English Center at the University of Minnesota. Evidence for Krashen's Reading Hypothesis—the Input Hypothesis as it applies to reading—is presented in a review of studies of "book floods" and reading labs which mainly have been set up for children. This article also touches on the history of readability formulas and the arguments for and against the use of adapted, as opposed to authentic, texts. The study described sought to determine what effect(s) offering a reading lab two hours a week during regular class time would have on post-secondary ESL students' overall proficiency and attitudes toward reading in English. Several series of graded readers and simple novels at six increasing stages of difficulty were provided for students to read over the ten-week term. Mean gains in TOEFL Reading Test scores were measured and found to be significant among students who participated in the reading lab. Significant correlations were also found among students' self-rating of their ability in English academic reading with their enjoyment of English academic reading, their ability in English non-academic reading, and the number of books they read in the reading lab.

There is probably not a teacher in the world who would intentionally discourage students from reading. Nevertheless, how often are students in second-language (L2) or foreign language (FL) programs given opportunities and materials that allow them to read vast amounts in the target language? Few would argue with the belief that reading is important for language acquisition in both a person's first and second language. Whereas it was once thought that language should be taught in discrete points in order to give second language learners the skills they needed to read, it has become evident that reading is linked to overall proficiency

— being able to read leads to greater acquisition of the language (Devine, 1987).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Value of Extensive Reading

Extensive reading, as defined by Grellet, is "reading longer texts, usually for one's own pleasure...a fluency activity, mainly involving global understanding" (1981). Reading in the target language, not only in class, but extensively "for pleasure and interest," is increasingly being stressed by English as a Second Language researchers and teachers (Carrell, 1987; Swaffar, Arens & Burns, 1991). This is in line with the Input Hypothesis put forth by Krashen (1982) that states that large amounts of "comprehensible input" are necessary for people to "acquire" (rather than consciously learn) language naturally in the same manner that children acquire their mother tongue. Krashen propounds "free voluntary reading" for both its benefits to the attitudes of learners as well as its benefits to language acquisition itself (1993). In other words, the more students read because they want to, the more they will read, and thus the more language they will acquire.

According to the Reading Hypothesis (the Input Hypothesis as it applies to reading), language learners will acquire syntax and vocabulary better when they are "flooded" with books, rather than given explicit classroom instruction (Krashen, 1989; Elley, 1991).

A study of a comprehension-based program among French-speaking third-graders (age eight) in Canada yielded some rather remarkable results. In this program, the children had thirty minutes of English as a Second Language (ESL) each day, but they did not receive formal instruction at all, nor did they even interact with the teacher or each other during the class. Instead, they spent their time just listening to stories and reading. Their progress equalled and, in some cases, exceeded that of children in "regular" ESL classes, even in the area of speaking (Lightbown, 1992). The researcher points out, however, that the children in this program were beginning learners of English, and that the results of such a program may not prove as successful with more advanced learners. Also, what proportion of the success is due to reading as opposed to listening is not evident; nevertheless, the benefit of the comprehension-based program for the children involved is notable.

Perhaps the best known study on the effects of extensive reading which supports the Reading Hypothesis is Elley and Mangubhai's experiment in the Fiji Islands with children learning ESL (1983). In this study, school children, ages 9-11 (Classes 4 and 5), in twelve schools were randomly assigned to one of three groups: Shared Book Experience, Sus-

tained Silent Reading, or Tate Syllabus (control group). The 350 children in the first two groups experienced a "book flood," with students in the first group reading extensivily using the highly interactive Shared Book Experience approach while those in the second group also read extensivley but with the more individualized Sustained Silent Reading approach. The Tate Syllabus, the standard audio-lingual program in Fiji, involved little reading except for the structured readers in the curriculum. Standardized pre- and post-tests for reading comprehension were given to all of the children and the results were compared across groups. Both experimental groups performed significantly better than the control group in reading comprehension and language structures. In fact, "book flood" children in Class 4 improved at more than two times the normal rate. A follow-up study a year later showed even more clearly that "book-based" programs resulted in significant gains, supporting the hypothesis that language acquisition occurs naturally and rapidly through reading for interest and pleasure (Elley & Mangubhai, 1983).

Based on the Elley and Mangubhai study, other studies have been carried out with children using "reading laboratories" as sources for extensive reading. One study has been done in the United Kingdom with Pakistani immigrant children, mainly native speakers of Punjabi, ages 10-11. During the experiment, the children met after school for one hour five days a week for twelve weeks and read books of their choice from among a collection of graded ESL readers. The scores of the experimental group's pre-tests and post-tests were compared to those of children in two parallel control groups. The results indicated greater gains and higher scores, not only in reading but in writing as well, among the children who read extensively for pleasure. According to the researchers, subjects also became a very enthusiastic and highly cohesive group, a factor which may have affected the outcomes of the experiment (Hafiz & Tudor, 1989).

Another longitudinal study is being carried out in Germany with secondary students, ages 12-14, to determine whether or not "voluntary leisure-time reading" helps young adolescent EFL learners acquire the target language (Brusch, 1991). In this project both graded EFL readers and authentic texts, those written for native readers of English, are available for the students. The final results of the project have yet to be reported.

Defining "Readability"

The studies mentioned above assume the importance of extensive reading in the target language and they used graded or adapted texts. Some might argue that the use of texts written for ESL/EFL learners does not allow for adequate input to take place because elements of authentic

language are missing. A number of studies have been done on the effects of adapting texts and the types of adaptations that are most comprehensible, or "readable," for non-native speakers of English (Swaffar, et. al., 1991; Carrell, 1987; Strother & Ulijn, 1987; Blau, 1982; Johnson, 1981; Marshall & Glock, 1978-79).

Adapted texts are authentic texts modified to make them more readable. Readability may be defined simply as the "ease of understanding or comprehension because of style of writing," or, more specifically, as "an objective estimate or prediction of reading comprehension of material usually in terms of reading grade level, based upon selected and quantified variables in text, especially some index of vocabulary difficulty and of sentence difficulty" (Harris & Hodges, 1981). The latter definition is of interest to our discussion of using simplified or adapted texts for second language learners. The "objective methods" used to make such a determination are known as "readability formulas" (Harris & Hodges, 1981).

Readability formulas were developed for first language texts in the early part of the twentieth century in the United States in order to objectivize and standardize the measures by which texts were deemed "difficult" for readers of different ability levels. As the need for accessible technological information grew during World War II, these formulas were used to develop "readable" materials for a greater audience. The formulas relied primarily on word length and sentence length, and worked relatively well with native English speaking readers (Carrell, 1987).

Criticisms of Readability Formulas

Readability formulas, however, have come under considerable investigation and criticism, especially in regard to readers for English as a second language students (Blau, 1982; Beck, McKeown, Omanson & Pople, 1984; Davison & Kantor, 1982; Marshall & Glock, 1978-1979; Parker & Chaudron, 1987; Strother & Ulijn, 1987; Strother & Ulijn, 1991; Swaffar, 1991; Widdowson, 1978). There are two major criticisms. First, when such formulas are used, even though the intention is to make the text "simpler" and therefore more comprehensible, what the formulas actually tend to produce are disjointed and distorted texts (Blau, 1982; Swaffar, 1991; Widdowson, 1978). For example, if we want to avoid the "difficult" structure of an unmarked relative clause, we might simplify the following sentence:

That is the house I want to buy.

=>(a) That is a house. I want to buy it.
=>(b) I want to buy that house.

Neither of these two simplifications is satisfactory; something of the

speaker's intent is lost in both cases. Sentence (a) is chopy and unsophisticated and does not convey the longing to own the house as implied in the original sentence. Sentence (b) is slightly better, but the focus of the sentence has shifted from the object, "house," to the action, "buy." Some language complexity is, in fact, necessary for coherence (Swaffar, 1991). There is also evidence that the "relationship between syntax and readability is not so strong as may have been expected" (Blau, 1982; also supported by Strother & Ulijn, 1987).

The second criticism of readability formulas is based on what studies have shown about the importance of background knowledge. They indicate that background knowledge, or schema, outweighs text complexity as a factor for comprehension of a text (Davison & Kantor, 1982; Johnson, 1981). Cultural background, in particular, is important for understanding a text (Carrell, 1987; Johnson, 1981). For instance, international ESL students who have participated in Halloween celebrations in the United States are more likely to understand a reading about the holiday's history and customs than those students who are unacquainted with jack-o-lanterns, costumes, black cats, witches and trick-or-treating (Johnson, 1982).

Reader interest is another consideration within the realm of background knowledge and an important factor in reading comprehension (Blau, 1982; Marshall & Glock, 1978-1979; Swaffar, 1991). Few of us read things in which we have little or no interest, yet ESL students may be expected to comprehend a reading passage for which they have little background because the topic is not relevant to their interests or experience. There is more push now, and rightly so, on pre-reading activities which activate schemata and on the use of authentic texts.

Most researchers would agree that the biggest obstacle of all for second language readers is vocabulary (Blau, 1982; Laufer, 1992; Strother & Ulijn, 1987). Consideration of the reader's vocabulary, then, should be a key factor in determining the readability of a text.

Adapted Texts

In spite of these difficulties with text adaptation, some form of adaptation seems advisable as the combination of advanced vocabulary, complex structures and cultural decontextualization of many authentic materials often deters even a relatively brave language learner from taking the reading plunge. Nevertheless, as modification of speech in the form of "foreigner talk" is claimed to aid the listening comprehension of second language learners (Chaudron, 1983; Kelch, 1985; Long, 1985), so adaptation of written texts should be entered into with the reader in mind. Although the writer is distanced from the reader in a way two speakers

are not, writing is still a form of communication which needs to consider its audience. What readability formulas fail to take into consideration is the reader: writing that communicates will adjust to the reader's needs, particularly in regard to vocabulary (Beck, *et. al.*, 1984; Strother & Ulijn, 1987; Strother & Ulijn, 1991; Widdowson, 1978). Widdowson also presents the difference between "simplified versions" and "simple accounts," the former being likely to distort a text, the latter being a re-telling of the information in a way that is more comprehensible for its reader (1978). Widdowson also encourages the use of visuals (such as graphs, diagrams and illustrations) to complement the "simple" text (1978).

Swaffar, *et al.*, argue that ESL learners should be introduced to authentic texts early in their instruction, guided through reading such texts for gist even from the beginning, and encouraged to read authentic texts on their own (1991). However, the limitations of beginning ESL readers' second language proficiency—especially in the area of vocabulary—might prohibit them from doing vast amounts of second language reading independently. If "success breeds success," as the adage goes, certainly the converse is also true: defeat breeds defeat. Language learners who feel discouraged or intimidated by second-language texts may read nothing or very little in the target language beyond what is required, and, as a result, fail to receive more than a minimal amount of input.

Therefore, it seems justifiable to use graded ESL readers or other simple texts to encourage learners of ESL to do more extensive reading, especially if the readers are graded according to vocabulary and illustrated to enhance the context. What measurable effect(s) such extensive reading for pleasure might have on older ESL learners' acquisition of English has yet to be determined.

In order to provide more opportunities for ESL students to read extensively and independently, a "reading lab" was set up at the Minnesota English Center at the University of Minnesota, modeled after the one utilized at Minnesota State University-Akita (Japan). Numerous series of illustrated, graded readers are provided for the students to choose from, according to their level and interest. These readers are graded primarily according to vocabulary levels. The goals of the reading lab include encouraging ESL students to read extensively in English and promoting their reading fluency (Richards, 1993).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although the reading lab at the Minnesota English Center has been in place since Fall 1992, work yet remains to be done to document the success of the lab. This study will attempt to determine whether providing simple and adapted texts for ESL students to read has any effect on

their overall reading proficiency. If students are allowed to read large amounts of simple texts independently, will their ESL reading proficiency be enhanced? Will their attitudes toward reading in English be affected? The research questions to be answered by this study are as follows:

1) How does time spent doing extensive reading in a reading lab affect the overall reading proficiency of ESL students?

2) How does time spent doing extensive reading in a reading lab affect the students' attitudes toward reading in English?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Subjects

The subjects for this study were twenty-one students enrolled in the English Program for International Students (EPIS) at the Minnesota English Center, a pre-academic ESL program at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The subjects were volunteers drawn from two classes at Level 220, the third (high-intermediate) level of the EPIS program, during Spring Quarter 1993. The ages of the subjects were 19-32, with an average age of 23. All students at this level of the program were required to participate in the reading lab, regardless of whether or not they were in the study.

The records of 18 of the students at the same level in EPIS during Spring 1992, who had had no reading lab, were consulted for comparison as a control group.

Instrumentation

The Reading Lab: The reading lab materials consisted of several series[1] of illustrated, graded readers that range from a core vocabulary of 300-600 base words to a core of more than 2000 base words. Note that core vocabulary does not indicate the length of the texts, but rather the number of different words used throughout the text. The difficulty of each book or series of books is determined by the respective publishers according to sentence structure and information control as well as the core vocabulary. Publishers vary in their systems for defining and labeling levels of difficulty so the books purchased for the reading lab were unified under one color-coded system, determined by the lab director using core vocabulary as the primary determiner of level[2].

The reading lab was set up such that the students were assigned to two "stages" (or reading levels) according to their performance on cloze

passages drawn from three passages from three books of increasing stages of difficulty. Every fifth word of the passage after the first sentence was deleted, and the tests were scored using an exact word count. The students took a practice cloze in order to become familiar with this type of test. The rationale for assigning the students to two stages was to allow them the option of adjusting themselves to the more challenging or comfortable level, depending on their own confidence and preference, once they started reading the books.

Students participated in the reading lab as part of their reading/composition course during regular class time, two times a week for an hour each time. Students accounted for each book read by completing a book report which provided basic bibliographic information, their opinion of the book, and a brief explanation of their opinion. The form was similar to the form for "outside reading" proposed by Stroller in her recommendations for setting up a reading lab as a course (1986). Information from these book reports was summarized on a list by the Reading Lab Coordinator. Students read at least three books at each stage before moving on to the next stage. At the end of the quarter, the teacher of the reading/composition course gave each student a grade for reading lab, based primarily on attendance/participation and effort (i.e., the number of books read)

Proficiency Evaluation: The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL[3]) is given as an institutional test at the end of each quarter in the Minnesota English Center and is used in level placement for the students. Since TOEFL scores are commonly accepted as a standard of language proficiency, the scores of TOEFL Section 3, Vocabulary and Reading Comprehension—which, for the sake of simplicity, will be refered to as the TOEFL Reading Test[4]—were used to determine the reading proficiency of the students.

The TOEFL has been designed by the Educational Testing Service to test the English language proficiency of international students who are nonnative speakers of English wanting to study at colleges and universities in the United States. The TOEFL is widely used as a standard by institutions of higher education in the United States and other countries (ETS, 1995). The Reading Test, in particular, "measures ability to understand nontechnical reading matter" (ETS, 1995 p. 4; Peirce, 1992). This section takes 45 minutes and comprises 30 vocabulary items as well as 30 multiple-choice reading comprehension questions based on a series of authentic reading passages (Peirce, 1992).[5]

Given the wide acceptance of TOEFL scores and the stated intention of the Reading Test, "proficiency" for the purposes of this study was defined as it is measured by the TOEFL. Scores on the Reading Test at the end of Winter Quarter 1992 were considered "entrance" scores (T1) for

the students of Spring Quarter 1992; likewise, scores on the Reading Test at the end of Winter Quarter 1993, were considered "entrance" scores for the students of Spring 1993. "Exit" scores (T2) were the Reading Test scores at the end of Spring Quarter 1992 and Spring Quarter 1993, respectively.

Questionnaire: A questionnaire was designed to determine the students' attitudes toward reading. The questions were asked with the intention of getting background information (age, sex, native language, years of English study) which might factor into their attitudes, as well as discovering students' confidence, pleasure, and motivation for reading. Students were asked to rate their ability in and their enjoyment of non-academic and academic reading in their native language and in English, as well as to estimate the amount of time they spent doing reading homework and pleasure reading in English. Questions about both academic and non-academic reading were included so that the students would not be influenced to simply answer positively about the non-academic reading done in reading lab. Finally, students were asked if they thought they did more non-academic reading outside of class because of reading lab (see Appendix A).

Data Collection Procedures

At the beginning of the Spring Quarter 1993, the students were given a practice cloze test and then a longer cloze test of three short reading passages in order to determine at which stage they should begin reading in the reading lab. Throughout the quarter, as each student completed a book, s/he turned in a book report to the reading/composition teacher. A list of the number of books read by each student was compiled by the Reading Lab Coordinator.

At the end of the quarter, the students who had volunteered to be subjects in the study were given the questionnaire by their teachers, and the subjects' answers were given numeric values and entered on a data sheet.

The Institutional TOEFL scores were also recorded for comparison.[6]

Data Analysis Procedures

T-tests for paired samples (repeated measures designs): Comparing test scores within groups: The t-test for paired samples is a statistical procedure used to determine changes in performance by the same subjects at two different periods of time, often after some type of treatment. Using the SPSS t-test program, this test was used to compare the TOEFL Reading Test entrance (T1) and exit (T2) scores of subjects in both the

control and treatment groups. The Spring 1992 class served as the control group in that this class received only class instruction. The Spring 1993 class, the treatment group, received both classroom instruction and intensive reading lab work.

Pearson Correlations: Using a Pearson correlation program, intercorrelations among grades, test scores and background variables were calculated for the treatment group, Spring 1993, relating them to the attitudinal variables set out by the questionnaire as well as the number of books read by each subject in the group.

RESULTS

T-tests for paired samples (repeated measures designs): Comparing test scores within groups: Using a repeated-measures design to compare the scores of T1 and T2 within the treatment group (Spring 1993), a significant difference in the means of T1 and T2 was found, indicating significant gains in reading proficiency between tests. In other words, the students of Spring 1993 scored significantly higher on the exit TOEFL Reading Test (T2) than they had on the entrance TOEFL Reading Test (T1). As Table 1 shows, the mean difference of T1 and T2 was -5.67 ($p<.01$), which indicates a statistically significant gain in test scores. The mean score of the exit test (T2) was nearly 6 points higher than the entrance test (T1), comparared to the statistically insignificant gain of only 2.46 points ($p<.12$) for the students during Spring 1992.

TABLE 1: Entrance (T1) and Exit (T2) Scores
TOEFL Section 3: Vocabulary & Reading Comprehension

(t-tests for paired samples and paired differences)

	n	Test	m	SD	t-value	df	2-tail Sig	
Sp 92	11	T1	42.45	5.36				
		T2	44.91	5.50	-1.69	10	1.22	(n.s.)
Difference in Mean Scores = -2.46								
Sp 93	15	T1	37.00	6.64				
		T2	42.67	5.72	-3.03	14	.009	*p<.01
Difference in Mean Scores = -5.67								

As the occurance of an increase in mean gain scores is statistically unlikely to occur without the influence of some outside factor, these results land in favor of the hypothesis that time spent reading in a reading lab positively affects the overall reading proficiency of ESL students.

Pearson Correlations: Students' attitudes, as measured by the questionnaire, were also positively affected by the reading lab. In an attempt to see whether there were any correlations between proficiency and atti-

tude or background, intercorrelations were calculated relating students' test scores to their answers to the questionnaire and by relating their responses to different questions on the questionnaire to each other (see Appendix B for detailed results). Nineteen subjects completed the questionnaire, but TOEFL entrance scores were not available for five of them so a complete and valid analysis was carried out on only 14 of the original 21 subjects.

The most statistically significant positive correlation was between the students' self-rating of their ability in English academic reading — which I view as an indicator of reading confidence — and their enjoyment of English academic reading — which I view as an indicator of reading pleasure ($r = .83$, $p < .001$). Their self-rating of their ability in English academic reading also had a significant positive correlation with their rating of their ability in English non-academic reading ($r = .77$, $p < .01$) as well as to the number of books they read during the quarter — which I view as an indicator of motivation ($r = .68$, $p < .01$).

Other significant correlations were found in comparing the Spring 1993 students' rating of their enjoyment of both academic and non-academic reading in English with their native language ($r = .70$, $p < .01$ and $r = .73$, $p < .01$, respectively). As a variable, the native language was labeled as Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indonesian) or Non-Asian (Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic) because of the low number of subjects.

Upon closer look at the correlations, it can be seen that, of the Asians, not one rated his/her enjoyment as "a lot" for either academic or non-academic reading in English, and that, in fact, most of them rated their enjoyment of academic English reading as "not much." On the other hand, of the non-Asians, most rated their enjoyment of non-academic English reading as "a lot," and none of them rated their enjoyment of academic English as "not much" (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: Comparison of Students' Native Language with Enjoyment of Reading in English

		Non-Academic			Academic		
	n	a lot	some	not much	a lot	some	not much
Asian	11	0	9	(1) 1	0	3	8
Non-Asian	8	5	3	0	2 (1)	5	0

In answer to the question, "Do you do more non-academic reading outside of class because of reading lab?" 63 percent answered "yes" and 37 percent answered "no."

DISCUSSION
Study Results

This study was based on the hypothesis that extensive reading for pleasure and interest would have positive effects on ESL students' overall reading proficiency and on their attitudes toward reading in English.

According to this study, university ESL students who participated in a reading lab two hours a week in lieu of instruction showed significant gains in reading proficiency based on the difference in mean gain scores on the TOEFL Reading Test at the beginning and end of a ten-week academic term.

Also in support of the hypothesis was the finding of a highly significant positive correlation between the subjects' rating of their confidence and their pleasure in reading academic English ($r = .83$, $p < .001$). This may mean that ESL students who are more proficient—or who at least feel proficient—enjoy reading in English more than those with less confidence in their ability. The subjects' confidence in English academic reading, measured in terms of their self-rating of their ability, also had significant correlations with their confidence in English non-academic reading and their motivation to read, measured in terms of the number of books read in reading lab ($p < .01$). Interestingly, the reading/composition course in which the subjects were enrolled was based on academic objectives, but the materials in the reading lab were non-academic in nature, primarily comprising fiction. There was also a significant correlation between the subjects' enjoyment of reading in English, both academic and non-academic, with their enjoyment of reading in their native language.

It might be seen as a disadvantage that the population studied was not only small, but also diverse. It is difficult to generalize the results to other populations because of that. However, the students of any one term at the Minnesota English Center will be from a variety of language backgrounds, so the practicality of studying a diverse group allows adjustments to be made for and by such a population as may be found in this and other ESL programs in the United States.

Some discussion should be given to other factors besides the reading lab which might have influenced the results of the study. Although the instructors' course materials and course assignments were basically the same, or at least similar in nature, for both Spring 1992 and Spring 1993, these factors were not controlled by the experimenter. Furthermore, subjects were drawn from multiple sections of reading/composition courses. However, the learning objectives for these courses remained constant across terms and across sections. The comparison of students in parallel (i.e., Spring 1992 and Spring 1993) rather than consequtive terms was an attempt to account for other factors that may influence language devel-

opment, such as seasonal changes and cultural adjustment stages which are affected by the length of time students have been in the country and the program. Students in the experimental group (Spring 1993) may have also been influenced by the generally positive feedback given by those who had participated in the reading lab as part of their courses in the Fall 1992 and Winter 1993 terms.

In a future study, perhaps subjects could be allowed to participate and be observed and evaluated over a longer period of time. Certainly an attitudinal questionnaire or survey should be given at the beginning as well as the end of the duration of the study in order to assess any changes the students have in their attitudes toward reading in English. The TOEFL is a convenient and widely used standard of English proficiency, but a different reading test that is non-academic in nature and is a more global measure of reading comprehension could be used. Such a test could be given before and after the students' participation in the reading lab in order to assess gains more accurately. A true control group (or groups) should be set up so that the design of the study would be more experimental in nature.

Because this study was not a "true experiment" in which all but one independent variable are controlled and subjects are randomly assigned to control or experimental groups (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991), the differences between the two groups cannot all be accounted for. The TOEFL Reading Test, however, is a standardized test, and although a comparison could not be made between the gain scores of the two groups in this study, the significant gain in the mean score of the group which had reading lab is in the direction which would be expected in support of the Reading/Input Hypothesis.

The correlation between the subjects' TOEFL Reading Test scores and their answers to the questionnaire was not significant, but the significant gains in proficiency as measured by the TOEFL, and the correlations among the attitudinal factors of the questionnaire are noteworthy in themselves.

Significant correlations that were observed among the confidence factor (subjects' self-assessment of their ability), the pleasure (enjoyment) factor, the motivation factor (number of books read) and native language in this study can only be used to describe the patterns observed among these subjects and not to determine causal relationships. However, it does seem logical that students would enjoy reading in English if they felt confident in their ability. But whether they are confident because of their native language background or from the ability they gained by being "enabled" to read in the reading lab, is difficult to ascertain. We could say the same about the number of books read. Did certain individuals read more books because they discovered that they enjoyed reading in

English, or did they enjoy reading in English because they were able to read more books? It is not so surprising that confidence and enjoyment apparently go hand in hand, but which causes the other or how either are caused was not determined by this study. That a number of students seemed to have positive attitudes about reading is, however, encouraging. Certainly language learners, especially those with academic goals, could be made aware of such high correlations among the subjects' self-ratings of ability in English academic reading with (a) their ability in English non-academic reading, (b) their enjoyment of English academic reading, and (c) the number of books they read for pleasure in the reading lab.

Something for teachers and researchers to consider is how one's native language background might affect one's confidence and enjoyment of reading in English. For that matter, the reading lab situation may be one that is culturally difficult to accept for some students. It might be encouraging for students to see that their ability and confidence in reading non-academic English materials (of which the reading lab is comprised) might somehow be connected to their success, or at least confidence in academic reading. Perhaps if some students are skeptical about the effectiveness of using time for pleasure reading they will reconsider their opinion when they see that there may be some relationship between pleasure reading and proficiency.

Much more needs to be studied on the use of reading labs as a supplemental or integral part of ESL (or EFL) programs for university students and adults in order to determine exactly what effect the reading lab has on attitudes and language acquisition, and causal relationships among the various factors. In any case, reading more has not been of any harm to the subjects of this study and others. Language learners should continue to be encouraged to read and be exposed to opportunities and materials to read.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

Given the results of this study with university students and the studies which have been done with children, we can safely say that extensive reading is of great benefit to language learners. Teachers and admistrators of ESL programs ought to consider implementing some sort of extensive reading system, whether it takes the form of a reading lab per se or of some other scheme to encourage pleasure reading in English as a target language. With the wide availability of materials from numerous publishers, there seems little reason not to. Certainly the initial cost of setting up a reading lab (buying books and supplies) and the hours involved in collecting, labeling and cataloging books seem considerable, but a reading lab library can be built up and maintained over time. Once the sys-

tem is in operation, it can be expanded and improved in increments.

Program administrators may need some convincing that the expense and effort required to establish and sustain a reading lab within a program is worthwhile. Although public libraries are available for use to learners in an English-speaking country, the task of finding high-interest books at the appropriate level remains daunting for the language learner. A reading lab provides a large number of books suitable to the language proficiency level as well as the maturity of older students. Learners in EFL contexts have even more need for reading labs, as their exposure to the target language is limited. The practical considerations of limited budgets, lack of resources, communication difficulties, and costs of shipping may be obstacles to setting up a reading lab overseas, particulary in developing countries. However, in some cases a portion of a resource budget or grant monies may be obtainable for such a purpose.

When setting up a reading lab, attention should be given to choosing books which are of high interest to those who will read them. Ideally, learners would be surveyed for their preferences prior to the selection of books. When that is not possible, it may be wise to provide books that offer a wide range of style and interest, from romance to folk tales to mysteries, for example. Later, by keeping record of the books read most often (one purpose of the simple book reports mentioned in the Instrumentation section) and with input from the learners, new books can be added which cater to the general preferences of the learners.

Teachers who love to read are themselves the best promoters of reading for pleasure. A teacher's enthusiasm for reading and a keen interest in what students are reading can encourage ESL learners to read in English. Of course, many students will already be lovers of reading in their own language. A teacher can encourage them to talk about their favorite books and authors in their own language and help them find the books in English translation, if possible. Students may also enjoy having time to discuss what they are reading with their classmates.

A designated time for "free reading" during class or in a reading lab affords students an opportunity to read that they might not give themselves on their own. This is not the time for a teacher to grade quizzes or plan the next day's lesson. Beyond the minimal amount of time it takes to run the reading lab (helping students find, check out or return materials, collecting book reports, etc.), the teacher, also, should be reading. This can be one's own book or books from the reading lab. Being familiar with the contents and levels of difficulty of the reading lab books will help a teacher make recommendations to students.

The main thing to keep in mind is that the reading lab is for pleasure—a low-stress, highly motivating activity. Hopefully, students will carry the "reading habit" out of the lab and into their daily lives, becom-

ing proficient and confident in English as their second language and unlocking the wealth of ideas to be found in books that otherwise would not be available to them.

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Appendix A

Reading Questionnaire
Your answers as an individual will be kept confidential.

Class & Section: _____ Date: _____
Name: _____
Age: _____ Sex: ___F ___M
Native Language: _____

Please check the answer that best applies to you.

How long did you study English in your own country?
__less than 1 year __1-2 years __2-4 years
__4-6 years __more than 6 years

How long have you studied English in an English-speaking country?
__0-3 months __4-6 months __6-9 months
__10 months-1 year __1-2 years __more than 2 years

Have you ever taken an English reading class before? If so, where and for how long? _____

What are your reasons for learning to read English? Please rank the reasons below, as they apply to you. (1 = most important; 7 = least important)

__to study in a college or university in the U.S. (or other English-speaking country)
__to translate technical material
__to communicate with Americans (and other English speakers) here in the U.S.
__to conduct business with English speakers overseas (in my own country)
__to learn about American culture
__to grow as a person
__Other (please explain):
_____

How well do you think you read? Please rate your reading ability:

How much do you enjoy reading? Please indicate below:

On average, how much time do you spend doing English reading assignments each night?

__less than 15 minutes __15-30 minutes __30 minutes-1 hour
__1-2 hours __more than 2 hours

On average, how much time do you spend pleasure reading in English each day (not including reading lab)?

__less than 15 minutes __15-30 minutes __30 minutes-1 hour
__1-2 hours __more than 2 hours

Do you do more non-academic reading outside of class because of reading lab?

___yes ___no

How well do you think you read? Please rate your reading ability:

	Non-Academic Reading (popular magazines, novels, etc.)				Academic Reading (textbooks, scientific journals, etc.)			
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Native Language:	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
English:	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___

	Non-Academic Reading (popular magazines, novels, etc.)			Academic Reading (textbooks, scientific journals, etc.)		
	a lot	some	not much	a lot	some	not much
Native Language:	___	___	___	___	___	___
English:	___	___	___	___	___	___

Appendix B

Appendix: Table of Intercorrelations between TOEFL scores, background information, and attitudinal variables.

	Ability to Read: L2 - Non-acad	Ability to Read: L2 - Academic	Enjoy Reading: L1 - Non-acad	Enjoy Reading: L1 - Academic	Enjoy Reading: L2 - Non-acad	Enjoy Reading: L2 - Academic
L1	.5324	.5706	.2282	.5745	**.7303***	**.6988***
Sex	-.2218	-.2634	-.2282	.0287	-.0913	-.1165
Age	.1713	.1304	-.2034	.0853	.1559	.1384
# of books read during quarter	.5099	**.6776***	.1706	.2346	.5814	.4032
Entrance TOEFL Reading Test	.1581	.2161	-.3125	.3425	-.0316	.3494
Exit TOEFL Reading Test	.4087	.5704	-.1423	.2513	.3915	.4540
Ability to Read: L1 - Non-acad	.3993	.3512	.0913	.0287	.2282	.3494
Ability to Read: L1 - Academic	.3155	.6536	-.1928	.1517	-.0771	.4674
Ability to Read: L2 - Non-acad	1.0000	**.7673***	.0648	.1274	.3888	**.7235***
Ability to Read: L2 - Academic	**.7673***	1.0000	-.1923	.3102	.3606	**.8282****
Enjoy Reading: L1 - Non-acad	.0648	-.1923	1.0000	-.1259	.4000	-.2552
Enjoy Reading: L1 - Academic	.1274	.3102	-.1259	1.0000	.1259	.6022
Enjoy Reading: L2 - Non-acad	.3888	.3606	.4000	.1259	1.0000	.2552
Enjoy Reading: L2 - Academic	**.7235***	**.8282****	-.2552	.6022	.2552	1.0000
Daily Time on Reading Hmwk	.5184	.3126	.3000	-.1259	.4000	.2552
Daily Time on Pleasure Reading	.5257	.6537	-.3801	-.1196	.1754	.4849

*p<.01; **p<.001

NOTES

[1] The following is a list of publishers whose books—including ESL graded readers (indicated by an asterisk, *) and non-ESL books—have been used in the Minnesota English Center Reading Lab (as of June 1995): Alemany Press*, Bantam Skylark Changing World Series, Collier-MacMillan English Readers*, Dell Yearling, Fearon's Amazing Adventures, Globe Fearon Fastbacks, HarperCollins Publishers, Heinemann Guided Readers*, Longman*, Longman American Structured Readers*, Longman Bridge Series*, Longman Classics*, Longman Fiction Series*, Literacy Volunteers of NYC Writer's Voices, Macmillan Advanced Reader Series*, Maxwell Macmillan International, Newport House, Newbury House Readers*, New Readers Press, Oxford Bookworms*, Oxford Progressive Readers*, Oxford Streamline Graded Readers*, Puffin Books, Pocket Books, Random House*, Regents Illustrated Classics*, Regents Readers*, Rosen Publishing Group, Scholastic Inc. (Courtesy of Patricia A. Eliason and Thomas C. Richards, MEC.)

[2] Six levels of difficulty based on core vocabulary: (1) yellow, 300-600 words; (2) orange, 500-750 words; (3) green, 900-1250 words; (4) white, 1300-1500 words; (5) red, 1600-1800 words; (6) blue, 2000 words or more. (Courtesy of Pat Eliason and Tom Richards, MEC.)

[3] TOEFL is a registered trade mark of the Educational Testing Service.

[4] This term is used by Peirce (1992), whose work for the ETS in test development included creating and analyzing a reading test in 1986. See References.

[5] Since the time of this study, the TOEFL Reading Test has been modified. Section 3, formerly Vocabulary and Reading Comprehension, is now, in tests given after July 1995, only Reading Comprehension, and is composed strictly of reading passages and questions about the information in those passages (ETS, 1995 p. 9, 12).

[6] Scores were obtained by permission.

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The Paraphrasing Process of Native Speakers: Some Implications for the ESL Classroom

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To acquire academic writing skills, ESL students in American universities need to know both why and how to paraphrase. Writing texts typically deal only superficially with the issue of paraphrase. In an attempt to discover more about the actual process writers engage in as they paraphrase, native English speakers were asked to paraphrase sentences and to think aloud while doing so. Information gathered during these verbal report sessions was analyzed and organized into a taxonomy of strategies. This taxonomy offers a better understanding of the complexities of the process of paraphrasing. It can help writing teachers supplement their textbooks and can give ESL students a clearer sense of the tasks involved in this very complex skill.

INTRODUCTION

In the American university classroom, paraphrasing is a critical skill. Paraphrasing is necessary when writing a research paper, summarizing a reading, or writing an essay test. A second language writer must know why paraphrasing is necessary as well as how to paraphrase. The "why" of paraphrasing is a cultural matter. For example, if one's native country places less emphasis on individualism than does the United States, the necessity for putting an author's words into one's own English phrasing may not be apparent (Mlynarczyk and Haber, 1991). On the other hand, the "how" of paraphrasing is linguistic, involving accurate comprehension and facility in manipulating both grammar and vocabulary. This makes paraphrasing a difficult task for any second language writer.

Students enrolled in my freshman-level ESL college reading course were the impetus for this study. When asked to show their reading comprehension by making notes or writing a summary of a reading, it was apparent that students were doing little or no paraphrasing, even when it was requested. This led me to question whether the "why" and the "how" of paraphrasing were clear to them. Questioning the class revealed that all students did not understand why paraphrasing is necessary. My

students also said that knowing how to paraphrase was difficult. Therefore, the first step was to explain plagiarism to the students and clarify why paraphrasing was necessary. Once students understood the importance of avoiding plagiarism, a larger obstacle remained. This was the technical "how" of paraphrasing -- altering the grammar and vocabulary of the original without changing its meaning.

Paraphrasing is a multi-faceted skill, which requires time and effort to master, as well as teach. Unfortunately, paraphrasing is often only superficially dealt with in textbooks. This paper will briefly examine some writing textbooks, for both native and non-native speakers of English, that deal with plagiarism, paraphrasing, and instruction in paraphrasing. In an attempt to better understand the complexities of writing a paraphrase, this paper will report on a study of the paraphrasing process of two graduate-level native speakers, using a verbal report methodology. The ultimate goal is useful information on how to better teach this skill.

SUMMARY OF THE TEXTBOOK SURVEY

An examination of nine commonly used reading and writing textbooks (Appendix A) revealed some common patterns. First, not all of these books aimed at academic writers (and readers) overtly mentioned plagiarism. However, those that did generally agreed that plagiarism is a serious problem which is often unintentional but can have repercussions at a university. Some books went so far as to differentiate between different types of plagiarism, creating a continuum ranging from merely copying the original with no changes made and no quotation marks added (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984) to attempted paraphrasing with insufficient changes made (Strenski and Manfred, 1985). Plagiarism was also said to appear obvious in a second language student's paper (Shoemaker, 1985) and to be recognizable to a teacher due to familiarity with student work (Hamp-Lyons and Courter).

Some of the texts offered advice on avoiding plagiarism; teachers were said to not expect perfection in student writing (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984). Students were encouraged to use their own style and to paraphrase while taking notes (Lester, 1987). Reasons given for paraphrasing were to show understanding of a reading, to replace the heavy use of quotations in writing, and to show recognition of the original author's ownership of his/her words. Documentation, quotation, and a bibliography were mentioned as other ways of giving proper credit to the original author.

Regarding actual ways to paraphrase, students were told to write a paraphrase of approximately the same length as the original. Students were told not to omit ideas or change the meaning of the original. Changes

from the author's style to the student's style are expected, as are changes to vocabulary. Regarding vocabulary, it was also noted that certain specialized vocabulary need not or should not change (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984).

Suggested changes to grammar were more numerous and varied. Common, repeated suggestions included changing active sentences to passive and changing transitions. Less common suggestions were changing parts of speech (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984) and changing word order (Adams and Dwyer, 1982). Only five of the texts, however, suggested changing both grammar and vocabulary.

Beyond advice on what to change, some texts included a list of steps or tips for paraphrasing. A common first step was to read and understand. However, only Adams and Dwyer (1982) suggested a method for achieving understanding; they discussed analyzing a sentence for the relationship between ideas within it, such as cause and effect. Following understanding came: looking up words and choosing synonyms, looking away from the original, outlining or listing key points of the original, writing a paraphrase, checking the paraphrase against the original, and revising the paraphrase.

Finally, two texts conceded that paraphrasing is a difficult skill requiring practice. However, not all of the books included paraphrasing practice. Some included samples of good and bad paraphrases to be analyzed by students. Others included some exercises for practicing the methods explained in the text.

While none of these texts was ideal on its own, taken together one could compile some useful information. A teacher, however, does not have time during the term to survey numerous texts for every major skill that is being taught. A handout (Appendix B), designed to help students better understand plagiarism and how to avoid it by providing some tips on paraphrasing, was an early result of this survey. In class, I used this handout in conjunction with paraphrasing exercises from the course text (Latulippe, 1987), along with as much other paraphrasing practice as could be worked in to the quarter-long course. Yet difficulties with paraphrasing remained.

Tarone and Yule (1989) state that material in textbooks may not be giving students what they need, and that it is better to discover what fluent speakers of a language do in a target situation. Based on this, the research question became: what processes do native speakers use when they paraphrase?

RESEARCH ON THE PARAPHRASING PROCESS OF NATIVE SPEAKERS

Research on the paraphrasing process of native speakers is scarce. Odean (1986) analyzed and quantified the paraphrase products of native and non-native speakers. She had two main research questions. The first focused on a comparison of the number of vocabulary and grammar changes made to the original by native and non-native speakers. Odean found that the ESL paraphrasers made fewer grammatical changes than the native speakers. On the other hand, regarding changes to vocabulary, the ESL students made about the same number of changes as the native speakers. However, their vocabulary changes were made with the help of a dictionary while the native speakers' were not.

Odean's (1986) second research question focused on how well both groups of students preserved the meaning of the original in their paraphrases. Here, the native speakers were more accurate, even though they made more grammatical changes to the original than the non-native speakers did. In 1987, Odean stated that to teach a skill as complex as paraphrasing, the basic components of the task must be determined, categorized, and taught in a logical order. She also noted that textbook materials on teaching paraphrasing are not sufficient for the development of this skill.

Campbell (1987) also compared native and non-native speakers' writing products, focusing on their incorporation of background text material into a paper. When analyzing the use of source text information by these undergraduates, she noted if information was quoted, copied, or paraphrased. In general, results showed that native speakers performed better than non-native speakers in overall writing, and their addition of source material was done more smoothly. However, both groups exhibited problems in incorporating source material. Furthermore, Campbell admitted that her work was focused on product, not process, and suggested that further research focus on process. She also noted a problem with textbooks on this topic.

Kelly (1991) pointed out again that writing texts do not teach process to students, especially in the areas of citation, quotation, and paraphrasing. Arrington (as cited in Kelly, 1991) stated that texts merely warn students that they need to paraphrase, but do not tell them how to do it.

In summary, these findings further indicate the difficulty of paraphrasing and related skills. They also note that textbook information on this topic is insufficient, and that process studies are rare or non-existent. Finally, they suggest the possibility that native speakers might have something helpful to share with non-native speakers on this topic. Therefore,

insights into what native speakers do during this process may be of assistance to ESL students, as well as being a good supplement to the information that is currently available.

THE STUDY

Method

To examine the complexities of the process of paraphrasing, two native speakers were asked to paraphrase four sentences and, while doing so, they were instructed to think-aloud. This study was limited to two subjects due to the intensity of the verbal report method and the detail-oriented nature of the data being gathered.

Verbal report was chosen because it allows observation of the strategies employed during the process of using language. Cohen (1987) describes verbal report as a learner's description of the thinking processes of which (s)he is aware. However, Seliger (cited in Cohen, 1987) notes a potential problem with verbal report based on the premise that these mental processes may be largely unconscious and, therefore, unobservable via this technique. Another of the key criticisms of verbal report summarized by Cohen (1991, pp. 136-137) is its "potentially intrusive effect" and the chance that the data collected could be unnatural or inaccurate due to this intrusion on the learner's thought processes.

On the other hand, White (cited in Cohen, 1987) notes that the exercise of verbal report can help a learner to pay better attention to his/her mental processes. Verbal report can be a useful addition to other types of research if data are collected properly (by providing enough prior training, for example, on the terminology to be used while reporting, and by giving clear instructions which assist the subject's reporting without providing so much information as to sway the subject's performance), and the criticisms above are kept in mind (Cohen, 1991).

Verbal report may be accomplished in one or more of the following ways. In 'self-report', learners describe their actions or categorize their learning in general terms. In 'self-observation', learners describe their actions specifically. 'Self-observation' can take place introspectively (as the actions occur) or retrospectively (as soon as possible after the occurrence of an action). Finally, 'self-revelation' is neither general nor specific. It asks learners to 'think-aloud' while performing, describing their performance in a "stream-of-consciousness" manner (Cohen, 1987, p. 84).

In this study a combination of all three types of verbal report was used. The emphasis was on self-revelation, but elements of self-observation and even self-report were also present. In elicitation of information

during the task, "self-initiated" elicitation was preferred; that is, participants were primarily responsible for verbalizing whatever came into their minds. However, when there was a lull in the flow of information or a lack of clarity, the elicitation became "other-initiated" (Faerch and Kasper, 1987, p. 17-18); that is, the researcher would offer some direction (usually in the form of a question) in an effort to get the subject going again with his/her verbalization.

As they paraphrased, the subjects were expected to explain what processes and strategies they were using. Their statements were recorded for future transcription and analysis. Strategies observed within the transcripts would be organized into a taxonomy. Described by Bialystok (1990, p. 37), taxonomies are "systematic organizing structures for a range of events within a domain." Elements in a taxonomy are grouped on the basis of similarity. As much as possible, strategies discovered in this study would be placed in the sequence in which they occurred and like items would be grouped together where possible within these larger divisions (for example, all vocabulary strategies together).

Procedure

The sentences to be paraphrased were chosen from a sociology textbook used in a college course my ESL students were taking. The actual excerpt (Appendix D) was chosen, because my students had had problems paraphrasing sentences from it. Four sentences that dealt either with main ideas of the piece or with key supporting details were chosen from within the excerpt. Per White (cited in Cohen, 1987), attention was paid to the difficulty of the sentences; sentences with idioms and other complexities were avoided as not to confound the basic process. Sentences were chosen over paragraphs because of their finite nature and the concise, yet meaningful, ideas contained within.

Instructions and accessory materials for the study were then prepared. First, participants were given a worksheet containing basic instructions and the four sentences to be paraphrased, along with work space (Appendix C). Second, they were told to skim or read the prepared textbook survey handout (Appendix B) on the whys and hows of paraphrasing. Next, they read the entire selection from which the sentences to be paraphrased had come (Appendix D), followed by some sample paraphrases that had been written for another sentence from this text (Appendix E). Finally, the researcher prepared a list of possible questions to ask the subjects in order to support the verbal report activity (Appendix F). There were primarily open-ended questions to ask during the actual paraphrasing session, as well as more focused questions to ask immediately after the paraphrasing had been done.

Subjects

The informants were two native English speakers, both of whom had undergraduate degrees, as well as graduate school experience. Graduate students were chosen due to their prolonged exposure to academic writing; it was hoped that they would possess a certain expertise and familiarity with writing that would yield more useful strategies for beginning college writers. While no attempt was made to analyze the accuracy or skill of their paraphrasing products, both readily agreed to the task, and said they enjoyed reading and writing. One, "Bob", had completed a Master's degree in Library Science. The other, "Anne", was an elementary school teacher taking courses towards a Master's degree in education.

Analysis

As mentioned earlier, after each verbal report the tape was transcribed, taking care to clearly reproduce what the subjects were reading, writing, and, as much as possible, thinking. Parentheses were used to note pauses, reading time, writing time, extraneous material which was omitted, agreement by the researcher, and interruptions/distractions. Brackets were used to fill in background/extra information deemed necessary to the reader's understanding of a subject's or the researcher's meaning. Underlined words signalled those emphasized in the speech of the subjects. Finally, quotation marks were used to mark the words of the original sentences, mark the words of the subjects' paraphrases (when preceded or followed by the parenthetical notation that they were writing), mark unorthodox or coined words/phrases used by the subjects, and to highlight words under consideration for change by the subjects.

Transcriptions are not included here. However, excerpts from the transcripts are included in the following section. Utterances marked with an "A" are Anne's and those marked with a "B" are Bob's; those marked "L" are the researcher's.

RESULTS

Here are the original sentences (Samenow, 1978) plus the final paraphrases of both subjects.

Sentence 1: "We have identified a total of fifty-two thinking patterns that are present in all the criminals in our study."

Anne: Criminals demonstrated 52 types of decision-making skills in one experiment.

Bob: We were able to identify 52 thought patterns among the criminals in our study.

Sentence 2: "Both the white-collar criminal and the street criminal conduct their lives in the same way, even though their styles in crime suggest that they are different types of people."

Anne: Although their criminal patterns indicate separate personality styles, criminals behave identically.

Bob: Although they may appear to be different from each other, white-collar and street criminals, while displaying different criminal activities, actually lead similar lives.

Sentence 3: " Changing the environment does not change the inner man."

Anne: The personality remains constant even when external conditions are rearranged.

Bob: A man's nature is not altered by changes in the environment.

Sentence 4: "Slums are cleared, job opportunities are offered, schooling is provided, but crime remains."

Anne: Steps can be taken to improve the neighborhood, education, and employment of criminals, but criminal activity still exists.

Bob: Education, employment, and slum removal will not reduce crime.

Taxonomy of strategies

What follows is the taxonomy, derived from the transcripts, of the strategies used by one or both subjects during their paraphrasing.

I. Understanding/Pre-paraphrasing
- A. Get the big picture of the sentence
- B. Look for key words/phrases in the original
- C. Analyze sentence parts
- D. Look for relationships between sentences

E. Locate and read original in context of larger reading

II. Making Changes to the Original Text
- A. Grammar changes
  - 1. Reverse/rearrange the order of sentence parts
    - a. Change the subject
    - b. Change order of contrasting clauses
    - c. Reverse cause and effect
    - d. Change order of prior options and conclusion
    - e. Change order of items in a list
  - 2. Return parts to original order
- B. Vocabulary changes
  - 1. Use synonyms from memory
  - 2. Determine which original terms need not change
  - 3. Try a (new) word with the option to change it later
  - 4. Leave a blank and fill in word later
  - 5. Write two possible words that come to mind - choose the best one later
  - 6. Repeat word/phrase out loud - stream-of-consciousness
  - 7. Dictionary
- C. "Lumping" two or more details into one general phrase
- D. "Piecemeal" approach - change one phrase at a time

III. Getting past Roadblocks
- A. Reread the original
  - 1. Alone
  - 2. In context of larger reading
  - 3. Out loud
  - 4. Silently
- B. Stop trying/Go back to sentence later
- C. Read incomplete paraphrase aloud or silently
- D. Go through other ways of saying something mentally

IV. Polishing/Revising the Paraphrase
- A. Compare paraphrase to original
  - 1. Check to see if anything is missing
  - 2. Check to see if anything has been added
  - 3. Check to see if paraphrase is too similar to original
- B. Try to condense/edit paraphrase
- C. Start over completely
- D. Attention to minor grammatical alternatives

V. General Strategies
- A. Just write/go with first impulse
- B. Get warmed up
- C. Take sentences out of order (easiest to hardest)
- D. Keep working - don't lose train of thought
- E. Use dictionary to focus train of thought
- F. Insight
- G. Use schema

VI. Idiosyncratic

Discussion of taxonomy

In the following section, taxonomy items are elaborated upon. Examples of strategies from the transcripts, or a brief explanation of each, have been included.

I. Understanding/Pre-paraphrasing

A. Get the big picture of the sentence

This strategy, named by Bob, involved reading and trying generally to understand the sentence before beginning to write the paraphrase.

L: Do whatever you think is o.k. and is not plagiarism. (Pause) I assume right now you're reading?

B2: Yeah, getting the big picture of it. (Pause) I feel like for some reason I just want to reverse it a little bit and start up with something like: "Our studies show that there are 52"... Start like that. (writes)...

The strategies for understanding what follow are similar and related, but different enough to warrant separate descriptions.

B. Look for key words/phrases in the original

A1: The first thing I would do is look through for key words. So "We have identified 52 thinking patterns in all the criminals in our study. And that makes me think that the researchers have studied the criminals - they've found all the criminals have 52 different thinking patterns...

Anne read original sentence #1 stressing that "fifty-two" and "all" were key words which were crucial to her understanding of the sentence. She later focused on "thinking patterns" as a main idea which had to be carefully represented in her paraphrase of this sentence in order "to retain the essential element."

C. Analyze sentence parts

B21: Once again, the first approach I'd take would be to reverse the two parts dealing with "the inner man" first. The fact that he won't change because the environment is changed. So, I'll work with the second part of the original sentence first. I'm just rereading the whole sentence again to see how the two parts fit together.

This was a common strategy for both subjects and one which was especially evident in sentences 3 and 4. In #3, Bob noted the two parts - one dealing with "changing the environment" and another dealing with "the inner man." Before paraphrasing sentence 4, both subjects noted that it consists of one conclusion ("crime remains"), preceded by three areas of change ("slums", "job opportunities", and "schooling").

Other considerations when analyzing a sentence included determining the number of thoughts in a sentence, looking at general versus specific information, determining the number of phrases in a sentence, and considering the length of a sentence.

D. Look for relationships between sentences

When beginning sentence 4, Anne noticed a connection between it and sentence 3. She then went to the context and discovered that these two sentences occur right next to each other in the larger reading. This strategy was never mentioned by Bob.

E. Locate and read original in context of larger reading

A31: I just want to see where that is [in the context]. Instead of going right before [the sentence], way before. (Reads through most of beginning, up to sentence.)

Before starting her paraphrase of sentence 2, Anne decided to find it in its original context and read it there. (Using the context was common at other points in the paraphrasing process for both participants and will come up again later.)

II. Making Changes to the Original Text

A. Grammar changes

The sequence of grammar changes and vocabulary changes is interchangeable. That is, the choice whether to describe grammar changes or vocabulary changes first is purely arbitrary. Each subject made both types of changes. Which came first in a paraphrasing effort seemed dependent on the original sentence, as well as the preference of the subject.

1. Reverse/rearrange the order of sentence parts

a. Change the subject (sentence 1)

A1: ...So "We have identified 52 thinking patterns in all the criminals in our study." And that makes me think that the researchers have studied the criminals - they've found all the criminals have 52 different thinking patterns. Studies, I would change the order to say that (writes) "Studies have shown 52 thinking patterns that criminals"...

In sentence 1, Anne first changes the subject from "We" to "Studies"/ "The study". She later tries using "52 thinking patterns" as the subject, but settles on "Criminals" in her final draft. Also in #1, Bob first begins with "Our study" as a new subject, which he later drops. In the end, he returned to the original subject "We".

b. Change order of contrasting clauses (sentence 2)

Both subjects paraphrased sentence 2 in basically the same manner. They began with the second part of the original sentence (apparent differences between criminal types) and ended with the first (actual similarities between criminal types). Bob, however, did not settle on this arrangement until his second attempt at paraphrasing this sentence.

c. Reverse cause and effect (sentence 3)

A11: ...even though that is a very simple statement and it makes sense inner man, yeah, I can say personality, environment, external conditions, and just switch the order and all I had to do was flip it, backwards to forwards, so starting with the inner man - and substituted the words and it worked.

Similarly, in the cause and effect arrangement of sentence 3, both subjects determined that it was acceptable to place the effect (inner man stays the same) before the cause (change in the environment) in their paraphrases.

d. Change order of prior options and conclusion (sentence 4)

B27: (reads original) I'd say there's [sic] *two parts, first these three options about slums, jobs, and schools - these conditions may exist, part one - "crime remains", part two. For some reason, I might first switch around the two parts like I did in the previous example just.*

L: You are, or you aren't?

B28: First I thought I'd try it, maybe not. I'll stick with the environment or conditions first, just ignore that last part for now...

Both subjects considered starting their paraphrases with the information that came at the end of the original sentence #4, and consequently putting the original list of three changes at the end of their paraphrases. In other words, the conclusion that "crime remains" would come before the list of items ("slums", "job opportunities", and "schooling") changed (presumably in the effort to alleviate crime). In the end, however, neither of them actually made this switch in the order of sentence parts.

e. Change order of items in a list (sentence 4)

Bob, when paraphrasing sentence 4, determined that one small alteration he could make would be to change the order of the of the three items in the list at the start of the original. His new order was determined by which synonym came to him first. Whereas the original listed "slums" first, followed by "job opportunities" and "schooling", Bob ended up with "education" first, followed by "employment" and "slum removal".

Anne also changed the order of the last two items in the list (using "education" before "employment"), but did not overtly state her plan to do this.

2. Return parts to original order

After originally changing the subject of sentence 1, Bob returned to the original subject in the end. In sentence 4, both subjects considered reordering the two major sentence parts, but ultimately remained with the original placement.

B. Vocabulary changes

1. Use synonyms from memory

L: O.K. now, you did that one much more quickly. Why do you think you just spit that one out so quickly when the other one - can you explain briefly why?

A11: I think because I have more resources available to me as far as synonyms for change, change was used twice. Synonyms for "the environment" - so "external conditions", somehow that just clicked into my head, because the inner versus the outer or "inner man", I just thought "personality"...

In sentence 3, both subjects came up with a synonym for "inner man" quite quickly and easily. In many instances synonyms were used by both subjects.

2. Determine which original terms need not change

B 25: I use the word "environment". I suppose I could say something like "by the surroundings" or that, but I don't think that using the word "environment" here is illegal.

L: That's part of what I want to see. Where is your boundary?

B26: Sometimes, otherwise, if I put in the word "surroundings" it's just like putting in another word just for the sake of putting in a different word in it. It just may not sound right.

Bob thought that changing the word "environment" in sentence 3, to "surroundings" for example, was unnecessary. According to him, a word should not be changed just for the sake of change. He determined that not all vocabulary needs to be altered and that sometimes the original word is the best and left it as is. Bob had the tendency to leave in more original vocabulary than Anne.

3. Try a (new) word with the option to change it later

In sentence 1, Anne first substituted "display" for the verb in the original. She consciously stated that it may be only a temporary choice. She ended up with the verb "demonstrated" in her final draft. In sentence 2, she tried "'behave' for right now" in place of "conduct". She ended up keeping it in her paraphrase after checking the dictionary.

In our discussion after the paraphrasing, Bob said that when paraphrasing, he might initially use some words from the original, which he could change later.

4. Leave a blank and fill in word later

A27:...education and employment of whom? That's my stumbling block. Criminals... (writes)

L: You left a blank. What, until you can think of...

A28: Until I can decide, well, it's not... this particular sentence and the sentence above it does not specifically refer to criminals, it refers to crime so I don't want to use a word for that, for criminals, because it's not talking about that, it's talking about a person and so then I'm thinking, well, we don't know much about who this person is, except the studies were people who had done four kinds of crime.

L: Does the context help you?

A29: Yes, it is criminals...

For sentence 4, Anne could not immediately think of vocabulary to fill certain spots, so she left a blank and filled them in later. She later went back and filled words. Bob also used this strategy in sentence 4. He was stuck on a replacement for "slums are cleared" so he left it and came back to fill it in later.

5. Write two possible words that come to mind - choose the best one later

B22: Yeah, and for some reason, I want to put the second part first. It's how to paraphrase this first idea about the inner man not changing. I'll start out (writes): "A man's/person's..."

When Bob was toying with changing the word "man" in sentence 3 to the

more politically correct "person", he first wrote down both terms. ("A man's/person's...") He later decided that it was acceptable to stick with "man" in this instance. There were no instances of this strategy in Anne's work.

6. Repeat word/phrase out loud - stream-of-consciousness

A4: Thinking patterns, 52, thinking patterns, thinking patterns, mind-sets, thinking ways of thinking, ways of thinking, processing...

In her attempt to find a synonymous phrase for "thinking patterns", Anne went through this process out loud. She eventually went to the dictionary on this one.

7. Consult a Dictionary

A8: Judgment? As I looked up thinking, just the word thinking, and it says opinion and judgment - "thought that is characteristic...of a period, a group, a person" - so I saw the word group and I thought 52 - and the two made sense to me. So the type, like the styles meant styles of the judgment process or the process of forming a judgment or a decision, decision-making! "Decision-making skills" (writes)...

Anne used the dictionary to check on such words as: "thinking", "slum", "clear", "conduct", "white-collar", and "remain". The dictionary helped her come up with synonyms when she had none: "Thinking [patterns]" became "decision-making skills" and "slum" became "neighborhood". She also used it to check if "behave" was a good substitute for "conduct [their lives]". In her opinion, it must have been, because she kept it in her final paraphrase.

Bob looked up "conduct" and "slum". "Conduct" was checked to see if the word he had come up with, "lead", was a good match. He also stated that reading the definition might give him "the whole meaning of the word" and enable him to think of another synonym himself. It was also important for him to not add his interpretation to a word, so he used the dictionary to find the "foundation" of a word, which he hoped to share with the author of the original. When trying to find a synonym for "slum" he found nothing that satisfied him so he kept "slum" in his paraphrase.

C. "Lumping" two or more details into one general phrase

A27: Well, I'd like to lump these three things together. That's what I would like to do, instead of being so specific...That way, I don't have to be so specific. I don't have to come up with what the author's intent was,...

In a couple of sentences, subjects were tempted to "lump together" certain related items. In sentence 2, each considered combining white-collar and street criminals, but only Anne did in her final paraphrase. In sen-

tence 4, Anne considered combining "slums", "job opportunities", and "schooling", but never actually did in her final paraphrase, because she felt that something would be lost.

D. "Piecemeal" approach - change one phrase at a time

Anne coined the name for and used this method with sentence 2. She first broke it into grammatical pieces/phrases. She rearranged the order of these and then altered the vocabulary within them. Bob treated this sentence in a similar manner.

III. Getting past Roadblocks

A. Reread the original

1. Alone

This was a common strategy for both subjects.

2. In context of larger reading

Bob was not clear about sentence 1 and located it in the larger reading to help clarify it. He wanted to know if each criminal had all 52 patterns or only some of them. (Bob ended up leaving this sentence and going back to it later.) He also went to the context for help on sentence 4, but said it didn't help him. Anne used context to try to clarify sentence 4 and the strategy worked for her.

3. Out loud

Perhaps this was only a result of the think-aloud process, although people often say something out loud when trying to puzzle it out.

4. Silently

Subjects stated when they were doing this.

B. Stop trying/Go back to sentence later

This strategy was used by Bob when he got stuck on the first two sentences. He left them, completed the 3rd and 4th sentences, and then returned to finish the ones he had begun earlier. When he went back to them, he ended up totally rewriting sentence 1 and merely checking and leaving sentence 2 as it was. (Anne also left sentence 4 when she couldn't think of a synonym for "remains" and returned to it after she had done another sentence.)

C. Read incomplete paraphrase aloud or silently

This strategy seemed to be used as a way to jog one's mind into go-

ing further or completing a paraphrase.

D. Go through other ways of saying something mentally

B5: (Pause) Sometimes I keep thinking of the same phrases they use in here, so I'm thinking of other ways of saying these...

L: You're going through other ways mentally?

B6: Yeah...

Apparently, drafts of a word or a phrase are not always jotted down. Some are tested and discarded mentally. Bob did this when he found himself paraphrasing with material straight from the original.

IV. Polishing/Revising the Paraphrase

A. Compare paraphrase to original

This was a strategy common to both subjects, though Anne generally seemed more concerned with what might be missing and Bob was more concerned with what might have been added.

1. Check to see if anything is missing

A27: ...Now I just looked back and forth from the original to mine to see if I'm missing something or if I've changed something beyond what it should be...

2. Check to see if anything has been added

B33: Yes, in this case, I don't want to say something the author isn't, so I guess I would err on the side of not adding my own words or ideas to it.

3. Check to see if paraphrase is too similar to original

B33: ...I wrote that without looking back at the original, so now I'm gonna compare it to the original to see if it's too similar...

B. Try to condense/edit paraphrase

B10:...So, I'll just reread my sentence one more time and see how it compares (reads) It's a little wordy, but it still gets the point across. Do I have to get into the editing?

L: Well, what do you think you can do? Do you think it's too wordy to leave it?

B11: Let's see - I might just try to reread my own to see it I can shorten *it up, yet not end up with what the original sentence was...*

On a longer sentence, like #2, Bob felt that his paraphrase got "wordy" and he considered ways of trying to shorten it.

C. Start over completely

B11: ...See, I'm doing that already now - I forgot what the original was, but when I paraphrase or think of other ways to say my own I find that it's, I'm reverting back to the original. (Pause) Maybe I'll just try something completely different.

After initially paraphrasing sentence 2, Bob felt it needed editing. When he was unable to come up with ways to do this, he decided to just start over. He used his first effort as his new beginning point. He also did an entirely new paraphrase of sentence 1 when he wasn't content with it.

D. Attend to minor grammatical alternatives

B17: Yeah, just that one word. I'm pretty content with the structure of the sentence (rereads). I mean there are little grammar things like should it be "activity" or "activities"...

Bob mentioned twice that he wondered about which grammatical alternatives he should choose.

V. General Strategies

A. Just write/go with first impulse

B14: I'm just gonna go ahead with what first comes to mind and then look at it again later.

Bob repeatedly said that he liked to get something down on paper to begin with and go back and change it later. He wrote what first came into his mind and polished it afterwards, a strategy he says he commonly uses when he writes. When starting her paraphrase of sentence 2, Anne mentions going with her "first reaction".

B. Get warmed up

Anne attributed part of the ease of paraphrasing her second sentence to having a process from already doing her first. And in the interview following the paraphrasing, she mentioned that it took her some time to get used to the think-aloud process.

C. Take sentences out of order (easiest to hardest)

A9: Alright, good, I will -- instead of going in order, I might skip around and do the easier ones first and the harder ones later. Or maybe I'll do the harder ones first and get those out of the way.

After struggling with sentence 1, Anne decided to read through all the

remaining sentences before deciding which to take next. After doing so, she settled on #3, because it seemed easier to her. In the interview afterwards, she verified that this is a common strategy for her when taking tests for example. She was surprised at herself for doing #1 first without surveying all the other possibilities. On the other hand, Bob took all the sentences in order the first time through. He says that this is typical of him in any kind of assignment.

D. Keep working - don't lose train of thought

Anne found it important to push herself. If not, she felt that she drifted away from the task and let irrelevant information cloud her work. This was noticeable when she went to the dictionary. If she spent too much time there, she felt she had to go back and get reacquainted with the sentence.

E. Use dictionary to focus train of thought

A70: Right. Then at the one point though I said I let the dictionary make my decision as far as whether or not I would go with an idea. Well, that was when I had no real train of thought - I didn't really know, so I looked to the dictionary, maybe to focus something, because I didn't really have a focus myself.

When she felt her mind wandering, Anne went to the dictionary. She found that searching for synonyms helped her stay on task. When she was unfocused she felt that the dictionary could decide for her.

F. Insight

A49: That was the gut level, just intuitive, knowing it. It made sense to me, I understood it. That was my second - and that wasn't even a strategy, but it was just insightful.

L: It was just there?

A50: The "a-ha" moment.

L: You just wrote it and...

A51: The light bulb went off and...

Anne had one sentence where her response was automatic. In our discussion afterwards she described her ability to immediately paraphrase sentence 3 as "the a-ha moment". She also mentioned that words "leapt out" at her from the dictionary.

Bob likewise had one occasion where he quickly produced a phrase and commented, "This last part I just wrote down without thinking about it too much..." Another time, he mentioned that "sometimes things just pop in" when you are blocked.

G. Use schema

Anne felt that sentence 3 was easy, because she had read about the topic and worked with the idea over the past few years. She paraphrased this sentence almost automatically and attributed this to "background, prior knowledge".

VI. Idiosyncratic

This category included concerns for the subtle connotation of words. One of Bob's first considerations in sentence 3 was whether or not the use of "man" was politically correct. He considered changing it to "person", but ultimately did not. He admitted that this is just "a personal viewpoint".

In sentence 4, Anne considered "ghetto" as a synonym for "slum", but hesitated to use it, because of its pejorative connotation. She said she felt a prejudice about this sentence. In her final paraphrase, she uses "neighborhood" in its place. She felt that this being a sociological reading, the vocabulary should be objective.

Final Interviews

As stated earlier, most of the data described above were collected during the actual paraphrasing and were the result of 'self-revelation' (subjects describing what they did as they did it) with some 'self-observation' prompted by the researcher (example: explaining specifically why they were going to the dictionary when asked). Right after the paraphrasing was completed, critical points (stops, starts, and so forth) in the paraphrasing exercise were reviewed with each subject. Information given here was in the form of either 'self-observation' or 'self-report' (general statements) which are summarized as follows.

In the discussion after the paraphrasing, Anne said that she felt that she had three major methods for paraphrasing: reversing the order of the pieces of the sentence (grammar), intuitively knowing how to paraphrase a sentence (with vocabulary as a starting point), and doing it piecemeal (a combination of grammar and vocabulary changes). She felt that content had a slight edge over grammar when determining how to begin a paraphrase, and generally tried to change vocabulary before grammar. Fear of losing something that the original had was said to be stronger than fear of adding something not in the original. (However, the subject was willing to change a vocabulary item in an attempt to make it more objective.) This subject also paraphrased the sentences out of order.

In his summary, Bob said that he felt that he generally tries to rear-

range or reverse sentence parts as a first step if possible. After any grammar changes come vocabulary changes. He was more worried about adding something that wasn't there than about omitting something that was. This subject originally worked through the sentences in an orderly manner (1-4) and then went back to segments he had not finished.

DISCUSSION

Clearly paraphrasing is not a simple skill for native speaking graduate students. They struggled with understanding the vocabulary and grammar of the original, and whether or not, or how, to make changes to both of these areas. Paraphrasing for these native speakers was a complex process, involving many stops and starts, as well as mental blanks, revisions, and rearrangements. While native speakers have such advantages as greater schema with which to work, in only some instances could these native speakers rely totally on their instincts.

What follows is a general summary of the key activities of these native speakers and how their actions compare to what is in the textbooks.

Understanding

Immediately understanding the original sentence was not a certainty for the subjects in this study. While they had little trouble understanding the basics of the sentence, they sometimes had trouble determining exactly what the author meant. In other words, where non-native speakers might struggle to determine the basic meaning of the original sentence, native speakers seemed to struggle with its interpretations.

Both subjects seemed to take the step of understanding very seriously and used many strategies to accomplish it: rereading the original, locating the sentence in the larger reading, searching for relationships between ideas, and analyzing the form of a sentence. Yet most of the ESL textbooks surveyed glossed over the step of understanding the material to be paraphrased. They merely said to be sure to understand before paraphrasing.

Furthermore, schema is important in the understanding stage. The more familiar a subject was with the concepts and vocabulary of the original sentence, the more readily they could begin and finish their paraphrase. This idea was not seen in the textbooks surveyed here, yet is clearly central to the task of paraphrasing.

Changes

Some books, perhaps in an effort to simplify the skill, listed only a few ways to change the grammar of the original. Such oversimplification is a disservice to students. Clearly, there is more to paraphrasing than changing an active sentence to the passive.

In many cases, both subjects made similar grammatical changes to particular sentences. This suggests that the structure of the original exerts some control over grammatical changes made while paraphrasing. For example, in sentence 1, both subjects considered and one made a change in the subject of the sentence. In sentence 2, changes in contrasting sentence parts were considered and made, and both subjects substituted the transition "although" for "even though". In sentence 3, both reversed cause and effect sections of the original sentence in their paraphrases. And in sentence 4, both considered moving the conclusion at the end of the original sentence to the beginning of their paraphrases, but didn't. (Both subjects did, however, substitute "education" for "schooling" and "employment" for "job opportunities" in sentence 4, as well as struggling with a synonym for "slum".)

Perhaps these similar thought patterns are coincidence, but it is equally likely that they are somehow driven by the grammatical structure and vocabulary of the original. For example, in 1977, Hoar determined that children used different strategies when paraphrasing different types of sentences. The number (one, two, or three) of core nouns in the original sentence determined whether children made changes to vocabulary, syntax, or a combination of both.

Furthermore, both subjects also found certain sentences easier to paraphrase. For example, both quickly and effortlessly paraphrased sentence 3, whereas other sentences gave them much more trouble. The textbooks mentioned earlier did not address analyzing and using the characteristics of original sentences as paraphrasing aids.

The books that gave explicit tips on language changes seemed to go into more detail than these informants did when they verbalized. For example, whereas the informants in this study merely said they "reversed the sentence parts", the texts tended to give a more specific grammatical name for this sort of change. This is probably helpful for second language students, but requires a familiarity with grammatical terminology that they may or may not have.

Regarding vocabulary, most of the texts surveyed oversimplified the act of looking up a word and choosing synonyms. If students know that aside from changing grammar, vocabulary must be changed, how do they decide which words can be changed? Or which words need not or should not be changed? Or if changing a word, which synonym correctly fills

the place of the original? Or how to properly use a dictionary or thesaurus to make this choice? These are all questions asked by the native speaker subjects in this study, as well as by ESL students in the classroom.

The process of paraphrasing

The texts surveyed did convey the idea that paraphrasing is not done in an instant. However, this study shows that paraphrasing is often quite an extended process, even for native speakers. It involves stopping, starting over, revising, and getting warmed up. Each individual, while performing similar steps to another, may go through this process in his/her own way. Unfortunately, the books assume a proficiency in paraphrasing that seems unrealistic even for native speakers and give little or no specific information on how to do it. They focus more on end products than on the process of achieving them.

The texts that did give any information on how to paraphrase did agree on the general strategy of setting the original aside while writing and returning to it to check afterwards. In this study, both subjects actually did this. Conversely, two strategies mentioned in the books were not performed by these subjects: outlining before paraphrasing and posing a question and paraphrasing to get the answer. (These strategies could be more useful when paraphrasing paragraphs rather than sentences.)

Furthermore, some strategies not mentioned in the books were used by the native speaker subjects in this study. One was experimenting with order; that is, when paraphrasing more than one sentence, one can either take them in order or out of order. Anne mentioned this as also being a test-taking strategy of hers, but it was not mentioned in any text on paraphrasing surveyed here. (Again, this might be more useful when working on sentences rather than paragraphs.)

These native speakers also seemed willing to write down anything just to get started, knowing that they could always go back later to amend it. In some cases, they disregarded their original effort and started over from scratch. As one subject said, maybe paraphrasing requires getting warmed up. In other words, practice helps; this is an idea present in only some of the texts surveyed. On a similar note, the subjects of this study seemed to find concentration important. They tried very hard to focus their train of thought as much as possible on the sentence or word on which they were working.

TEACHING IMPLICATIONS

First it should be verified that students understand why paraphrasing needs to be done, and that they know that paraphrasing is much more than just a replacement for quotations in a paper. Then comes the real task: offering adequate instruction in the skill.

Understanding

Helping students to understand the original passsage before they begin to paraphrase is critical. Grammatically, transitions and cohesive markers which show such relationships as contrast or cause/effect in a sentence are useful to highlight. Once it is determined that a sentence contains a cause/effect relationship, for example, a discussion can occur on whether or not these two sentence parts can be interchanged to give a new grammatical form to their paraphrase. Students should be encouraged to look at parts of the sentence as well as the whole. Sentences with and without transitions should be examined and broken into their major pieces. The context can also be helpful in understanding a sentence. As much as possible the instructor should give the class some schema for a particular sentence in order to aid their understanding. Students also need to spend some time working with the vocabulary of the original. Guidance should be provided on which types of words need not or should not change. Time also should be spent on practice using the context, a dictionary, and a thesaurus to choose proper synonyms. Some possible exercises to help students understand the language before paraphrasing are presented in Odean (1987, p. 18). These include "extracting sentence kernels" ('decombining' sentences or breaking down the information within into major sections) and "identifying word groups" (recognizing where one phrase ends and another begins in a sentence). The ESL teacher should make understanding the grammar and vocabulary of the original sentence a primary focus of any paraphrasing lesson.

Changing the original wording

In the study native speakers found some sentences easier to paraphrase than others. It might be possible to use these reactions towards sentences and rank them in order from easy to difficult. That way, students could start with sentences such as number 3, which would give them a greater chance for early success.

It should be stressed to students that paraphrasing involves changes to both grammar and vocabulary. While dealing with changes to one of

these areas at a time may make paraphrasing more manageable, students should not be left with the idea that changes to only one area are enough to constitute a final paraphrase. Numerous changes to every original should be modelled for them.

The process of paraphrasing

ESL writers should be taught that a first draft of a paraphrase need not be perfect. They should trust their instincts and at the same time realize that writings based on those instincts may later be discarded. ESL students might benefit from the knowledge that native speakers also do this while struggling with the process of paraphrasing. Finally, because native speakers had to truly concentrate while paraphrasing, ESL students should be reminded that this skill will require the same focused and long-term attention from them as well.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

In a general ESL college reading or writing class, paraphrasing normally does not get the attention it deserves, because there are many other important skills and strategies that must be covered. Paraphrasing seems to often come up as a remedial skill, taught only when a plagiarism problem prompts it. The findings of this study suggest that paraphrasing is a complex skill which benefits from extensive modeling and practice. ESL programs should investigate the possibility of including such a focused course for their students. The results of this study could be used as a basis for preparing a set of materials or a new textbook to better teach this skill to ESL students (and native speakers).

Regarding this particular investigation, there is still much to discover. It is interesting that many of the strategies of these native speakers overlapped, but it is obviously a very small sample. More research could determine if patterns discovered here hold up or if others can be discerned. Furthermore, the verbal report data could be analyzed in many different ways — in terms of both process and product. Aside from looking at which sentences seem easier for native speakers to paraphrase, the kinds of changes they made could be quantified. For example, when vocabulary is changed, what type of word (noun, verb, and so on) is changed most often? If a pattern arises (e.g., nouns being changed twice as often as verbs), that is something that students might be told. Another

possibility would be to perform the same study with non-native speakers thinking-aloud (either in English or in their native language) as they paraphrased.

CONCLUSION

Student writers must understand why and how to paraphrase. For ESL writers, the "why " is a cultural consideration and the "how" is primarily linguistic. No single textbook seems to have a complete description of the "how" of paraphrasing. A closer examination of two native speakers thinking-aloud while paraphrasing provides some insights as to the complex nature of this process. Looking at what native speakers do may help ESL students learn this process, as well as provide teachers with some information not found in textbooks.

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APPENDIX A: TEXTS SURVEYED FOR PARAPHRASING INFORMATION

Adams, Judith-Anne and Dwyer, Margaret A. (1982). *English for academic uses - A writing workbook.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Arnaudet, Martin L. and Barrett, Mary Ellen. (1984). *Approaches to academic reading and writing.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

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APPENDIX B:
PLAGIARISM AND PARAPHRASING HANDOUTS

as summarized from surveyed texts, with some additions by researcher

Handout #1

I. PARAPHRASING - WHY TO DO IT

A. To avoid being guilty of plagiarism

U.S. culture values individualism, creativity, and uniqueness. This is why the published work of writers is copyrighted. When somebody writes in a particular style, they essentially own that style (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984). Everybody who writes, in English or another language, develops a style that is unique to them. This includes you. You can learn from another's style, but don't steal it. Instead, work on developing your own style and doing your own work.

B. To fit into the culture of the U.S. university

Paraphrasing is a skill you must learn in order to succeed academically (Latulippe, 1987). It will probably require time and devotion to learn it well (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984). Good paraphrasing can show your instructor that you understood what you read, as well as showing him/her your writing style.

C. To learn

Working on this skill can help improve your reading, writing, and thinking in English (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984).

II. WHY PARAPHRASING MAY BE HARD FOR YOU

A. Because English isn't your native language, you may have trouble understanding and changing the words and grammar of an author.

B. You may not be very familiar with this skill and need more practice doing it.

C. You need to understand all forms of plagiarism (see next page) to avoid doing it - please ask questions whenever you are not sure.

Note: Even though paraphrasing is difficut, it is important to write in your own words.

III. WHAT INSTRUCTORS THINK

A. Plagiarism is never acceptable.

B. Your style is familiar to us - any change will be noticeable . It is easy to spot plagiarizing.

C. Honest work with some language problems is always preferable to perfect, but plagiarized, material (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984).

IV. WHAT A GOOD PARAPHRASE SHOULD BE LIKE

A. About the same length as the original.

B. The meaning of the original is maintained.

C. The reader/writer changes applicable vocabulary and grammar from the author's style to one's own style (Adams and Dwyer, 1982).

V. TYPES OF INCOMPLETE OR IMPROPER PARAPHRASING = PLAGIARISM (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984)

A. Copying the author's exact words with no quotation marks or citations given.

B. Small changes made to the author's grammar and wording, but style of original remains.

C. Rearranging exact pieces of the original - with no other changes made.

D. Using, but not quoting, a well-written or well-chosen word or phrase of the author's.

Handout #2

PARAPHRASING - HOW TO DO IT

SUGGESTED PROCESS:

- Read the original
- Make sure you understand the original well
  - -- Read the original two or more times (as necessary)
  - -- Check key vocabulary
  - -- Look at the grammatical form
  - -- Ask questions of your teacher, tutor, and so on
- Put the original away
- Write a rough paraphrase, using what you remember

•. Check the original - did you miss any key points?
(Put it away again after you've checked.)
• Revise your paraphrase until the ideas of the author are ex
pressed in your style

TECHNIQUES AND EXAMPLES

1. Changing Vocabulary (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984, p. 4)
--Specialized vocabulary should remain the same
a. Terms with no synonyms
ex. calcium, neuron
b. Proper names
ex. Europe, World Health Organization
--Some of the vocabulary that is not specialized should be changed to a more basic form = synonym
ex. "Researchers suggest..." = *SCIENTISTS EXPLAIN...
(Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984, p. 133)

IMPORTANT: The examples only show one change. This alone is not enough to be a complete paraphrase. A writer will need to change the original wording in several ways before it is a good paraphrase.

2. Changing Grammar

-- Change transitions (Latulippe, 1987, p. 102)

ex."Since electric car batteries must be recharged every day, we will have to build more electric power plants." = ELECTRIC CAR BATTERIES MUST BE RECHARGED EVERY DAY; THEREFORE, WE WILL HAVE TO BUILD MORE ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS.

Sometimes the punctuation changes with the transition. In a more complex paraphrase, the word order and sentence structure may change as well.

ex. "While hunger, thirst, and sleepiness cause a person to seek food, drink, or sleep, pain leads to escape or avoidance rather than to seeking."
(Arnaudet, Barrett, 1984, p. 42) = WHEREAS PAIN LEADS TO ESCAPE

OR AVOIDANCE (RATHER THAN TO SEEKING), HUNGER, THIRST, AND SLEEPINESS CAUSE A PERSON TO SEEK FOOD, DRINK, OR SLEEP.

-- Change the sentence from active to passive (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984, 73-74)

ex. "Social motives play a very important role." = A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IS PLAYED BY SOCIAL MOTIVES.

-- Change the part of speech (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984, p. 93)

ex. "Reagan succeeded [verb] Carter as President of the United States." = REAGAN WAS CARTER'S SUCCESSOR (noun).

-- Change the structure via clauses or phrases (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984, p. 140)

ex. "Although neurons come in many different shapes and sizes, they are all specialized to receive and transmit information." (adverb clause) =

DESPITE THEIR DIFFERENT SHAPES AND SIZES, NEURONS ARE ALL SPECIALIZED TO RECEIVE AND TRANSMIT INFORMATION (adv. phrase)

or

THE DIFFERENT SHAPED AND SIZED NEURONS ARE ALL SPECIALIZED TO RECEIVE AND TRANSMIT INFORMATION. (noun phrase)

-- Combine 2 sentences into one using a relative clause (Latulippe, 1987, pp. 102-104)

ex. "Matter occupies space and has mass. All things are made up of matter." = EVERYTHING IS MADE UP

OF MATTER, WHICH HAS
MASS AND TAKES UP SPACE.

-- Use indirect quotations (Oshima &Hogue, 1983)

ex. "Jones stated, 'Abortion is murder.'"
(Oshima and Hogue, p. 55)= JONES STATED THAT ABOR
TION IS MURDER.

(Note: The examples given above show possible ways to change something form the original. Remember, however, that these are not examples of a parapharse, because not enough of the original has been changed.)

USING DIRECT QUOTATION

Quotes should be used with restraint. Quote the exact words of the original only when

a) you want to use the complex words of an expert, or

b) the words are especially expressive or concise.

Note: If you must quote something, do so only if you're sure you understand it well (Hamp-Lyons and Courter, 1984). Remember, you're better off paraphrasing in most cases, and doing so will help ensure that you understand the material.

TIPS FOR SUCCESS

- Use a good dictionary and/or thesaurus, with example sentences, to understand and make changes to vocabulary (Arnaudet and Barrett, 1984.)

- Use a variety of the techniques above in each paraphrase — one small change does not make a paraphrase. If you don't change enough, you are plagiarizing.

- Ask questions at any point in the process — get help from your instructor, a tutor, and so on.

- Practice this skill — it will take some time and energy.

APPENDIX C:
THINK-ALOUD INSTRUCTIONS AND WORKSHEET

PARAPHRASING

A. Read through the information on paraphrasing.

B. Read the piece by Samenow. When finished, I will show you some model paraphrases.

C. Paraphrase the sentences below - enough so that you would not be accused of plagiarism. (Put them in your own words and grammar while retaining the meaning of the original.) Refer back to the original text if necessary. Use a dictionary and/or Thesaurus if needed.

D. While paraphrasing, try to think out loud about the process - it will be taped. I may interrupt occasionally to ask what you're doing.

E. Interview/Debrief

All sentences taken from Samenow, 1978.

1. "We have identified a total of fifty-two thinking patterns that are present in all the criminals in our study."

2."Both the white-collar criminal and the street criminal conduct their lives in the same way, even though their styles in crime suggest that they are different types of people."

3. "Changing the environment does not change the inner man."

4. "Slums are cleared, job opportunities are offered, schooling is provided, but crime remains."

APPENDIX D:
READING FROM WHICH SENTENCES WERE TAKEN

"We have identified a total of fifty-two thinking patterns that are present in all the criminals in our study. At the outset, we surmised that we would discover different profiles for criminals who had committed different kinds of crimes - property, sex, and assault. This turned out not to be the case. Criminals do differ in the types of crimes they commit and in their *modi operandi*. The man who uses stealth and cunning may avoid fights for fear of physical injury, but, more significantly, he looks down on the criminal who uses force, seeing him as crude. The criminal who uses "muscle" regards the conman as "weak" or "sissy." However, if one examines how criminals live their lives, how they regard themselves and the outside world, the similarities far outweigh the differences. Furthermore, we found that the criminal charged with a sexual offense has committed other types of crimes. The same is true of the others, although their police records do not reveal this. Both the white-collar criminal and the street criminal conduct their lives in the same way, even though their styles in crime suggest that they are different types of people. All criminals are habitual liars. They fail to put themselves in the place of others (unless it is to scheme a crime). They do not know what responsible decision making is, because they have prejudged most situations and find no need to ascertain facts and consider alternative courses of action. They believe that the world is their oyster and that people are pawns, while they have no obligation to anyone. In short, they share all fifty-two thinking patterns that we describe in our writings. Criminality goes far beyond mere arrestability. It pertains to the way in which a person thinks and lives his life....

Changing the environment does not change the inner man. Slums are cleared, job opportunities are offered, schooling is provided, but crime remains. More of our criminals had jobs than were unemployed. But providing a criminal with job skills and then a job results in a criminal with a job rather than a criminal without a job. He remains a criminal. He may utilize his job for his own gain, commit crimes on the job, or use his job as a mantle of respectability, which leaves him free to live a secret life of crime outside his work."

Samenow, Stanton E. (1978, Sept/Oct). The criminal personality: New concepts and new procedures for change. *The Humanist.* Rpt. in Eitzen, D. Stanley and Zinn, Maxine Baca. (1992). *Social problems.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

APPENDIX E:
MODEL PARAPHRASES FOR SUBJECTS

Original sentence

"At the outset, we surmised that we would discover different profiles for criminals who had committed different kinds of crimes - property, sex, and assault." (Samenow, 1978)

Possible paraphrases

1) Originally, it was guessed that people performing different criminal acts would be found to have different mind-sets.

2) In the beginning, it was thought that unique criminal profiles for perpetrators of each type of crime (such as assault) would be uncovered.

3) At the start, findings were expected to show that those perpetrating each different offense would possess a different personality type.

4) Early expectations were that each group of offenders would have a specific set of thought patterns, depending on the sort of crime they committed

APPENDIX F:
POTENTIAL QUESTIONS FOR THINK-ALOUD

During: Open-ended
1. Do you have a question (about the procedure)?

2. Why did you stop?

3. You look confused - why?

4. What are you looking up in the dictionary/thesaurus?

After: focused questions with options
1. Were the instructions/expectations clear? Why or why not?

2. Why did you start your paraphrase by _____?

3. Why did you change _____ ?
   Cross-outs
   Blanks

4. Why did you leave _____ the same as the author's?

5. Are you satisfied with the final vocabulary and grammar of your paraphrases? Why or why not?

6. Do you have a system that you used (basically the same for every sentence)? If so, explain it.
   OR
7. Did you approach each sentence differently (depending on vocabulary and/or grammar)?

8. What was the hardest thing about this exercise? Why?
   What was the easiest thing about this exercise? Why?

9. Do you have any final questions for me?

10. Do you have any suggestions on how to improve this exercise?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I would like to thank Elain Tarone, whose ideas and guidance helped to make this article possible.

Reviews

The *MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professions. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Academic Listening, Research Perspectives, John Flowerdew, ed. Cambridge Applied Linguistic Series: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

This book contains thirteen chapters in five major sections: an overview of lecture comprehension research leading up to the current volume, the cognitive processes involved in academic listening, discourse analysis of lectures and how it relates to pedagogy, a wider ethnographic approach to lecture comprehension, and pedagogic applications of research findings in L2 lecture listening. The volume addresses areas of interest to L2 researchers, teachers of English for Academic Purposes, and lecturers in content areas who lecture to nonnative speakers.

Chapter one is an excellent introductory summary, by the editor, of previous research into general comprehension, listening comprehension, and lecture comprehension. This chapter is especially useful to EAP teachers or teachers in training, for it examines lecture comprehension from the perspective of the researcher (the micro-skills identified by comprehension theory), the lecturer (the most important lecturer-identified skills), and the student (using interviews, questionnaires, and diary studies). The chapter also contains a discussion of lecture discourse, as well as a look at some of the variables involved which affect comprehension: the use of rhetorical signaling devices, speech rate, and the speaker's accent. Rounding out this very useful introduction to the topic is an extensive bibliography.

Focusing on the cognitive side of lecture comprehension, Part II opens with a chapter by Tauroza and Allison which looks at how schema theory applies to lectures and focuses on how an unfamiliar discourse pattern affects comprehension. It was found that when a more familiar discourse pattern, such as PROB - SOL is expanded to PROB - SOL - EVAL, students have difficulty following the argument and dealing with the unexpected aspect of evaluation. Such findings remind us as teachers to present various types of lecture discourse, and to include critical thinking skills such as understanding evaluation when we teach listening in general.

In chapter 3, Dunkel and Davies look at native and nonnative lecture recall protocols and lecture notes in terms of how useful the lecturer's rhetorical signaling cues are and find, surprisingly, that the presence or absence of these cues does not have a significant influence on the amount of information recorded by either group. I would hasten to add that simply because of this finding we should not stop teaching students to use these words to help them understand lecture structure. Instead, I would question the emphasis on quantity of notes as opposed to quality of notes, and I would want to use a more academic lecture (the authors used a lecture which compared the sinking of the Titanic and the Andrea Doria) to test the hypothesis.

Chaudron, Loschky and Cook, in chapter four, attempt to show how note-taking influences comprehension, as measured by multiple-choice and cloze tests. What they find, however, is that the short amount of time between hearing the lecture and taking the test, i.e., the influence of memory, overshadows the value of the students' notes, no matter how complete they might be. Another lesson for listening teachers is to schedule tests over lecture notes with enough delay to actually test the quality of the notes, not the students' short-term memory.

Part III presents three studies on lecture discourse which may help ESL teachers to create, evaluate or adapt existing materials which focus on the structure of lectures, both at the macro and micro levels. Hansen combines sentential topic and topic framework analysis to break down a lecture into a hierarchy of major and minor points as a way to measure the quality of student notes. Dudley-Evans addresses the issue of how different disciplines often use varying lecture discourse patterns and makes a case for team-teaching between ESL and academic teachers to reinforce basic lecture listening strategies with more subject-specific skills. Such a plan makes sense pedagogically, but would be difficult to put into practice in many institutions due to the wide diversity of student academic backgrounds. We may have to settle for greater teacher awareness of the differences and more practice with a number of discourse patterns.

Young presents a fascinating description of lectures as being composed of discontinuously occurring strands or phases. Three of these phases are metadiscoursal, indicating direction, conclusion and evaluation. Three others are interaction, content, and examples. All six weave together to form the typical lecture. This represents a truer picture of lecture discourse than a more linear description of beginning, middle and end, which should help students distinguish between formal writing and lecture listening, a confusion that may exist when similar terms are used in both skills ("introduction," "body," "conclusion," "examples"). Seeing a lecture as a series of interwoven strands should help teachers to teach the two differently.

Section IV, "Ethnography of Second Language Lectures," places the university lecture in a wider "culture of learning." Benson describes nine features of lectures from this macro-perspective (e.g., A lecture is a "performance," one usually given special status by attendance being "compulsory") and argues that for students to fully understand their learning situation and what is expected of them, they should be exposed to "English through content" through the use of authentic mini-lectures. The author also points out that it is important to discuss different learning styles and their relation to specific strategies and content areas.

Veteran materials writer Abelle Mason describes strategies needed and those actually used by the typical foreign graduate student. Not surprisingly, perhaps, she finds, along with the growing importance of oral communication skills, that our students often lack these skills, both in discussion participation and in asking questions. Further, although high TOEFL scores do not assure comprehension of complex lectures, students with high scores generally are able to improve or compensate for weaknesses in lecture comprehension, for example, by spending more time on reading assignments. This chapter should remind us that we as ESL teachers need to prepare students for the realities of a very difficult academic challenge, not just by providing opportunities for successful language learning, but by discussing how to cope with problems that may arise. Having a recent ESL "grad" who is currently taking academic courses, or perhaps someone who has been an academic student for some time come and talk to an ESL class to describe their experiences, answer questions and give advice would be one way of making sure students have an idea of what to expect when they finally "pass" the TOEFL.

In chapter eleven, King offers a way to measure the quality of student note-taking by looking at visual and verbal messages as they are recorded in notes. He finds that the two modes complement each other, that while students usually record some of the verbal message, they record most of the visuals, and that better students tend to write more of the verbal message. This emphasizes to ESL teachers that, while it is important to urge students to copy what is on the board, they must go beyond the visual (key words or phrases, for example,) and regard the visual as a stimulus to noting what was said *about* them. King also notes the importance of the role of evaluation in lectures (see also chapter two) and its usual presence in the verbal message, rather than the visual.

Pedagogic applications can be drawn from all the previous chapters, but the final section of the book focuses on how research has already been put into practice. Chapter twelve is particularly relevant to EAP teachers and administrators. In this chapter, Hansen and Jensen describe the development of a listening test which uses actual lecture excerpts from introductory level university classes to place students in English

coursework. Also valuable is a review of the theoretical considerations of general listening comprehension and lecture discourse. Of particular interest to listening teachers at all levels is the discussion of top-down vs. bottom-up processing of information and, related to it, global vs. local comprehension. Global vs. local is an important distinction for teachers to make, both in helping students understand what they are hearing and in creating their own teaching and testing materials. Global comprehension questions focus on synthesizing information across clauses and include, for example, identifying topic and topic development, purpose and scope of the lecture, and major points, and identifying and inferring relationships between sections. Local comprehension requires listeners to comprehend information within clauses and include, for example, recognizing key vocabulary related to the topic, guessing meaning of words from context, and identifying supporting ideas and examples. The authors also address the question of whether to use a technical or a non-technical lecture, as well as the possible problem of some students having prior knowledge of the content. But probably of greatest importance to the most people is their emphasis on using authentic materials and natural speech, and not using scripted and read lectures, as some published materials do.

The final chapter, by Tony Lynch, deals with the need to train lecturers to be more comprehensible to international students. Two ideas mentioned, using discourse cues to show lecture structure and increased redundancy, are not new, but Lynch goes a step further by reminding us of the need to address sociocultural differences students face when entering a foreign university. He then focuses on how lecturers can make explanations more accessible to L2 learners and how to use student questions to facilitate comprehension so that student input can also be a factor in making lectures comprehensible.

The volume ends with a conclusion by the editor which summarizes the research findings from the previous chapters and their pedagogical implications. Finally, seven areas which need additional study are presented. All in all, the volume is an important contribution to research in L2 lecture comprehension in a number of areas, and it offers teachers, materials writers and administrators valuable insights into how to structure the listening curriculum to best serve our students' needs.

THE REVIEWER

Xochitl Dennis has an MA in ESL from the University of Minnesota, where she taught since 1984.

Understanding Communication in Second Language Classrooms, Karen E. Johnson. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 187 pp.

A Chinese student who attends class regularly, listens attentively, and takes notes conscientiously is surprised to learn that these activities do not match her American teachers' expectations of "classroom participation."

An ESL teacher is frustrated because in classroom discussions, the Spanish speakers dominate while the Japanese students look on quietly.

Both of the examples above demonstrate a gap in classroom communication. What kind of communication takes place in the second language classroom and what role does this communication play in language learning?

In her book, *Understanding Communication in Second Language Classrooms*, Karen Johnson argues that just as communicative competence is necessary for a student to successfully use a second language outside of the classroom, classroom communicative competence is essential for students to get the most out of their classroom experience.

The language used in the second language classroom has two functions. It conveys the content of the lesson, providing students with knowledge about the language. It also provides opportunities for students to acquire the language by using it. Thus, communication is a vital part of language learning and can "limit" or "enhance" what takes place in the classroom.

Johnson reminds us that what a teacher intends to communicate in a lesson may differ from what a student perceives. In order for a student to attain classroom communicative competence, the student must be knowledgeable and competent "in the structural, functional, social, and interactional norms that govern classroom communication" (p. 168). Johnson argues that classroom communicative competence will enable a student to participate actively in class, which should lead to increased communicative competence and ultimately to the acquisition of a second language.

Understanding Communication In Second Language Classrooms is organized into three parts. In the first part, Johnson examines the nature of communication in second language classrooms. She describes the background knowledge that teachers and students bring to a classroom and how their perceptions of classroom procedures may differ. The second part looks at the ways that communication is shaped in the classroom through teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction, and school-community issues. In the final part of the book, she discusses how classroom communication can be promoted and expanded.

According to Johnson, the teacher is the dominant force in a classroom. The way the teacher uses language in the classroom and arranges student activities is based on his/her background and experience. This includes the teacher's own second language learning experience, language teaching experience, theoretical principles and interpretation of the students' performance. An effective teacher must establish a pattern of communication within the classroom "that will foster, to the greatest extent, both classroom learning and second language acquisition" (p. 90).

In establishing this communication pattern, the students' backgrounds play an equally vital role. The students' differing cultural and educational backgrounds influence their perception of classroom events and the role they should play. Many ESL students come from cultures with differing expectations for student participation, and it may be difficult for them to infer new classroom norms which are usually implicit rather than explicitly stated. The students must be made aware of these norms. "Making norms explicit and predictable" is an important part of classroom communicative competence.

In addition to making the norms explicit, Johnson suggests that a teacher should make the most of the communication patterns that the students bring with them to the classroom. A teacher should be willing to adjust classroom activities to exploit the students' already acquired patterns. "This means allowing for more spontaneous, adaptive patterns of communication in which the structure and content of the interaction can be constructed and controlled as much by the students as the teacher" (p. 167).

Most ESL teachers have been frustrated at some point by the lopsided nature of classroom discussions. "Since [students] have acquired different ways of talking and communicating, some [are] more likely to participate ... than others" (p. 63). Johnson not only gives the reasons why the Spanish students take over in classroom discussions while the Japanese students sit quietly listening, but she suggests practical ways in which a teacher can achieve a more balanced participation by building "verbal and instructional scaffolds" of support. For example, if the teacher can make classroom events more predictable, students are more likely to participate in them. She prepares her students for large group discussions by first having them respond to a required reading by writing their ideas in a journal. This allows them to "formulate and rehearse their ideas" privately. This makes students more comfortable and more likely to participate publicly in the classroom discussion that follows.

Johnson urges teachers to create opportunities for students to use the language. She is a strong supporter of group work since it promotes student-student interaction and cooperative learning. Most teachers who

use group work at times wonder how effective the communication in the group is. Johnson summarizes the work of Barnes ("From communication to curriculum." 1976), giving suggestions to make group work more effective. Johnson believes that "student-student interaction generally creates opportunities for students to participate in meaning-focused communication, to perform a range of language functions, to participate in the negotiation of meaning, to engage in both planned and unplanned discourse, to attend to both language forms and functions, to assume differing roles in that interaction, and, finally, to initiate, control the topic of discussion, and self-select to participate" (p. 128). This interaction is an important part of classroom learning and language acquisition.

Understanding Communication In Second Language Classrooms provides detailed examples and practical suggestions for teachers who want to make their classrooms effective places for learning a second language. The book is well-organized and easy to read. Each section ends with a conclusion which summarizes the main points. As a teacher who uses a variety of methods, I appreciated Johnson's balanced view of classroom techniques. She views classroom activities on a continuum, rather than favoring any one method. As a strong believer in student-student interaction, I also appreciated Johnson's endorsement of and suggestions for group work. Finally, I share Johnson's view that classroom procedures should be explicitly laid out for students. Johnson's text should be useful for both teachers in training who want to become effective second language teachers and experienced teachers who want to improve communication in their classrooms.

THE REVIEWER

Gail Ibele teaches ESL in Madison, Wisconsin.

Apple Pie: Delta's Beginning ESL Program, revised edition,

Sadae Iwataki, Ed. McHenry IL: Delta Systems Co. Inc., 1995. 222 pages.

In reviewing a textbook, it is important to understand the context in which the book will likely be used. An academic ESL setting may be quite different from ESL in an adult education setting. The textbook series *Apple Pie* was created by Sadae Iwataki, a teacher and administrator of Adult ESL in the Los Angeles Unified School District for many years. Iwataki describes the typical adult ESL class as having a large number of students of varying ages who are studying English voluntarily at night, and who come from a wide variety of language and experiential back-

grounds. These large classes of up to fifty or more students present a challenge to the teacher, but they also create an active social atmosphere that can be taken advantage of as long as the teacher keeps in mind that the students' primary purpose is to learn English. Adult students have been described as very focused, hardworking learners who are well aware of their own needs in learning English, and who require a certain amount of self-direction and participation in their learning process (Hilles, 91).

Apple Pie responds to this situation in a number of ways. It provides a visuals packet containing full-page enlargements of the illustrations in the text for the teacher to use to keep the entire class on track, knowing where they are in the text and what sort of material is being presented verbally. It takes advantage of the social atmosphere of the class in that it gives students frequent opportunities to interact with each other, and provides them with the language needed to do so. As the students have limited time to study but are active in the classroom, the text is very task-oriented, providing a large number of short exercises for use in class. Thus, it would seem to lend itself to a fast-paced class, heavy on vocabulary and skills-building, for which students are expected to do a minimum of homework. The importance of matching an adult education course to the students' cultural expectations and perceived needs are reflected by the text's use of an interactive but still teacher-directed method and emphasis on concrete survival English.

Recognition of the need for self-direction and participation in the learning process can be found in the listing of clear, practical objectives at the beginning of each chapter, and in the extensive use of the students' own experiences as source material for the class. Lesson 13, "Where Are You From?" begins with a statement of the following objectives: "In this lesson you will learn to ask and answer questions about your native country, and talk about cities, states, and countries" (p.128). The lesson contains activities which involve locating the students' native countries on a map, discussing their native country and city with a partner, and locating their city and state of residence in the U.S. on a map. Following a short reading passage, a discussion activity asks "1. Where are you from?" and "2. People come to the United States for many reasons. Why are you here? To study English? To be with your family? To get a better job?" (p.128-132).

Another aspect of adult education (Hilles, 1991) is that the typical ESL teacher in this setting generally has a bachelor's degree and some teacher training, but does not have an advanced degree, and teaches only part-time. Such a teacher may require more support and guidance than a professional teaching ESL full-time at a university, where there are more resources and time to prepare classes. *Apple Pie* provides this support for the instructor, both in the text and in the Teacher's Guide, with its step-

by-step instructions on how to use the text and its corresponding materials, as well as suggestions on how to present the information given in each lesson most effectively. It also suggests what to do if students are having trouble with a given task.

Apple Pie is a highly interactive and visual text covering real-life survival English topics. Book 1A, reviewed here, is the first in a series of textbooks for beginning and low intermediate students. The series replaces *Delta's ESL for the 21st Century*. Each book in the series is accompanied by a teacher's manual, a cassette tape, and a visuals packet. The series is designed for adult students with no previous English study, and the text reflects a population of mainly Asian and Hispanic students who are recent immigrants studying English in order to adapt to life in the U.S. *Apple Pie* covers all four skills, with emphasis on listening and speaking at this level, as the reading and writing tasks are short and simple. The topics covered in the first book deal with a variety of basic survival needs. They include: greetings and introductions, classroom vocabulary, giving and requesting information, the alphabet, names and numbers, courtesy expressions, apologizing and leave-taking, occupations, money and numbers, ordering food, making purchases, days and dates, names of cities, states, and countries, foods, places in the community, everyday personal and household items, the family, and using the telephone.

Each lesson begins with a listening comprehension section accompanied by visual aids which introduce the target vocabulary and structures of the lesson. This is followed by a short dialogue which students learn through repetition and practice in pairs. Next are interactive practice activities such as mini-dialogues, role-plays, group activities and mixers which expand on the material given previously and move from more to less-controlled exercises. Lesson 7, for example, which covers professions, begins with a review of time expressions from chapters 5 and 6, then the names of professions and the use of subject pronouns are introduced. A short dialogue is presented for students to practice, followed by a section in which students practice identifying the professions of people shown in drawings. A group discussion activity then asks students to tell each other about their own professions and report the information they learn to the rest of the class.

A reading passage continues with the topic in each lesson and presents discussion questions which check the students' comprehension and ask them to relate the material to their own experiences. Then a writing section reviews the material and gives students practice with spelling and punctuation. (According to the Teacher's Manual for Book 1A, Books 2A and 2B include additional writing sections for practicing sentences

and short paragraphs in controlled and free writing tasks.) Finally, each lesson includes review and activity pages to be used in subsequent classes in order to reinforce the material and provide practice with tasks that integrate various skills. At the end of each unit of three lessons is an evaluation which includes listening, reading and writing sections. It is intended that students will do this individually, then turn the evaluation in for correction so that both teacher and student can keep track of individual progress.

In summary, *Apple Pie* has been carefully prepared to meet the needs of the adult ESL classroom. It seems well suited to the students' needs and interests. It provides basic language instruction while recognizing the students' maturity and life experience, and it reflects the ethnic makeup of both the students and their environment. The text is very teacher-friendly, as it gives a great deal of assistance to busy instructors, and its approach allows for a large, active classroom while focusing on language practice. It covers the four skills as appropriate to each level, and includes integrated practice activities for review. The cost ($7.95 for student books, $10.95 for cassette, and $24.95 for visuals packet) make it a reasonable package. *Apple Pie* looks to be a useful and enjoyable program for both students and teachers.

THE REVIEWER

Lesley Andrews is a graduate student and a teacher in ESL at the University of Minnesota. She has also taught Spanish as a foreign language at the same institution.

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Poem

Notes on listening, speaking, and poetry from a teacher of English, student of Hmong.

Poetry for me begins with listening to the voices both around and within us. The poem you see here grew out of things I have learned listening to the voices of Hmong people.

We English speakers who have taken up teaching our native tongue to speakers of other languages open an important door when we take time to drop our teaching roles and simply listen. If we can not do this we miss out on a lot of what is really going on in the world.

If we approach people of different cultures neither as objects of study nor as keepers of some spiritual wisdom that we have failed to find in our own contemporary culture, we have a chance to make friends. If we see our students as people like ourselves with at least as much to teach us as we have to teach them we may learn a great deal.

Adaptation to changing conditions has for generations been a strength of the Hmong people. They have kept their culture alive through centuries of migration, war, the loss of a written language, and the development of new forms of oral and written expression.

Miles and years removed from the geography and ways of life where it developed, a language, like the people who speak it, must change. The poetry to describe the seasons of rice cultivation and harvest is crowded out by terms of modern technology and sound bites of the mass consumer media. Unless the younger ones listen and record, each elder who passes on takes with them irreplaceable knowlege, along with the language to express it.

Just as the young stand to lose if they fail to draw out and listen to the old, the old make a big mistake if they fail to trust and encourage the inherent goodness and intelligence of the young. Young people are longing for deep and open connections with their elders even as they search between two cultures for their own way, which no one can map out for them.

I would like to thank my teaching colleague Neng Heur for his corrections and expansions of the Hmong lines in the poem. Any inaccuracies of expression or interpretation are entirely mine.

Sharon Hilberer
December 1995

Hmong elders, far from their original home in Laos,
speak of and to the spirits on the occasion of a funeral.

(Teb chaws no, tsis yog peb lub teb chaws.
Teb chaws no, peb tsis muaj dab tsi.
This country is not our country.
In this country, we have nothing.)

Tsis muaj.
Tsis muaj dab tsi.
Don't have.
Don't have anything.
Don't have a centerpost.
No centerpost in a city apartment
to house a household guardian.
No dwelling place for a centering spirit.
How can we call a spirit home
so far from home?
Don't have anything.

Ancestor spirits are lost. So far away.
Mountains they know.
Forests and jungle they know.
How wide and flat the oceans.
How wide and flat the North American plains.
Trackless. Can not follow. Can not find.
Follow tsis tau.
Find tsis tau.

Useless now the precise and well-fitted words
for depth and distance
time and elevation
the uphill side, the downslope.
Useless now the rhythmic and elegant terms
to locate and remember
mountain passes. Paths around and through
bamboo forests
territory of tiger and elephant.
The ancestors have no words
for highway 94.

Tuaj txog teb chaws no peb poob tas lawm.
Cannot follow.
Cannot find.
The funeral drum hangs in its frame.
The beating, the singing continue
three nights, three days.
Spirit guides search the way back.
Thov taw kev rau koj rov qab.
Spirits of every resting place along our path of flight,
we honor you.
Allow this uncle, allow this old soldier
return passage along spirit traces
to the place where he first drew breath,
the place where the grandmothers
buried the placenta.
Kom rov qab mus. Kom rov qab los.
Go back. Come back.

Along the way:
Bankok,
Chieng Kham,
Nong Khai,
Nakong,
Long Chieng,
Phu Bia,
Xieng Khouang...
Kom taug qub ke rov qab.
Rest with the ancestors.
Stay. Make no more journeys.
Rest with the ancestors.
We are the last generation
to honor them.

Cov me nyuam tsis paub peb Hmoob txuj ci lawm.
Cov me nyuam tsis paub dab tsi.
The children know nothing.
The children go forward in this trackless place without you.
The children go forward in this trackless place alone.

Sharon Hilberer
1995

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Hmong American PARTNERSHIP

HAP Voice

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Summer 1997

A Publication of Hmong American Partnership

HAP Awards Educational Scholarships

Ilean Her, Board of Directors Member

Hmong American Partnership (HAP) is pleased to announce the establishment of the HAP Educational Endowment, made possible by the generous gift of an anonymous donor. The donation was made to assist Hmong students residing in Minnesota in attaining their educational goals. With the donation, HAP has created four types of scholarships to be awarded by the HAP Board of Directors Educational Endowment Committee: the Leadership Scholarship, the Non-Traditional Student Award, the ESL Support Grant, and Small Grants.

The Leadership Scholarship recognizes a Hmong student who is a senior in high school and has demonstrated outstanding leadership potential. The Non-Traditional Student Award supports Non-Traditional Hmong students. ESL Support and Small Grants are discretionary funds that may be given to students for ESL instruction and/or emergency support.

This year was the first year that HAP awarded the Leadership Scholarship of $1,000, renewable for up to four years, and the Non-Traditional Student Scholarship of $500.

The Leadership Scholarship was awarded to Kao Vang. He graduated from Brooklyn Center High School where he was President of the National Honor Society and the International Club and was a member of the Student Council, the French Club, the Math Team, and the Choir. He was also part of Youth Development and was a Peer Helper. He participated in football, track, soccer, and school musicals, most recently *South Pacific*. In addition to his high school leadership and involvement, Vang is very active in his community. He is a Minnesota Governor's Scholar and an Eagle Scout. He is a member of the City of Brooklyn Center's Youth Advisory Council, Amnesty International, Adopt a Highway Program, Pob Siab Hmoob Theatre, Twin Cities Asian Student Council and many other programs. He will attend Carleton College in the fall and plans to major in law.

Non-Traditional Scholarships were awarded to Shao Her and Tou Pao Lor. Shao Her, married and the mother of two young children, plans to attend Hennepin Community College this fall. She is a graduate of Park Center High School.

(Continued on page 5)

Peem Tsheej Youth Participate in Leadership Camp

Shown Above: Tia Vang and Mee Her enjoy canoeing while at the youth leadership camp.

Story on Page 5

Volunteers Play an Essential Role in HAP's 2HTN Youth Program

Johanna Nesseth, Volunteer Coordinator

Helping young people to grow into strong, successful adults has always been the goal of youth programs at Hmong American Partnership. Volunteers play an important role in achieving this goal. Volunteers partner with the Hluas Hmoob Tsim Nuj (2HTN) program, a drug and crime prevention program for Hmong youth in grades 4 through 6, to provide academic assistance and personal support for participants.

Fue Heu, the program's new program manager, believes that volunteers play an essential role in the program. "Volunteers give students the support they need to improve both their grades and their self-esteem," he says. Heu's vision of the role that volunteers play is one of "a caring adult who reaches out a hand for young people who are struggling."

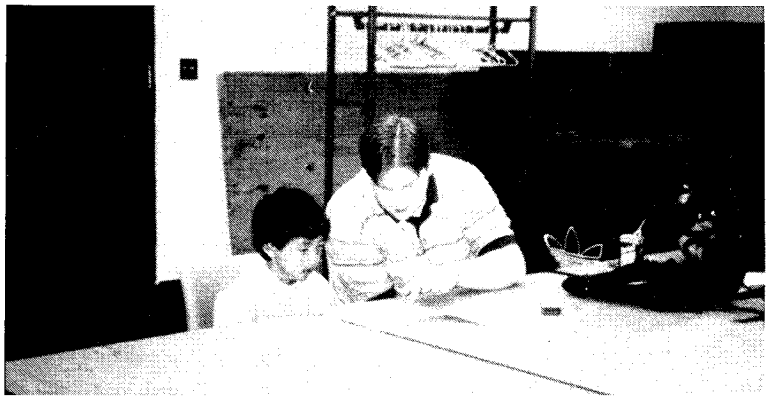
Under Heu's direction, the 2HTN Youth Program will work closely with volunteers to increase the impact they have on the students in the program. He plans to provide extra support for volunteers involved with the program, in an effort to foster the development of long-lasting, positive relationships between the Hmong youth participants and the volunteers.

There will be 2HTN programs running in seven elementary schools in St. Paul and Minneapolis during the 1997-1998 academic year. Some activities will include intensive training for both staff and volunteers; field trips; academic tutoring for program participants; and support and recognition for volunteers.

Last year, over 20 volunteers participated in the program. This year, the goal is to involve as many as 60. Volunteers must be 16 years of age, responsible, and interested in increasing their knowledge of the Hmong community.

If you are interested in volunteering with Hmong youth, please call Johanna Nesseth at (612) 642-9601.

Below: A 2HTN volunteer helps a 2HTN program participant with homework.



Tax Time Means Refunds for HAP Clients

Cathy Jackson, Essential Office Skills Program Instructor

Seventy families will receive approximately $67,535 in tax refunds this year thanks to HAP staff members. After taking a course to learn the basics of state and federal income tax preparation, seven staff members from two HAP departments volunteered their time from January to April to help low-income Hmong families file for tax refunds. HAP staff also prepared property tax refund forms for those renting homes or apartments.

This is the second year that HAP has participated in the Internal Revenue Service Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (VITA) program, a program that provides free tax assistance to members of the community with special needs, such as limited English skills.

Staff members that participated this year are: Gaoxee Yang, Bic Ngo, Morgan Thao, Steve Mouacheupao, Bee Vue, Cathy Jackson, and Fue Her.

Contact Gaoxee Yang at 642-9601 for more information about this program.

Peem Tsheej Hosts Third Annual Banquet

Mee Molly Yang, Peem Tsheej Program Participant

Peem Tsheej honors its youth program participants at the end of each school year with a banquet in their honor. More than 400 people attended this year's banquet, held at the My Le Hao Restaurant in Little Canada on June 13, 1997.

A board of Peem Tsheej youth participants put on this year's banquet. Decorations were made out of the theme colors of green, pink, and white; the balloons were held down with candy.

The board of youth and staff wore traditional clothing at the event and greeted parents as they arrived. See Xiong and Hlee Lee entertained the group with traditional dance. HAP staff and other program participants presented speeches. Youth received awards and door prizes were given out. Youth who participated in Peem Tsheej activities were awarded medals in one of the program's four categories: Culture, Personal Growth, Sports, and Academics.

Food was served and anyone who wanted to stay for the party stayed. The party ended at around 11:00p.m. and everyone was gone by midnight.

More than 400 youth, family members, staff, and Board members, enjoyed this year's Peem Tsheej Banquet.

Essential Office Skills Program Graduates Find Jobs

Cathy Jackson, Essential Office Skills Program Instructor

Seven students graduated from the Essential Office Skills Program (EOSP) on May 22, 1997. The students spent twelve weeks studying computer software and office practices. They also learned job-search strategies and practiced resume-writing and interviewing. Four of the students are now working full time. See Vang is employed at First Bank System; Vang Doua Lee just began a position at Southeast Asian Ministry; May Yang is working at ATS Medical Company in Minneapolis; and Habtemicael Teclehaimanot is working at United Hospitals. Plia Her is taking a technical training course and hopes to work in medical assembly by the fall. Chue Lee and Kristi Williams are looking for work.

Nine new students began the EOSP class on July 1, 1997 and will graduate in September. Contact Cathy Jackson at 642-9601 for more information.

The EOSP students after a graduation luncheon. Pictured from left to right are Habtemicael Teclehaimanot, Kristi Williams, See Vang, Chue Lee, Vang Doua Lee, May Yang, and Plia Her.

HAP Celebrates One Year of ESL Classes

Johanna Nesseth, Volunteer Coordinator

In April of 1997, HAP's volunteers celebrated as we began the second year of our volunteer-led English as a Second Language (ESL) program. The program, merely an idea at the beginning of 1996, has already reached over 60 students and will reach an even greater number in the coming year.

Over 15 volunteers have contributed time and energy to the program by planning, directing, evaluating and teaching the courses. The program began when volunteer Joan Olson agreed to help develop the course. We began by offering a single class to low-level students. As the need for ESL service increased, we expanded the program to include more volunteers and more classes in an effort to reach a greater number of students. This year we will be offering three classes each quarter and hope to serve more than 100 students throughout the year.

Congratulations to all of our volunteers; your work helps us to offer an invaluable service to the community. Thank you for your contributions.

What I learned at 2HTN

Written by Program Participants of HAP's 2HTN Program

Lee Her

What I learned at 2HTN was a couple of Hmong words. It was really fun spelling all the words in Hmong and write some in English. I just loved spelling words.

What I also learned was to be friendly with everybody and respect the adults. I enjoyed being with my friends, too.

I like to work on "My Journey" [2HTN's curriculum]. I think it is a good activity book, but I don't really like writing so much in it.

I also learned to respect Mother Earth and not to pollute it. I still remember the sign for reuse, reduce, and recycle.

In 2HTN I finished a lot of my homework.

I learned how to be nice to the people when we went hiking. I learned that we should be nice to everyone. I also learn that the kids should respect the older ones.

I also learned that working in a group is better than only yourself, that's why I love what we did on May 28, 1997 [a group treasure hunt]. There were a lot of clues and it was fun.

Well, 2HTN taught me a lot of stuff that I should always keep with me and share with friends. I was really lucky that I got a chance to be in 2HTN. I really like 2HTN because I learned a lot and I had fun.

Thanks a lot 2HTN!

Kue Vang

I learned in the program our culture and the numbers in Hmong. I also learned how to keep your property clean and how to say Hmong words. I learned that the President lives in the White House. I learned how to be friends and keep being friends.

I can go the Hmong New Year and to the soccer tournament. It is cool to be Hmong; you can go anywhere. I [have] done a lot of stuff. Me and my cousin went and bought some noodle soup. It tasted good, you can put a lot of stuff in it. I went and played soccer and went swimming. It was a lot of fun. I got a black Hmong suit. It is sewed by my mom. It is big. My sister has a skirt and a dress for Hmong people. It is fun to go to the Hmong New Year. All of the Hmong people have black hair— or some people might have blond hair.

HAP Seeks New Director of Finance

Qualifications include a BA/BS degree in Finance, Accounting, or related field or work experience equivalent and three years financial management experience. Advanced degree preferred. Budgeting contract/grant administration, supervision, and computer experience with Windows based programs necessary. Experience in a non-profit and/or culturally diverse setting a plus. Qualified applicants should submit a cover letter and resume to Mary Easterling, Director of Human Resources.

HAP's Peem Tsheej Youth Participate in Youth Leadership Camp

Tia Vang, Peem Tsheej Youth Program Participant

Southeast Asian Youth Development Initiative (SAYOI) Leadership Camp is a program directed to helping youth become better role-models and leaders for other Southeast Asian youth.

This program started in the fall of 1995, when 60 Southeast Asian youth, such as Hmoob, Laotian, Vietnamese, and Cambodian from different organizations, come together to learn about cultural values and what it means to be Asian. This gathering takes place at Wilder Forest Camp where participants go and stay for two or seven days. There they stay in lodges, boys in one and girls in another. The Leadership Camp occurs about three times a year, one in the summer, one in the winter, and one in the spring, with something new to learn and look forward to each time. Each participant may attend the Leadership Camp up to three times; then, their space is given to another individual who may also enjoy what the camp has to offer.

According to Chong Neng Thao, the main purpose of the Leadership Camp is for Southeast Asian youth and organizations to take a dramatic departure from their everyday life and participate in fun, safe, and challenging activities that will teach youth how to communicate. Many fun and educational activities and workshops give them a chance to meet with and relate to new people, share cultures, and teach them how to be leaders. These activities vary from indoor activities such as cultural games, songs, dances, and guest speakers to outdoor activities such as volleyball, swimming, night hiking, bonfires, storytelling, canoeing, fishing, cross country skiing, sliding, ice fishing, and many more fun activities, depending on the season.

(Continued from page 1)

Tou Pao Lor, married and the father of one child, plans to attend Century College in the fall. He hopes to major in social work. Lor arrived in the United States in 1995. Lor says, "[G]oing back to school is tough. It is like an uphill battle. ...[but] by thinking of my daughter, my wife, and my future, it makes me more determined."

HAP is pleased to award these scholarships and to invest in the lives of these students. It is the intent of the Board of Directors to raise additional funds for the endowment. Congratulations to all scholarship winners!

Contact HAP for information of how to apply for the next round of scholarships or how to donate money to this endowment.

More than 60 youth participate in each Southeast Asian Youth Development Initiative Leadership Camp. Pictured above are participants from a recent session, including many Peem Tsheej program participants and Paly Saykao, Director of Peem Tsheej.

HAP Update

- HAP will begin its fourth session of the Microentrepreneur Class in early August. In partnership with Neighborhood Development Corporation (NDC), HAP provides intensive business training and access to low-interest loans for individuals committed to starting their own business. Contact Morgan Thao at 642-9601 for more information. There are still two openings for the next session of this class!
- HAP's Board of Directors is happy to introduce new Board members Linda Kay Smith of HealthEast Foundation, Bob Baker of Firstar Bank, Mike Moua of MOUA International, Ue Yang of Ramsey County Extension Services, and Pat Lindgren who works for a MN State Representative. Welcome!
- HAP's Peem Tsheej department continues to need donations of sewing supplies for its sewing classes for Peem Tsheej girls and their mothers. If you would like to donate fabric, thread, or other sewing supplies to the program, please contact Paly Saykao.
- Please contact us if you would like to update your mailing information, be deleted from HAP's mailing list, or if you get multiple mailings. To inform us of changes, call us at (612) 642-9601, send your changes to HAP's main office, or fax changes to us at (612) 603-8399. Thank you for helping to keep our mailing costs to a minimum!
- HAP's Organizational Structure has recently changed to respond to the needs of the community and to ensure quality programming. HAP now offers programs through 2 main service areas: Self-Sufficiency and Youth and Family Programs. In addition, there are now program managers for the Hluas Hmoob Tsim Nuj and Peem Tsheej Youth Programs.
- HAP will host a recognition and appreciation event Self-Sufficiency program participants and employers with whom we work on Sunday, August 10th from noon to 6:00 p.m. at the Highland Park Picnic Pavilion. For more information about this event, please contact Tsuchue Vang at (612) 642-9601.

HAP Voice
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