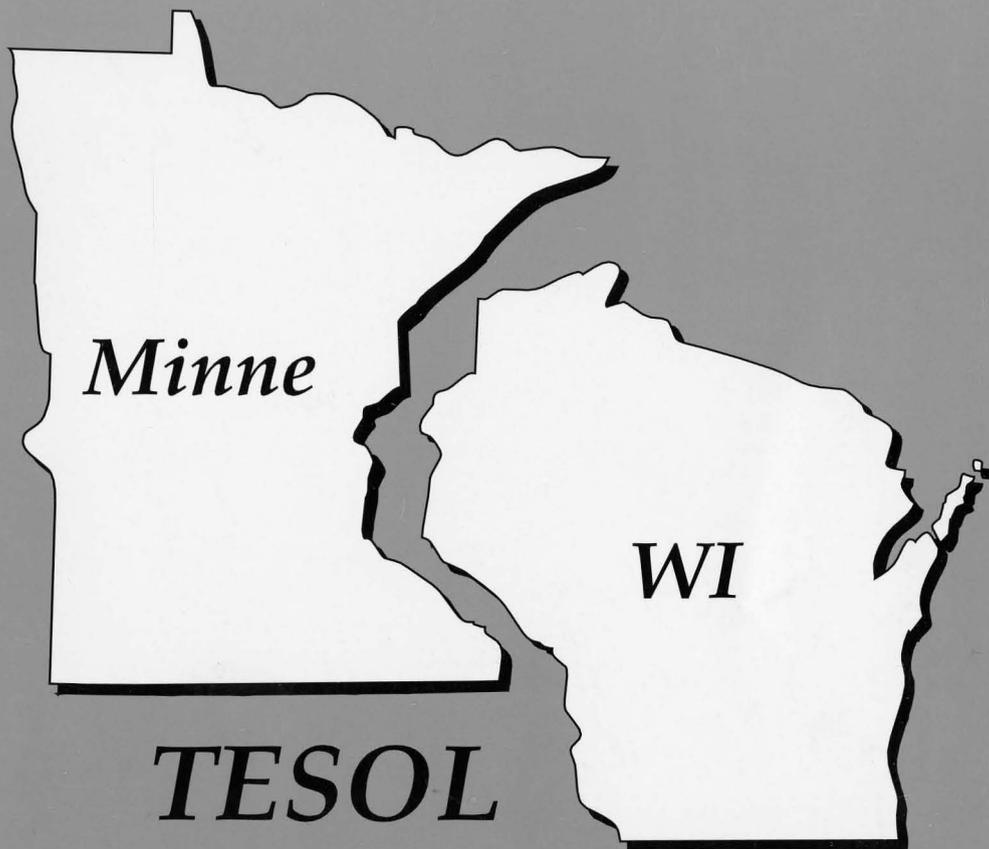


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to Speakers of Other Languages*

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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 that makes 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*. If the editors announce a themed volume, manuscripts will be requested on a specific area of interest.

- **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*. Please include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract and short biographical statement.

Submit **five** paper copies of the manuscript and abstract. Upon acceptance of your article for inclusion in the journal, you will be asked to send us a computer diskette of your article.

Contributions to Volume 18 should be submitted to:

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INTRODUCTION

With this volume, we mark five years of collaboration between Minnesota and Wisconsin on the MinneTESOL/WITESOL Journal, and over eighteen years since the beginning of the MinneTESOL Journal. We are pleased to continue this affiliate collaboration, and to present an array of articles that should meet the interests of the broad range of TESOL professionals our two affiliates serve.

Our first article is on a topic of general interest, the understanding and teaching of metaphors in English, by Carl Gao, who also contributed to volume 16. In this article Gao explores the use of metaphors in spoken and written English, and provides guidelines for instructors to introduce metaphors in the classroom.

The next three articles address concerns with English Language Learners in the U. S. educational system. One concern is with how to best structure an ESL program for K-6 students. Karen Duke and Ann Mabbott discuss how a St. Paul elementary school moved from self-contained ESL classes to a collaborative program in which, for much of the day, Hmong students are with their native English speaking peers and classroom teacher. In addition, they receive services both in and outside of the main classroom from their ESL teacher and bilingual assistant. In this model the ESL teacher and classroom teacher work as a team on lesson plans and assessment.

In the third article Tim Boals discusses the concern educators have with academic accountability on a statewide level, and how English Language Learners can be assessed in a way that is fair and realistic. He describes how the state of Wisconsin has moved to provide a continuum of options, including alternate assessments at lower proficiency levels as well as testing accommodations at higher levels.

Finally, Mark Balhorn presents research in which he compares the writing of Southeast Asian permanent residents and international students in ESL classes at the university level. The results of his study raise questions about the academic preparedness of some Southeast Asian permanent residents, and Balhorn gives suggestions for both high schools and colleges to improve the chances for these students' success. It is possible that with the types of local changes discussed in Duke's and Mabbott's article, and with the statewide initiatives outlined in Boals' article, educators at the university level will see fewer of the issues Balhorn has found.

There are two book reviews included in this volume. The first is of *Bilingual Education: Teachers' Narratives* by Nancy Lemberger, which includes both a historical and theoretical framework for bilingual education as well as eight teacher narratives. The second is of *The Internet Activity Workbook* by Dave Sperling, a workbook and companion website which will help even the most inexperienced teacher guide students through the internet.

In addition, Don Hones, one of the journal co-editors, shares the poem he composed about his trip to Vancouver TESOL, entitled "The Great Escape." Don originally wrote this poem to convince his TESOL students at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh to attend a national TESOL convention, so we have printed it here in hopes that our readership will be similarly persuaded!

With this volume Susan Gillette and Patricia Eliason, both of the University of Minnesota, join Don Hones, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh as co-editors. Suellen Rundquist has assisted us in making this transition to new leadership. We wish to thank her and the members of the Editorial Advisory Board in both Minnesota and Wisconsin for all the effort that went into producing this volume.

Don Hones
University of
WI-Oshkosh

Patricia Eliason
University of
MN-Twin Cities

Susan Gillette
University of
MN-Twin Cities

Understanding and Teaching American Cultural Thought through English Metaphors

CARL ZHONGGANG GAO

University of Wisconsin-River Falls

English metaphors are a mirror of American culture. Understanding them requires knowledge of the cultural contexts in which metaphors are embedded. This paper discusses the nature of English metaphors and metaphors as reflections of American cultural thought and behavior and presents five specific steps for using English metaphors to teach American cultural concepts in ESL/EFL classrooms.

English metaphors are a mirror of American culture. They are “pervasive in our daily life, not just in the language, but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). Native English speakers in this country understand metaphors in their own language and take them for granted because they are brought up in and live in an American cultural environment. International students living and studying in the United States may understand every word of daily life metaphors, but they may not truly understand the underlying meanings of these metaphors. Understanding them requires knowledge of the cultural contexts in which metaphors are embedded.

THE NATURE OF METAPHOR

What is metaphor? In *Poetics*, Aristotle (1954) defines metaphor as “giving the thing a name that belongs to something else” (p. 251). The word originates from Greek, meaning to “carry from one place to another.” Lakoff (1996) further defines metaphor as “involving understanding one domain of experience in terms of a very different domain of experience. More technically, the metaphor can be understood as a mapping (in the mathematical sense) from a source domain to the target domain” (pp. 206-207). Scholars differ in their opinions on how to characterize metaphors. Generally speaking, metaphors are categorized as representing three phenomena: a purely linguistic phenomenon, a more gen-

eral communication phenomenon, and a phenomenon of thought and mental representation (Ortony, 1996).

Linguistically speaking, a metaphor is an anomaly in the study of meaning. When people say A is A, they are following the semantic rule by stating the linguistic truth. But when they say A is B, they are breaking that semantic rule by talking about something that is untrue. It is a linguistic falsity; A can never be B. The breaking of this semantic rule results in the creation of what we call a metaphor to convey a particular idea.

As a general communication phenomenon, metaphors are considered in terms of conventional versus figurative, or literal versus nonliteral uses of language. The primary concern of this general communication phenomenon lies in the distinction between surface meaning and metaphor meaning. For instance, *Love is a journey* is certainly anomalous as a linguistic phenomenon, but its metaphorical connotation extends itself to mean that lovers in a relationship are (just like) travelers on the road; anything may happen on the road of love. "Metaphorical use of language is language creativity at its highest" (Fromkin & Rodman, 1998, p. 188).

Finally, metaphors, as a phenomenon of thought and mental representation, associate language use with our cultural perception and experience of the world around us. Lakoff (1996) argues that "the metaphor is conceptual; it is not in the words themselves, but in the mental images" (p. 229). He believes that "the metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary" (p. 208). Since metaphor is central to the way the world is perceived, human cultural thought and values are embedded in metaphor. It is only natural that concepts of American culture can be learned through the understanding of English language metaphors.

In daily use of metaphors, there is a tendency to make a distinction between what Fraser (1996) calls "the live and dead metaphors" (p. 330). A live metaphor is a metaphor that is novel and full of life. It is fresh and unconventionalized. People can create their own metaphors depending on the need in their writing and speech. "John is married to his tennis game" (Fraser) is an example of such a live metaphor. A dead metaphor, on the other hand, is a metaphor that was once alive, but with overuse, has lost its novelty and vitality and has become a conventionalized saying or an idiom in English. The phrase *kick the bucket* is an example of a dead metaphor. The distinction between the live and dead metaphor is necessary because many English professors, including ESL professionals, would discourage their students from using dead metaphors in their writings. They argue that these overused expressions have become clichés that do not convey fresh ideas or concepts in writing. This discussion of metaphors includes examples of both kinds to explore the cultural thought and behaviors that are embedded in them.

METAPHORS AS REFLECTIONS OF AMERICAN THOUGHT AND BEHAVIORS

The English language is a metaphorical language. The metaphor *time is money*, for example, has long been an important concept in American culture. It may have been coined and popularized by Benjamin Franklin in America (Somer & Weiss, 1996) and can be traced back to the time of the industrial revolution when people started to be paid for work by the amount of time they put in. Thus, the factory led to the institutional pairing of periods of time with amounts of money, which formed the experiential basis of this metaphor (Lakoff, 1996).

This metaphorical concept has become deeply rooted in our thoughts, language, and culture. The following expressions in our present time reflect this conceptual image of *time is money* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; see Appendix for more examples):

1. Please do not *waste my time* on these trivial things.
2. This new software program has *saved me a lot of time*.
3. You may want to *spend some quality time* with your children.
4. The replacement of your car battery *cost me* an hour and a half.
5. John has *invested so much time* in his SAT exam that he may get the score he needs to get into a good university.

These examples show that time is tantamount to money. "Time with us is handled much like a material; we earn it, spend it, save it, waste it" (Hall, 1957, p. 20). This is indeed the case. We spend time; we spend money. We invest time; we invest money. We save time; we save money. We lose time; we lose money. We run out of time; we run out of money. We even borrow time, and we borrow money as well. Time is, without any question, money.

These examples are also reflections of American cultural life. "We are obsessed with time" compared to many other cultures because time is a "valuable commodity" in this society (Hall, 1957, p. 21). The appointment system is one of the many manifestations of how Americans handle this valuable commodity. Time is divided into different slots according to the nature of the business. For example, a student needs to have an appointment to see a counselor, an advisor, a tutor, a professor, the chairperson, or the dean.

Another aspect of American popular culture that is reflected heavily in English metaphors is sports. The idea that "working is playing sports" is deeply engrained in the American mind and has become a mental image in this culture. Some examples that reflect this idea include:

1. Allen is a *team player*.
2. He *played political hardball* to get a government post.

3. Jack is full of dirty ploys. He always *hits below the belt*.
 4. The reporter *threw* the politician *a curve* by asking him an unexpected question.
 5. You don't want to *jump the gun* the second time.
- (See more examples in Appendix.)

Collective efforts and mutual cooperation are considered to be *team-work* and individuals *team players*. If you *play by the book* and *toe the line*, you are obeying the rules. But if you *play hardball*, *throw someone a curve ball*, *hit someone below the belt*, or *jump the gun*, you are violating the rules of fair play or work ethics. Working is (just like) playing sports in that you have to make an effort. By trying hard to achieve your goal, you *give it your best shot*, even if you know that it is going to be *a long shot*. By making an effort, you can *get back on the beam* and *pull your weight*. Things may not be that easy. You will have to deal with different circumstances. Sometimes, it is *slam dunk* and other times, you have to *roll with the punches*. If you are *out in left field*, you are probably out of touch with reality and do not know exactly what you are doing.

Working or playing sports involves initiation, termination, success or failure. You may have some initial success in *getting to first base* or *clearing the first hurdle*, or you are *off to a running start* and *getting the ball rolling*. To be successful in work and sports, a worker or player has to be efficient and functional. You need to *know the ropes*, have something *on the ball*, and *play all the angles*. There are always fortunate times and unfortunate ones. When you have *the inside track*, you have the advantage over others. When you are *behind the eight ball*, you are out of luck. You will have to *throw in the towel*. You may be placed *on the sidelines* if you do not perform the way you are expected. If luck turns your way, you may be *saved by the bell* at the crucial moment and it may be a whole *new ballgame*. In the end, you will have to learn to accept the consequences: *You win some, you lose some, and you can't win them all* is the attitude; *that's the way the ball bounces*.

The various themes identified in the above sports metaphors include teamwork, obeying rules, foul play, making an effort, initial success, fortunes and misfortunes, dealing with circumstances, accepting consequences, and being efficient and functional. Like the *time is money* metaphor, *working is playing sports* has become an integral part of many English idiomatic expressions and part of American culture. The origins of these terms may not be accurately known, yet they have taken root in American thought and behaviors.

USING METAPHORS TO INTRODUCE AMERICAN CULTURAL THOUGHT

Because English metaphors are a reflection of American cultural thought and behaviors, ESL teachers can use them as a tool to teach or introduce various aspects of American thought and values. By understanding the way English metaphors are created, ESL students will understand the cultural thought patterns and the mental images that are embedded in these metaphors. Teaching ESL students to understand and use English metaphors can be a very challenging task. I suggest that the following activity be used with upper intermediate or advanced levels of ESL composition classes, for understanding and being able to use English metaphors really require a certain degree of language proficiency. I recommend the following specific steps: introducing metaphors, understanding the themes and their connection, identifying the conceptual image, describing the characteristic behaviors, and illustrating the metaphorical concept.

1. Introducing Metaphors

When teachers introduce English metaphors to ESL students, it is important that they examine the literal language of these metaphors together first. Let's use the following metaphors as examples:

Love is a fiend, a fire, a heaven, a hell, where pleasure, pain, and sad repentance dwell. --Barnfield

Life is a hospital, in which every patient is possessed by the desire to change his bed. This one would prefer to suffer in front of the stove and that one believes he would get well if he were placed by the window. --Baudelaire

Finding the right mortgage is no picnic. --Norwest Bank flyer

The language used in these metaphors is very easy to comprehend. Students can see the meanings of these metaphors without having a hard time associating the concepts with the referents. Teachers can ask students the following questions:

- a. Do these metaphors make sense to you?
- b. What do they mean?
- c. Do you have similar metaphors in your language and culture?
- d. Can you share some of these similar metaphors with the class?

2. Understanding the Themes and their Connections

The relationship between the themes and their connections can be

shown by the mapping process, which illustrates the association between the source domain and the target domain (Lakoff, 1996). In (1), *love* is the source domain and a *fiend*, a *fire*, a *heaven*, and a *hell* are all target domains. We can use an equivalent mark (=) to represent this connection: *love = a fiend*; *love = a fire*; *love = a heaven*; and *love = a hell*. In the other examples, we have *life = hospital*; and *finding the right mortgage = no picnic*. In understanding the themes and their connections, teachers should explain how the concept or idea of the source domain relates to that of the target domain and let the students see the cultural connection between the two domains. Teachers can ask questions to involve ESL students in the discussion:

- a. How can *love* be associated with concepts of both good and evil?
- b. What are the cultural connections between *love* and *heaven*? *love* and *hell*? etc.
- c. Do you describe *love* in your own culture this way?
- d. What concepts or specific expressions would you use to describe *love* in your language?

3. Identifying Conceptual Images

This probably is the most important step in understanding English metaphors because students will have to understand what conceptual images the metaphors present and why native speakers think the way they do. For example, *Happiness is winning an argument with your sister* and *happiness is striking out the other team's best hitter* (from *Peanuts*, by C. Schultz) certainly include culturally loaded events that signify great joy and pleasure in American culture. Teachers should discuss sibling rivalry and the excitement and feelings of fans in baseball games. They can also ask students to answer the following questions:

- a. What conceptual images do these metaphors present?
- b. What do these images represent in American culture?
- c. How do you finish the metaphor *happiness is ...* in your language?
- d. What kinds of conceptual images do love or happiness present in your culture?

4. Describing Characteristic Behaviors

This step serves to explain and describe the conceptual images in the metaphors. Generally speaking, verbs and adjectives can be used to describe the feelings, emotions, and behaviors associated with the images. For example, in the *time is money* metaphor, we conceptualize the image of time as a valuable commodity. The verbs *buy*, *sell*, *borrow*, *spend*, *save*, *earn*, and *invest* describe the behaviors associated with the image. In the metaphor *love is hell*, *hell* can be conceptualized as *depression*, *unbearable suffering*, and *torture* and the characteristic behaviors associated with the

image are naturally *hate, suffer, torture, wither, and even die*. Teachers may ask students to supply all the verbs or adjectives that describe vividly the characteristics of the mental (or conceptual) images. They can ask the following questions to get students' responses:

- a. What conceptual image does this metaphor present?
- b. What verbs or adjectives can you think of to describe the image in this metaphor?
- c. Do the verbs or adjectives you have chosen adequately reflect the meaning of this metaphor?

5. Illustrating the Metaphorical Concept

Having gone through the previous steps, teachers should provide further examples to illustrate the metaphorical concepts and images just discussed. For instance, the conceptual image of the metaphor *argument is war* can be illustrated further with the following examples:

- a. Your position on immigration is *indefensible*.
- b. The committee's proposals were all *shot down* by the president.
- c. When writing argumentative papers, you need to *attack* all the arguments made by your opponent.
- d. You can never *win* an argument with him.
- e. If you use that strategy in your debate, he will *wipe you out*.
- f. His sharp criticisms are *right on target*.
- g. His opponent *demolished* his argument on abortion.

The different steps of teaching ESL students to understand English metaphors and their cultural images can be summarized in the following table:

TABLE 1
Suggested Steps in Teaching English Metaphors

Themes & Connection (Source = Target)	Conceptual Image	Characteristic Behavior	Metaphors	Extended Metaphors
time = money	a valuable commodity	buy, sell, borrow, save, invest, spend, waste, earn	Time is money.	Don't <i>waste my time</i> with the minor details.
argument = war	fighting/rivalry/contention	hold positions, attack, defend	Argument is war.	He <i>shot down</i> all of my arguments.
love = journey	relationship/going places	travel by different means	Love is a journey.	This relationship is <i>stuck</i> .
life = food	sweet/delicious/bitter	taste, enjoy	Life is a bowl of cherries.	You have to <i>taste life</i> before you know how bitter it can be.
world = stage	assuming roles	act, perform, role-play	The world is a stage.	I work hard and <i>play my part</i> well.
working = playing sports	competition/teamwork	cooperate, try one's best, compete, win, lose	Working is playing sports.	Jim is a <i>team player</i> .

The suggested steps serve as an example of how to use metaphors to introduce American cultural thoughts and behaviors. ESL students can follow this worksheet to either practice given metaphors or to create their own to use in their writing.

CONCLUSION

This discussion and exploration have demonstrated that English metaphors are indeed pervasive in our daily life, and the English language is, in fact, a metaphorical language. English metaphors can be a tool to introduce American cultural thought and behaviors to ESL students. The understanding of English metaphors is not just a matter of understanding certain useful English expressions; it is understanding the conceptual images Americans possess for their cultural environment which, in turn, shape their language and behaviors.

THE AUTHOR

Carl Zhonggang Gao is an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, River Falls, where he teaches courses in composition, history of English, TESOL methods, practicum, and linguistics. His research interests include application of linguistic theories in language education, teacher education, and grammar theories. He has a forthcoming book in press entitled *A Practical Grammar for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages*.

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APPENDIX

Examples of Metaphors

Expressions related to *time is money*.

1. I don't have enough *time to spare* for that.
2. We're *running out of time*.
3. As students, you have to *budget your time* well to make it in college.
4. You have to *put aside* at least two or three hours a week for some exercises.
5. He's living on *borrowed time*.
6. If you want to *use your time profitably*, you will have to schedule it.
7. I *lost a lot of time* when I got stuck in the snowstorm.

Expressions related to *working is playing sports*.

1. He *plays by the book*.
2. Employees will have to *toe the line* if they want to stay in the company.
3. I'd like to *give it my best shot*.
4. After repeated failed attempts by others, the senior analyst decided to *have a shot at it*.
5. If you wish to stay on the *team*, you will have to *pull your weight*.
6. This deal is *slam-dunk*.
7. The governor is *out in left field* according to the news media.
8. She has a good *track record*.
9. The first part of my presentation was a bomb, but I was *saved by the bell*.
10. He is *behind the eight ball*.
11. I don't think the competition is a fair one because she has the *inside track*.
12. Now that the mayor lost his election, it's a *whole new ballgame* for the city.
13. Our competitor in the business has finally *thrown in the towel*.
14. You will have to understand that you *win some, you lose some; you can't win them all*. That's *the way the ball bounces*.
15. She *plays (knows) all the angles*.
16. They have already *cleared the first hurdle / gotten to first base*.
17. We need to *keep / get the ball rolling* for those new programs.
18. His campaign is off to a *running start*.
19. The new manager seems to *know the ropes*.
20. Our new boss is a *heavy hitter*.

An Alternative Model for Novice-Level Elementary ESL Education

KAREN DUKE AND ANN MABBOTT

Frost Lake Magnet School and Hamline University

School professionals are often dissatisfied with current models of ESL elementary education. This paper will present an alternative model of delivery of instruction for novice speakers of English which was piloted in one St. Paul elementary school last year. After reviewing current models of instruction and their historical context, the writers explain why this school decided to try an alternative model that addressed the scheduling, social and academic issues that are often problems with traditional models. They present the process for developing the new model, how the model works, and the resulting benefits to the students and teachers.

School professionals are often dissatisfied with current models of ESL elementary education. The typical 30-45 minute pull-out session often frustrates ESL teachers because the amount of time is inadequate and frustrates mainstream teachers because of the class time that ESL students miss. Teachers involved in inclusion models sometimes feel their expertise is not being utilized, and believe that ESL students need some time away from their native English-speaking peers to be comfortable practicing their language skills. Teachers of self-contained ESL classes often believe that their students have too little academic and social interaction with the rest of the school.

KAREN'S STORY

The first students always reached the library before the end of the line had left the classroom. "They're like tumbleweeds," a colleague observed as my thirty students rolled and bounced loudly down the hall. "You're the only English speaker in the room?" people would exclaim in amazement when I described my job as a teacher in a self-contained elementary ESL program for students with low level English proficiency. "How do you do it?" teachers asked when I tried to explain my complicated system of six reading groups and two math groups for three grade levels with about one hour of assistance from a bilingual assistant. From the students I heard language like this: "Miss Du, he say, 'I not he friend'

and he fight me but I not fight he and he take a pencil do like this to me and he say I cheat he line." Such approximate English was their primary way of communicating to me as I navigated them through the complicated routine of each day.

My self-contained ESL class had as many or more students than the mainstream classes in my school, more grade levels to serve, and less paraprofessional assistance. I had little communication or collaboration with the teachers in the building who were serving the same grade levels. There were many behavior issues in the class, and the retention rate of students was high, that is, the students didn't move out of the program quickly. Upon exiting from the program, many students were placed in grades below their ages, because they were not academically able to enter the mainstream at grade level. I was particularly concerned about how the self-contained class isolated ESL students from their most important role models for language, culture and behavior: their native speaking peers. I believed that their isolation led to the pidgin-like exchange quoted above, and behavior that was not consistent with school norms.

These problems led my colleagues and me to consider designing a new model that would serve these students better than the self-contained classrooms had. In order to explain how the self-contained classroom model came into existence, we will begin this paper with a brief historical review of ESL education in Minnesota. We will then review models of instruction currently in use in the state to present some of the alternatives that different school districts have used. This article will then relate the process that we undertook to change the status quo, describe the model that we designed, and report on how students are faring under the new model.

BACKGROUND

The need for ESL students to be provided with appropriate instruction in English in the public elementary and secondary schools is fairly well-accepted among educators in Minnesota currently. The U.S. Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) established the legal basis mandating both appropriate instruction and access to the curriculum for ESL students. Subsequently, the state established both ESL and bilingual licensure rules (1982), which had the effect of mandating that students with non-English language backgrounds be provided service from teachers who have professional credentials in the area of second language education. (See Edstam, 1998, for a discussion of professionalism and the elementary ESL teacher.) Although most educators now agree that schools should provide ESL students with special services, there is no universal agreement about how or by whom such services should be delivered.

Program Models for Elementary ESL Students

Peregoy and Boyle (1997) describe in detail program models that are found across the United States. These include a variety of bilingual education programs which work well when a large concentration of one language group is found in a school. Both Minneapolis and St. Paul have some bilingual programs for Hmong, Hispanic and Somali students. However, most districts in Minnesota have not chosen to implement bilingual programs. In many cases they do not have the requisite concentration of one language group. In other cases administrators may not be convinced that the model is an effective option, even though research shows that some types of bilingual programs produce the most positive outcomes for students (Baker, 1997; Collier, 1992; Cummins, 1981). By far, the most popular option has been some kind of model where English is the primary language of instruction (Mabbott and Strohl, 1992), and first language support is available to varying degrees from bilingual educational assistants. In the St. Paul Public Schools, educational assistants are used primarily for translation of instructions and for home-school contact.

At the elementary level, the pull-out model (Mabbott and Strohl, 1992) is found most frequently in Minnesota. Typically, children are pulled out of their mainstream classroom for 30-50 minutes a day of ESL instruction. Advantages of this model include providing concentrated instruction according to student need in a setting where ESL students' needs are not subsumed by the demands of the larger class. The major disadvantages of the model are scheduling the class so that students do not miss important content in their mainstream setting, and the coordination of curriculum with the mainstream staff. Mabbott and Strohl (1992) discuss these issues in depth.

Pull-in, or inclusion, models of elementary ESL instruction are not as common as the pull-out model, but they are gaining popularity. Hale Elementary School in Minneapolis pioneered this model in the early 1990's. In the pull-in model, the ESL teacher goes into the mainstream class and team teaches with the mainstream teachers. When all teachers have planning time and are willing to work together, this model can work well. It addresses the scheduling issue, which is the major problem with the pull-out model. The major disadvantage is that ESL students are not provided a safe environment away from native-speaking peers where they can practice language and ask questions that they may not ask in the mainstream class. (For a more in-depth discussion of the pull-in/inclusion model, see Mabbott and Strohl, 1992.)

Another model found in Minnesota at the elementary level is the English language development program (Peregoy and Boyle, 1997). In such

programs, novice English proficiency students are served in self-contained classes with a teacher who has knowledge of second language development, and is also responsible for teaching the whole curriculum, including math, science and social studies. Newcomer classes, a type of language development program, are intended generally to be a short-term transition into the mainstream for recent arrivals. (Rochester, MN has such a program.) Other English language development programs may last a longer time and also serve students who were born in the United States but have few English skills upon entering the school system. The major advantage of these models is that they focus on ESL learner needs exclusively. The disadvantage has been that they isolate students in a separate classroom where they cannot benefit from role models provided by fluent English-speaking peers. This isolation prevents the interaction which is necessary to promote second language acquisition (Long, 1985).

St. Paul's Self-Contained ESL Model ("TESOL")

The TESOL¹ program, common in St. Paul until 1999, was an English language development program that served novice English proficiency level students. Schools which housed TESOL centers usually had two classrooms, one for primary grades (1-3) and one for intermediate grades (4-6). When the TESOL program was created, most of the students were newcomers to the U.S. In more recent years, however, students have also been placed in TESOL upon completion of kindergarten, with eligibility determined by the St. Paul Kindergarten TESOL Academic Test. In addition, low proficiency level students moving into St. Paul from other districts can be placed in TESOL based on language proficiency scores from the Woodcock-Muñoz Language Survey (1993).

Until the development of the model described in this paper, TESOL classrooms were self-contained, often with many language groups and grade levels represented in each class. Students had some opportunities to be integrated with mainstream students, but the amount and type of integration varied from school to school, and the interaction was quite limited. Some years, due to high numbers of second language students coming into St. Paul, class sizes in TESOL were significantly larger than in mainstream classes, with limited help from bilingual educational assistants. Dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunity for students to interact with native English-speaking peers and large class sizes led teachers at Frost Lake School to consider changing the model.

Frost Lake Elementary School

Frost Lake School is located on the east side of St. Paul, in a predominately working-class neighborhood. Because Frost Lake is a magnet school, students come from all over the city. However, the majority of

Frost Lake's approximately 600 students are from the east side. In the past decade, Frost Lake has seen a dramatic increase in the number of second language students. In 1993, about 47% of students spoke a first language other than English. In 1999, approximately 65% were non-native English speakers. Frost Lake's largest population group is Hmong, which comprises 61% of the student body. Other minority groups make up only 8% of the school, with European-American students comprising 31%. Forty-six percent of Frost Lake students receive some ESL services; the number receiving TESOL services has varied from 3-8%. Sixty-four percent of Frost Lake students receive free or reduced lunch.

Instruction at Frost Lake is delivered in a traditional elementary setting, serving students in kindergarten through sixth grade. One teacher provides direct instruction in all subject areas to a class of 21-28 students.

DESIGNING A NEW MODEL

Because of the problems with the self-contained language development model (isolation of students, lack of native-speaking role models, high rates of retention, behavior issues and large class sizes), concerned staff members at Frost Lake decided to design a better way to serve our novice English language students. Our team of mainstream classroom teachers, ESL teachers, curriculum specialists and the principal began meeting in the spring of 1997. We met throughout the 1997-98 school year with each other, district officials and university consultants from the area. We discussed best practices, philosophies, scheduling, placement issues, and budgets. Our principal, a very strong advocate for instituting a new model, convinced district administration that the initial extra costs would be money well spent. The new model would result in higher academic achievement by students, and would save the district money in the long run by meeting academic needs earlier.

Goals of the Program

In designing the new program, we had four goals. First, we sought to design a model in which students would have as many opportunities as possible for participation with mainstream peers in grade level curricula and classroom routines and activities. By integrating the students instead of isolating them, we believed we would see improvement over previous years in both their social development and their language acquisition.

Second, we hoped to include as much first-language support as possible. Instead of simply translating lessons after the fact, or having interpreters repeat everything in Hmong, we decided students would work initially with concepts and skills in their first language with a bilingual educational assistant when possible. After they had discussed a concept

in Hmong, it would then be introduced in English by the ESL or mainstream teacher. (See Baker, 1997; Hakuta, 1986; and Krashen, 1993, for a discussion of the advantages of pre-teaching concepts in the native language.)

Our third goal in designing the program was to offer more individual attention to students. Since they had not been fully successful at acquiring English in kindergarten, where most received limited ESL services, we wanted to increase the amount of time spent in small-group, sheltered instruction, which would focus on the needs of the second language learner.

Finally, we sought to decrease the total amount of time spent in the TESOL program, and to decrease the number of students who were placed, upon exiting, in grade levels below their ages. We knew they would still require many more years to achieve full academic proficiency in English (Collier, 1989), but we hoped that our inclusion model could accelerate the process. Ultimately, we hoped to exit most or all of our students, after one or two years in the program, into their correct grade level, rather than placing them in classes below their age level. After exiting, students would receive more limited ESL support until they no longer met the eligibility criteria.

After we had set our goals, we worked with district officials to set parameters to limit the numbers and types of students we would serve during a two-year pilot period. Instead of trying to serve all of the needs of the diverse ESL population, we wanted to start small. With some persuasion, the school district agreed to our requests. Since we wanted to use an educational assistant for extensive first language teaching, we needed a homogeneous language group. The majority of Frost Lake students are Hmong, so that group was the obvious choice. Similarly, since our old self-contained program had served mostly students coming out of kindergarten, rather than newcomers to the United States, we decided to tailor the new program to meet those students' needs. Therefore, we began with only first grade Hmong students who had attended kindergarten in St. Paul and qualified for self-contained language development services. During the second year, we would also serve second graders, but only those students who needed to remain a second year in the program. With our goals set, and parameters agreed upon, in the spring of 1998, our two-year pilot project, named the TESOL Inclusion Program (TIP), was approved to begin in September, 1998.

Students' Schedule

From the first day of school, TIP students were placed in mainstream first grades. Unlike students in the former model, who had been isolated within the school, they were always identified as members of those first

grade classrooms for daily routine purposes (lunch, computer lab, and prep-time classes such as art and science). Staff members did not differentiate TIP students in any way from their mainstream peers.

In addition to mainstream instruction, TIP students received services in and outside of their classrooms from their ESL teacher and bilingual educational assistant (E.A.). The ESL teacher worked with students at three times: reading, language and math. The educational assistant helped with reading and math lessons, and provided individual tutoring, home communications and other classroom support throughout the day. (See Appendix A for exact teacher and E.A. schedules.) The general student schedule was as follows:

8:00 - 8:20 Opening, Attendance, Calendar, etc.

8:20 - 9:10 Physical Education, Science+, Music or Art (rotating)

9:10 - 9:45 Language Arts/ESL

9:45 - 10:45 Reading

10:45 - 11:45 Language Arts/Writing, Spelling, Grammar

11:45 - 12:15 Lunch

12:15 - 12:30 Story Time

12:30 - 1:15 Math*

1:15 - 2:20 Social Studies, Art, Writing, or other activities

Times in bold taught by ESL teacher outside of the homeroom

+ Indicates E.A. present (without ESL teacher), providing first-language support

* Indicates ESL teacher and E.A. team-teaching in homeroom with mainstream teacher

Reading

Reading is taught at Frost Lake in small, instructional-level groups by all classroom and specialist teachers. Many of the groups are taught by ESL teachers. Therefore, for one hour each day, most students in first grade work with a teacher other than their homeroom teacher. The reading structure was convenient for the development of the new TIP model, as TIP students could simply go to their ESL teacher for reading instruction. Since all students were changing classrooms, and were working with different teachers, TIP students were not distinguished from other students. They could have the benefit of small-group, sheltered reading instruction without the stigma and scheduling concerns of pull-out.

Since we wanted TIP students to be working with grade-level curricula as much as possible, the teacher used the first grade state standards as a guide for reading instruction and taught using the first grade reading series. The educational assistant provided first language pre-teaching and support for stories and skills in the reading curriculum. Instruction was paced somewhat slower than with other groups, as lan-

guage was taught in conjunction with reading skills throughout every lesson. The teacher also supplemented the reading series with leveled, controlled readers at students' instructional levels.

Math

Unlike reading, math at Frost Lake is usually taught in a large, whole-class setting. Since math is often more accessible to second language students than reading, we wanted to keep TIP students in the classroom for math instruction. Therefore, the ESL teacher team-taught math with the classroom teacher and bilingual educational assistant. The bilingual educational assistant did pre-teaching in Hmong for the TIP students, and sometimes for the entire class. In planning and implementing math lessons, the classroom teacher remained the main driver of the math curriculum, using state standards and the district-adopted math textbook as guides. The ESL teacher provided continuous input on how to adapt lessons and activities to make them accessible for TIP students. Lead teaching roles were shared between the two teachers.

Pull-out Language Time

In addition to reading and math, the ESL teacher had one pull-out session with TIP students each day. For one half hour, students worked with the ESL teacher in what resembled a traditional pull-out ESL class. During this time, work focused on developing oral language skills through conversation, singing, role-playing and chanting. Another objective was to expand students' basic English vocabulary in areas such as school, family, foods, clothing, body, home, and community. Frequent writing activities were included to teach and reinforce reading and writing skills while supporting vocabulary development.

Bilingual Educational Assistant (E.A.)

As mentioned above, the bilingual educational assistant worked in conjunction with the ESL teacher during reading group and math class sessions. We knew that research supports the use of the first language to enhance academic achievement (Auerbach, 1993; Collier, 1992; Cummins, 1981; Hakuta, 1986; Krashen, 1996; Lucas and Katz, 1994). Therefore, in our new program, we decided that the bilingual E.A.'s role in instruction should be expanded. The E.A. did extensive teaching in Hmong, usually pre-teaching skills and concepts that would be introduced later in English. In reading class, he also led discussions of stories we had read. With the use of Hmong, students received continual reinforcement of concepts in their first language. Traditionally, bilingual paraprofessional staff have been used as translators, which often leads to students ignoring English instruction and waiting for their first language. In TIP, the

first language was used to enhance students' understanding of lessons.

In addition to teaching in Hmong within small-group and classroom instruction, the E.A. provided individual short-term tutoring for students as needed. When a student was struggling with a particular skill or concept, the E.A. would work with the student for 15-30 minutes daily for up to two weeks. The classroom or ESL teacher would assign tasks for the student to complete with the E.A.'s assistance.

Another important role of the educational assistant was home-school communication. The E.A. made weekly contact with TIP students' families about numerous issues relating to the health, behavior, and academic progress of their children. When correspondence was sent home to parents about field trips, testing, parent-teacher conferences, or other issues, he explained the content to students and then called families to be sure they had received the information. When telephone contact was not adequate to meet student needs, he made home visits. In the homes, he explained school correspondence and modeled homework supervision for students who were not completing assignments. When parents could not come to school, the E.A. facilitated parent-teacher conferences in the home.

In addition to regular contact with families, the E.A. also led two informational meetings at school for parents. Families came to know and trust the E.A. and called often to ask questions about their children. The children sensed the home-school connection and responded well to the greater accountability it fostered.

Assessment and Reporting

In the past, in pull-out programs, the ESL teacher has had little or no direct accountability for reporting progress. The lack of opportunity to be involved in the reporting process sometimes leads to diminished professional status for the ESL teacher. In our model, since the ESL teacher and classroom teacher shared much of the teaching of TIP students, we wanted assessment and reporting to be shared as well. With TIP, we wanted to establish a new model for shared accountability and reporting which would work within the limited planning time available to all teachers.

We decided that both the ESL and classroom teachers would collect samples of student work for a portfolio. Then, each teacher would complete the report card for subjects in which she taught the TIP students. The ESL teacher reported for reading and language, and the classroom teacher reported for social studies. For math, which was taught collaboratively, the ESL teacher and classroom teacher completed the report together. The personal and social growth section of the report card was also completed jointly by the classroom and ESL teachers. The ap-

propriate specialists reported for physical education, art, music and science.

To enable the two teachers to report together, a substitute was provided for the ESL teacher for one day, and for each classroom teacher for one hour on that day. The ESL teacher met with each teacher to complete the math reporting, compare notes in all areas, and finalize the entire report card. At parent-teacher conference time, each parent met with the classroom teacher, ESL teacher, and bilingual E.A. together. All three staff provided information about the child's progress to parents, with the E.A. serving as interpreter when necessary.

BENEFITS OF THE NEW PROGRAM

Over the course of the year, we noted several specific advantages of the new TIP program. First, TIP students were fully integrated into the mainstream. Several specialist teachers remarked that, even several months into the year, they could not distinguish between TIP and mainstream students. Instead of being isolated in a class with fewer resources and less access to authentic English, TIP students participated fully in assemblies, field trips, fund raisers, and all aspects of school life in a way they had not before. Instead of being perceived as a strange, special class down the hall, TIP students had the same opportunities to be known, liked and respected as everyone else. In addition, teachers were able to work collaboratively for the first time, which benefited both TIP and non-TIP students. Working in the new model forced the ESL teacher to become familiar with the mainstream curriculum and the standards which all students are expected to meet. The collaboration also helped mainstream teachers learn how to serve their ESL students more effectively.

Language and Social Development

Because of their exposure to mainstream peer role models, TIP students spoke more standard English and less pidgin-like English. Instead of, "He cheat my line," we heard, "He budged." Instead of, "I drink water?" we heard, "Can I go get a drink?" Such examples were numerous, and we documented them throughout the year. More exposure to positive role models also seemed to lead to TIP students exhibiting fewer behavior problems. We theorized that TIP students were less likely to misbehave because of exposure to mainstream role models who understood what was expected of them in school.

Our system of providing first language instruction was also a great advantage to TIP students. They seemed to be willing to take more risks and engage more readily when they knew they could use their first language if needed. While one might think that frequent instruction in

Hmong would hinder the development of English skills, we found the opposite to be true. We observed that TIP students were better able to participate in class discussions, and their reading and math skills also improved more rapidly than their counterparts in the earlier self-contained model. We attributed the improvement, in part, to first language instruction. Indeed, research has shown that, if students gain academic skills in their first language, they will be able to transfer them to a second language (Collier, 1989, 1992; Cummins, 1984).

Benefits for Non-TIP Students

While much of our focus in planning and evaluating TIP was on how to provide better services to those students in the program, it should be noted that our mainstream students also benefited from TIP. First, our class sizes at first grade were smaller than they had ever been previously. By using the former self-contained program room as an additional mainstream first grade, we spread our first grade students out and reduced class sizes. Second, in math classes, where the classroom teacher, ESL teacher and bilingual E.A. team-taught, the whole class often heard parts of lessons in Hmong. Non-Hmong speakers actually came to understand the language to some extent, and often participated even during Hmong instruction. All students gained appreciation and respect for the Hmong language as a valid vehicle for academic discussion and learning.

FORMAL EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM

In addition to the informal observation of students, we used several formal tools to evaluate the efficacy of the program. First we compared placement of the TIP students after one year to placements of students from previous TESOL classes from Frost Lake. Next we used data gathered by the district on student academic performance in the areas of reading fluency and math computation and compared TIP student growth to that of a class of comparable students from a TESOL classroom at another school. Finally, we surveyed classroom teachers and specialists who worked with TIP students about changes they observed and summarized their responses.

Exiting/Placement Data

As stated previously, students may remain in St. Paul's TESOL program for up to two years. However, our goal in TIP was to exit as many students as possible after one year. At the end of first grade, our TIP teacher, like all TESOL teachers in St. Paul, determined students' readiness for exiting using the district criteria:

Language Acquisition

- Retell story with picture stimuli
- Follow three-part directions
- Respond to yes/no questions
- Share personal experiences orally

Reading

- Read at mid-first grade level (according to district standards)

Math

- Perform at mid-first grade level (according to district standards)

Writing

- Write three sentences about a picture (accurate grammar, syntax and spelling not required)

Exiting results from the first year appear promising. In the mid-1990's, Frost Lake exited only 0-8% of students from the self-contained class into their correct grades. In the first year of TIP, 29% of students were placed in the age-appropriate grade after receiving one year of TIP services. After the second year of TIP, we project that 40% of students will exit into their correct grade levels.

Student Academic Performance

The St. Paul school district decided that it would administer several tests to the TIP students and compare their results to a comparable class which operated under the old self-contained TESOL model. In both cases all participating students in the testing were Hmong, and all had qualified for the language development TESOL program based on the district's Kindergarten TESOL Academic Test. Teachers of both classes were deemed to be strong teachers by administrators in the district.

A statistical analysis (t-test) of the Kindergarten TESOL Academic Test scores, administered in November of the academic year, showed that there was no significant difference between the two classes in the fall. Similarly, a t-test done on reading fluency (number of words read correctly in one minute on three increasingly difficult passages) and a timed math computation test (addition and subtraction problems) administered in November showed that there was no significant difference between the two groups in the fall.

Retesting of identical reading and math measures in May showed that the experimental group, the Frost Lake TIP class, made greater gains than the traditional self-contained TESOL class. A summary of the data can be found in the following tables:

TABLE 1
Kindergarten TESOL Academic Test

Fall Frost Lake TIP Average Score n=13	Fall Comparison Class Average Score n=10
147.8 (out of 200)	138.5 (out of 200)

Kindergarten fall tests are not significantly different (p-value .24, $p > .20$).

TABLE 2
Reading Fluency Test

Fall Frost Lake TIP Average n=13	Spring Frost Lake TIP Average n=13	Fall Comparison Class Average n=10	Spring Comparison Class Average n=10
20.6	113.1	26.8	63

Fall results are not significantly different (p-value .84, $p > .80$).

Spring results are significant at the .02 level (p-value .016, $p < .02$).

TABLE 3
Timed Math Computation Test

Fall Frost Lake TIP Average n=13	Spring Frost Lake TIP Average n=13	Fall Comparison Class Average n=10	Spring Comparison Class Average n=10
1.4	11.8	.9	5.9

Fall results are not significantly different (p-value .36, $p > .10$).

Spring results are significant at the .10 level (p-value .06, $p < .10$).

These academic test results suggest that the new TIP model appears to be more effective in promoting students academic performance in reading fluency and math computation than the traditional self-contained TESOL model.

Staff Survey

Like the comparison of placement data, our survey of staff who worked with TIP students also showed the new program to be a success. The survey was completed by classroom teachers and the physical education, music, art and science specialists. (See Appendix B for survey questions.) In previous years, specialists' classes had been two thirds mainstream and one third from the TESOL class. In the new program, their classes had three TIP students each. When asked how TIP students

had been successful and what they had gained, teachers said that the TIP students in their classes participated more than their counterparts from the self-contained program had. One first grade teacher wrote, "They have all been successful in keeping up with the class..." From another: "Their language grew by leaps and bounds and they were an essential part of the life of our class..." Several of the teachers observed that TIP students had more English-speaking friends, and thus more English-speaking role models. As one teacher summarized, "Their oral skills are great. They don't feel like outcasts. They have a classroom of peers where they fit in and have English-speaking role models....The children have all benefited both academically and socially from this model."

In the surveys, teachers also indicated that they had adapted their instruction to meet the needs of TIP students. Teachers employed the use of many common techniques for making language comprehensible: "My instruction is much more specific and contains more hands-on examples." "I talk more slowly..." "I try to use physical examples as I talk." "I do more cooperative groups,...and they have learned a lot from each other." (See Krashen, 1982, for a list of more techniques.) The adaptations the teachers describe are widely acknowledged characteristics of good teaching in general, and certainly benefited all of the children in the class. One teacher wrote, "The changes have been good for all my students, since many of my kids are Hmong...." Another said, "I think [the instruction] benefits all students." As mentioned above, changes in instruction helped socially as well as academically: "Those who are not Hmong have learned to feel empathy and understanding."

When asked about the overall success of the TIP model at Frost Lake, teachers' responses were extremely positive: "I feel the partnership with parents, students, ESL teacher, E.A. and me has been good for all the students." "Yes!...They have succeeded in learning the skills I needed to teach them and I think they feel good about themselves." And finally,

I feel we have given these students the environment and academic support to build self-confident and successful life-long learners. They are no longer isolated and made to feel different. They are given the one-on-one or small group support they need without being grouped in multi-aged, non-English speaking classrooms with little or no support.

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

In the planning and implementation of TIP at Frost Lake, we encountered many issues and challenges that we needed to address. All staff involved had to change the way they viewed students and the way they delivered instruction. In addition, there were several logistical challenges

which we had to face.

Ownership of Students

Teachers in the new program had to become accustomed to a new understanding of the “ownership” of students. In the past, because students spent most of the day in one classroom, teachers knew their students very well. Students were usually only pulled out for short times, and classroom teachers usually believed they had to make up what students had missed. Overall, teachers felt responsible for students’ progress in all subject areas. They had a clear sense of “my students” versus “your students” and were uncomfortable with the notion of sharing.

In our new model, teachers had to undergo a significant shift in their view of responsibility for student progress. Instead of teachers being accountable for students’ progress in all areas, teachers had to learn to trust their colleagues and share that responsibility. For example, TIP students were taught most reading and all math outside of the classroom, so the classroom teacher was not always aware of students’ particular needs and challenges. However, by consistently sharing information with each other, and gradually working on letting go, the team of teachers was able to achieve a feeling of shared ownership of students.

Teaming and Collaboration

With shared ownership of students comes the need for significant collaboration between teachers. We found that we needed not only to plan team-teaching lessons together, but also to discuss specific problems students were having, behavioral incidents, progress that had been made, themes and skills being taught in the classrooms, scheduling of tutoring time with the E.A., and many other issues. In addition, twice during the year, we needed to meet together more formally to assess students’ progress and complete report cards. Finding time for such working together was a significant challenge, but one which we managed quite successfully.

In order to plan collaborative lessons, the ESL teacher and classroom teachers usually met after school. In order to plan most efficiently, we defined our roles specifically. For example, when teaching math, the classroom teacher was responsible for steering the math curriculum, and the ESL teacher was responsible for adapting that curriculum to meet the needs of the ESL students. Most of our teachers’ communication not related to lesson planning occurred in passing, in memos, or through the E.A. For reviewing student progress and completing report cards, we were fortunate to have substitutes provided for one day. With such extensive collaboration, it was essential to have that time away from the classroom to work together. Overall, we found that teachers involved in

the TIP program benefited from working closely together. We learned to be more flexible, and, through teaming, improved our teaching skills.

Qualifications of Teachers

Another obstacle we encountered in the process of implementing TIP at Frost Lake was the perception held by mainstream teachers that ESL teachers are not qualified to be students' primary reading teachers, and that classroom teachers are not qualified to teach novice English speakers. While it is true that some ESL teacher education programs do not focus as heavily on reading as others, we found at Frost Lake that our ESL teacher certainly had the experience and the skills to implement the TIP model. During the year, she participated in further training offered by the school, the district, and by one publisher in order to enhance her competence in teaching reading. In addition, in order to ensure consistency across the first grade in reading, the ESL teacher, like all teachers in the Frost Lake reading program, used the adopted reading series as the primary material for reading instruction and followed district and state standards to guide the TIP reading curriculum. Overall, we found the ESL teacher's understanding of the students' needs, and increased expertise, to be an asset to our students. As the year progressed, the perception of ESL teachers as not qualified to teach reading diminished and, again, our confidence in a system of shared ownership of students increased.

In addition to the ESL teacher's qualifications, we also had to address the perception among ESL teachers that classroom teachers were not qualified to teach novice English speakers. Actually, we found that our classroom teachers rose to the challenge. They already had significant experience working with second language learners because of Frost Lake's high percentage of ESL students. Also, they were committed to making TIP work, and thus worked to improve their knowledge of teaching second language learners. They were consistently aware of the need to adapt their instruction to meet TIP students' needs. The ESL teacher was often used as a resource for teaching suggestions or modeling methods. Finally, our first grade teachers attended district workshops and building-sponsored training sessions. Without the commitment of all teachers involved to improving and enhancing their skills, the issue of qualifications would have been much more difficult.

Costs of the TIP Model

The implementation of TIP was somewhat more expensive than the self-contained classroom was. To staff the program, we needed an additional first grade teacher (we increased the number of first grade classes from three to four) and a full-time educational assistant (we previously

had one quarter-time). Since we would serve fewer students in the new model than the self-contained class had, the lower student-teacher ratio also increased the cost. Finally, we needed substitutes for days when the ESL teacher and classroom teacher were provided planning time for report cards.

In the negotiations for the new model, we devised a plan for sharing costs between the district and the building. The district agreed to pay staffing costs, and Frost Lake's building budget covered substitute coverage for TIP teachers. Such cost-sharing was widely supported because everyone involved benefited from the new model.

Space

Like most elementary schools in St. Paul, Frost Lake is already overcrowded, and seems to become more so each year. With the addition of numerous support teachers in Title I, ESL, and special education, the need for small, pull-out classroom spaces has increased dramatically. Unfortunately, the implementation of TIP only added to an already difficult space situation. However, in planning the model, we felt it was crucial that TIP students still have a space outside of the classroom where sheltered instruction could occur. The main advantage of the self-contained classroom in the old program was that students could feel comfortable taking risks in English, and we wanted to be certain that a similarly supportive environment was available in TIP. Our principal, who supported the development of the program in many areas, guaranteed that TIP would have a space outside of the classrooms. While the TIP space was small, it provided the safety that students needed to take risks and participate more willingly in class.

Prior to TIP, the TESOL program had been supplied with most of the materials found in a mainstream classroom. The program had math manipulatives and textbooks, reading materials, all texts from the district ESL curriculum adoption, and many other miscellaneous materials. With the implementation of the new program, and the move by the ESL teacher into a much smaller space, the materials of the old program could no longer be stored in one central location. Furthermore, the ESL teacher was no longer teaching all subjects and therefore did not need all the materials. Our solution to the storage problem turned out to be beneficial to all. We used many of the former TESOL materials to outfit the new first grade classroom. The ESL teacher kept what she needed to teach reading and language in her small space, and other materials were shared with kindergarten and first grade teachers as needed. Much in the way we had adapted to a new shared ownership of students, we also became accustomed to sharing materials.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the entire process of planning TIP, we encountered the issues above and many others. Numerous times we thought that the district bureaucracy would prevent us from implementing the program. However, eventually we reached agreement and were able to proceed. In retrospect, it has become evident that there were four key factors in our success at implementing the new model. First, all of the staff involved were invested in the success of the model. As mentioned above, instead of simply moving the burden of teaching the novice students from one teacher to another, we were intent upon making the new model beneficial to everyone, students and teachers. Second, we took over one year to plan the model and work out all details prior to the students' first day. In fact, we could have started one year earlier, but we decided to delay implementation until we could have time to anticipate all problems and fully discuss all aspects of the new model. Third, we had the benefit of a strong, committed principal on our team. She repeatedly acted as an advocate for our building, our teachers, and, most importantly, our TIP students. She took risks and negotiated compromises which, in the end, were critical to the success of the program. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, each member of our team was committed, flexible, and willing to change the way things had always been done because of the common goal of providing the best education possible to all students.

After one year of TIP, at the time of this writing, the program looks very promising. We were able to provide first language support and extra attention in an environment that maximized interaction with the mainstream. As a result, it appears we were able to enhance students' academic achievement. Now in its second year, the program has expanded and is serving both first and second graders. The district is now promoting this model, among others, in a major initiative to reform the way ESL services are delivered for beginning English language learners. It is our hope that the changes will lead to a better education for the increasing number of ESL students in St. Paul and throughout the area.

NOTE

¹ The designation TESOL used in this article stands for St. Paul's self-contained ESL model and is not to be confused with the organization Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

THE AUTHORS

Karen Duke is currently a teacher on special assignment with the St. Paul Public

Schools. She was an ESL teacher at Frost Lake Elementary School for six years. Karen has been with the St. Paul Public Schools for seven years, teaching in St. Paul's self-contained ESL program and as a pull-out ESL teacher. Karen received her M.Ed. in Second Languages and Cultures Education from the University of Minnesota.

Ann Mabbott is director of the Center for Second Language Teaching and Learning at Hamline University. She started her education in the United States as an ESL student, and subsequently taught ESL and foreign language at a variety of levels. At Hamline University, she teaches ESL licensure courses in literacy skills and assessment, as well as courses for mainstream teachers who have ESL students in their classes. She has a Ph.D. in Second Languages and Cultures Education (Curriculum and Instruction) from the University of Minnesota.

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APPENDIX A

Daily Schedules

Daily Schedule - ESL Teacher

8:00 - 8:15	Prep
8:15 - 9:00	Math A* - in room 107
9:10 - 9:45	Language Arts/ESL B* - in TESOL room (134)
9:45 - 10:45	Reading B - in TESOL room (134)
10:45 - 11:45	Reading A - in TESOL room (134)
11:45 - 12:15	Lunch
12:15 - 12:30	Meet with Educational Assistant
12:30 - 1:15	Math B* - in room 111
1:15 - 1:50	Language Arts/ESL A* - in TESOL room (134)
1:50 - 2:20	Prep

NOTE: Classrooms serving TIP students were clustered into two groups, "A" and "B." "A" classrooms received services at "A" times, and "B" classrooms received services at "B" times.

Times in bold taught by ESL teacher and E.A. outside of the homeroom.

*Indicates ESL Teacher and E.A. team-teaching in homeroom with main-stream teacher.

Daily Schedule - Educational Assistant

7:45 - 8:05	Hall - help TIP students with notes, bus, etc.
8:05 - 8:15	Phone calls/Meet with ESL Teacher
8:15 - 9:00	Math A*
9:00 - 9:45	Alternating every two weeks: - TIP ESL/Language Class - Science class+
9:45 - 10:45	Reading B
10:45 - 11:45	Reading A
11:45 - 12:15	Lunch
12:15 - 12:30	Meet with ESL Teacher
12:30 - 1:15	Math B*
1:15 - 1:50	Alternating daily: - Help in classrooms - Read individually with students
1:50 - 2:10	Individual tutoring
2:10 - 2:30	Hall Duty/Available to be in classes to explain important parent correspondence
2:30 - 3:15	Phone calls/Meet with ESL Teacher

NOTE: Classrooms serving TIP students were clustered into two groups, "A" and "B." "A" classrooms received services at "A" times, and "B" classrooms received services at "B" times.

Times in bold taught by ESL Teacher and E.A. outside of the homeroom.

* Indicates team-teaching with ESL teacher and mainstream teacher in the homeroom.

+Indicates E.A. providing first language support in mainstream class.

APPENDIX B

Frost Lake TESOL Inclusion Program (TIP) Teacher Survey

1. How many TIP students are in your class? _____
How many students are in your class in total? _____
2. How have TIP students been successful in your class? In other words, what are they able to do well, along with the rest of the class? Please give specific examples.
3. What has been most difficult for TIP students in your class? Please give specific examples.
4. What do you feel that TIP students have gained from being in the mainstream that they would not gain in a self-contained TESOL class? Please give specific examples.
5. Do you notice significant discrepancies between mainstream students and TIP students in your class? In what areas?
6. How have you changed your instruction in order to meet the needs of your TIP students?
7. How have the above changes in your instruction affected the other students in your class?
8. Has the support--both academic and home/school liaison--provided by the TIP program been sufficient to help TIP students succeed? In what ways? What could have been improved?
9. In general, do you believe that TIP at Frost Lake has been successful? Why and how?

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Bicultural Parenting for Southeast Asian Families



Helping Youth Succeed

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THE GREAT ESCAPE

At 7 am we leave Oshkosh and are on the road. Woo Hoo!
40 miles later, in Wautoma,
Laura, the neighbor girl,
leaves her retainer wrapped in a napkin at the breakfast cafe.
We go back there
and wait
and wait
and the waitresses tell us they looked through every tub
but somehow
they don't look like they got their hands dirty.
We drive on
a despondent Laura listening while Ariana
age three
tells her, at least five times,
"Laura, you shouldn't take your retainer into the restaurant!"
Orion, age five, asks,
"Dad, why don't you wear braces? You have crooked teeth."
"My teeth are a mark of distinction," I reply.
He remains unconvinced.

Our first brush with the law comes
south of Eau Claire
The moustachioed copper looks at the three young children,
the innocent mother and young adults,
and me
I am
humility
gentle ignorance
contrition
gratitude
He says,
"I am giving you a warning
Be careful, and slow down."
I never get tickets.

The hamster and the rat wake up in the darkness
while we try to sleep on Kathleen's friend Jan's
living room floor
In the gloom the sound of a creaky wheel

going round, and round, and round
I cross the room to their cages.
"Knock it off," I say in a gruff stage whisper,
"or you are really going to regret it."
The hamster stops his exercise routine momentarily
but begins again as soon as my back is turned
just like a kid.
We turn his wheel on its side
shutting down the gym for the evening.
Later, in the darkness,
the rat drinks noisily and continuously from his bottle.

We deplane in Seattle
and find the northbound bus.
Then we wait
and wait
and while we wait the driver tells us
"Folks, we're waiting for two people.
It's not my idea.
The big lady tells me I gotta wait
So I'm gonna wait."
He talks a lot as we head north
At the border he describes the immigration officers:
"Folks, we may get nice guys,
or we may get the troublemakers.
It depends on how it was last night.
Did they sleep in the bed,
Or did they sleep on the couch?"

The convention in Vancouver is great
when you find a good workshop
something that gets you involved, excited,
revved up with new ideas
It's hard when presenters talk all the time.
Outside it is raining
but we know intuitively
that the mountains are looming above the water
hidden in the mist

Ge and Katie take me downhill skiing
my first time
I am hooked
The mountain looks like a Christmas postcard

The lights of the city twinkle far below
And I
careening down the hill without poles
It's like surfing
and I don't even know how to surf.

Busted in North Vancouver
on the way back down the mountain
No plates
no registration
not our fault, it's a rental car, right?
But Ge brought along the wrong insurance card
so
we wait
and wait
and wait until the copper tells us we're getting off easy,
they are impounding the car
but she will call us a cab.

The next morning I am coming out of the bus terminal when I
meet
someone more down on his luck than us
Mason busted his toe snowboarding
spent all his Canadian travellers cheques on the way to the
airport
and once there,
they tell him he has to pay an airport tax of 36 dollars Canadian.
There is a block on his visa and no one wants his British
cheques
"Do you believe in Karma?" he asks.
I give him enough for the bus and the tax.
"I am speechless," he says. "No one has ever done this for me."
I leave him my address.
"I promise I won't disappoint you."
Now, back to the room. Katie or Ge will have to buy me lunch.

Suzanne sits next to me on the bus to Seattle.
Her father is Persian
her mother is Filipina
She is beautiful
dark hair, brown eyes, brown skin and
a scar crossing below her right eye

the mark of a wild one
She is from Detroit
so we talk about growing up in Southern Michigan
She is in love with Vancouver,
the friendly people
the snowboarding
the food
She loves food except for
the pig blood soup her grandmother likes to make
She feels funny not knowing much Farsi or Tagalog
Her sister goes by her Persian name, Sahraya
Suzanne's Persian name is Mariam
We talk about our travels
about our parents
about having a family of one's own
She asks me how old I am and tells me
"It's great to talk normal with people your age,
no offense...you know what I mean?"

Katie and Ge and I spend our last night in Seattle
talking about our adventures
on the bus,
in the mountains,
with the cops,
It has been a great trip.

Katie adds,
"Oh yeah. I liked the conference, too."

Don Hones
March 2000

Wisconsin's Approach to Academic Assessment for Limited-English Proficient Students (LEP)¹: Creating a Continuum of Assessment Options

TIM BOALS

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction

This article describes the approach the State of Wisconsin has taken to ensure that all English Language Learners (ELLs) are included within the state's academic accountability system. Wisconsin's approach provides a continuum of options from participation in standards-based classroom assessments to full participation in standardized testing. Alternate Performance Indicators (APIs) and a guide for their use create a framework for measuring the ongoing academic progress of ELLs, even at the beginning stages of English proficiency development. The framework also provides teachers of ELLs with guidance for developing content-based lessons that are fully aligned with the state's academic standards in math, science, social studies and language arts.

Recently, significant changes have occurred in federal law requiring the inclusion of all children in statewide, large-scale assessment in an effort to increase educational accountability at the district and school levels. The Improving America's Schools Act (IASA) of 1994 and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), as amended in 1997, both require districts to report to state departments of education data about student progress that are complete and disaggregated by educationally significant categories, including disability groups and limited proficiency in English.

For years many educational professionals advocated the exclusion of these students from standardized measures of student achievement, maintaining that the assessments lacked validity due to cultural and linguistic bias. Some went further by saying that such assessments were potentially harmful to special needs students, and that those students should not be held to the same standards as the general population. While some argue the assessments still raise the same issues of lack of appropriateness or cultural bias, today's educators lament the practice of exclu-

sion from statewide assessments, and thus from the accountability system. The shift in thinking regarding the assessment of students with disabilities and limited English proficiency is largely due to the realization that students who are left out of the accountability equation are too often left out of curricular reforms and program improvement efforts that increase student achievement.

Since at some level every assessment is an assessment of language proficiency, LaCelle, Peterson & Rivera (1994) maintain that there are very real validity concerns when LEP students, even at intermediate levels of English proficiency, participate in standardized assessments. The validity issue is much more a concern as student penalties, or "high stakes," are introduced. The dilemma, therefore, is how to ensure real accountability without resorting to assessments that are inappropriate.

The assessment policies that states adopt directly affect the curricular goals, instructional practices and educational outcomes for LEP students. While much has been written about the need for accountability in general, very little is specifically known about the impact current assessment policy decisions will have on the special needs students they are intended to serve. Furthermore, little is known about whether the individual, state-by-state variations in response to the federal legislation might have a positive or negative impact on these students.

In the era of accountability, states must grapple with the issue of how to enforce the "all means all" edict in accountability while insuring that assessments are reasonably fair and accurate measures of student progress. For many students, this will simply mean being included when they would not have been in the previous era. For others, it will mean taking the required assessments, but with appropriate testing accommodations to allow them to better demonstrate what they know and are able to do. For yet a third group of students², it may mean taking an alternate assessment or series of assessments that are, ideally, aligned with the same curricular goals and academic standards of other students, but presented in formats that respond to the unique needs of these learners (Zehler, Hopstock, Fleishman, & Greniuk, 1994; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education [NCBE], 1997).

In this article I describe one state's approach to creating a continuum of academic assessment options from an alternate assessment framework for the local level to accommodations in large-scale testing where appropriate. I outline the approach the State of Wisconsin is taking to address the federal mandate for full inclusion of LEP students in the state assessment and accountability system. In so doing, I examine key issues and concerns by posing the following questions: What does it mean to say that LEP students are included in the accountability system? Where, within a continuum of state and local accountability, does it make the most sense

to place LEP students at various English proficiency levels? What are the policy implications or tradeoffs inherent in any system of accountability for these students? The focusing questions provide a lens through which we may judge the advantages and drawbacks of the Wisconsin approach. Educators and policy makers may also wish to consider the applicability of Wisconsin's approach to their own unique state and local contexts.

The key component of Wisconsin's approach is the state's framework for classroom-based, alternate assessment for students at the first three (beginner through intermediate) of five English proficiency levels. This alternate framework is coupled to a relatively liberal policy towards testing accommodations (when students reach the higher English proficiency levels four and five and are deemed ready to participate in the large-scale, criterion-referenced content assessments given at grades four, eight, and ten). Together the alternate assessment framework and testing accommodations policy form a continuum of academic assessment options that provide accountability for LEP students working toward full English proficiency and academic parity with grade level peers.

I first describe the Wisconsin approach, including the process undertaken thus far to create and implement the alternate assessment framework, and what remains to be done for full implementation. I then consider the advantages and drawbacks of the Wisconsin approach and offer suggestions for Wisconsin and other states as they move forward with their large-scale assessment policies for LEP students.

THE WISCONSIN APPROACH

In 1997, the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (DPI) created an interdivisional workgroup to make policy recommendations regarding the equitable inclusion of students with disabilities or limited English proficiency in statewide assessment. The impetus for the workgroup was federal legislation³ requiring that both groups of students be fully included in states' academic accountability systems by July 2000. The workgroup began this task by examining the literature on best practices for these students and by gathering data from other states regarding plans and initiatives for complying with the legislation.

In particular, the workgroup looked at Maryland and Kentucky because they were recognized as leaders in this area, and Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Minnesota because they are Midwest states and participate within the same federally funded technical assistance center, known as the Great Lakes Area Regional Resource Center.

While clearly understanding the importance of current research and recent efforts, the workgroup also knew that any solutions it proposed would need to take into account Wisconsin's tradition of local control,

and fit within the state's current standards and accountability framework. Wisconsin has adopted core academic standards in English language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. These standards are assessed at grades four, eight and ten using the Wisconsin Knowledge and Concepts Exam (WKCE), a criterion-referenced, standardized assessment contracted through CTB-McGraw Hill, a leading company in the production of norm and criterion-referenced, standardized academic assessments. The Department of Public Instruction also co-produces the Wisconsin Reading Comprehension Test (WRCT), administered annually at grade three. The WKCE and WRCT together form what is referred to as the Wisconsin Student Assessment System (WSAS).

Students can score within four designated proficiency categories on these assessments: minimal, basic, proficient or advanced. The state considers "proficient" to be the acceptable minimum for all Wisconsin students and the ultimate aim of the accountability system is to create incentives for local schools to educate all students within the same standards framework, and thus greatly increase the percentages of students scoring in the proficient and advanced categories. At the same time, schools must also minimize the number of students exempted from WSAS.⁴

Against this backdrop, the workgroup needed to recommend a policy for alternate assessment and accommodations that would include all students with disabilities and limited English proficiency. While the workgroup was charged with creating policy for both groups of students, the focus of this article is primarily on the policy recommendations and subsequent alternate assessment framework created for LEP students.⁵ Before presenting the workgroup's recommendations, readers need one additional contextual detail with regard to LEP student policy in Wisconsin. This is found within the state's administrative rules (PI 13 & 16). The rules identify five levels of limited English proficiency, prohibiting the use of standardized assessment of students at the beginning through lower intermediate levels (levels 1-3). States vary greatly regarding when they allow LEP student participation in standardized, large-scale assessments, with some states permitting participation after only one year of instruction in English. Under the current administrative rule, this could not be considered in Wisconsin.

Given the current rule, which not only exempts LEP students at levels 1-3 but also provides no time restriction on reaching proficiency level 4, the workgroup determined that a standards-based, alternate assessment framework was as important for LEP students as for students with disabilities. Members of the workgroup were also committed to the concept that any alternate assessment framework created should be fully aligned with the same academic standards that all other students needed to master.

ALTERNATE PERFORMANCE INDICATORS (APIS): THE PROCESS AND THE PRODUCT

New York was not one of the states the workgroup originally targeted as a model. Their development of “alternate performance indicators” for use with students with severe disabilities, however, offered both a mechanism for alignment with academic standards and the potential for local control of the alternate assessment process. Standards-based alternate performance indicators had not been developed for LEP students either in New York or elsewhere, but the idea seemed to have merit.

The workgroup sought approval from the Department of Public Instruction to bring approximately 60 Wisconsin educators and parents to Madison for four days in June 1998 to draft alternate performance indicators. Bilingual, English as a second language, and regular content area educators who work with LEP students formed the taskforce. Subgroups of these same educators were formed in each of the four core academic areas. After receiving one and a half days of training, each group began drafting 1-3 alternate performance indicators for each performance standard and 1-2 sample performance activities per API (see Table 1).

The workgroup members were asked to consider what indicators of performance their students at English proficiency levels 1-3 (beginning through intermediate) could reasonably be expected to demonstrate related to particular performance standards. The workgroup then considered a corresponding classroom assessment task or activity that could provide teachers an authentic assessment context within which to measure the APIs. The workgroup developed a chart in four columns under each content standard. The left hand column listed the corresponding performance standards, followed by a column for the draft alternate performance indicators. This was followed by a column for sample draft activities/tasks and, finally, a column to be left blank, providing teachers space to document their sources of assessment data, e.g., work samples, direct observation, review of records, or tests (API Taskforce, 2000).

The subgroups drafted alternate performance indicators for educators of LEP students at each of three benchmark levels included in the Wisconsin Model Academic Standards (grades four, eight, and twelve). Later in the summer, a review and editing process began which continued until March 1999 when the APIs were sent for the first printing authorized for dissemination to Wisconsin educators (still as a draft document). A final edition on CD-ROM was scheduled for release by summer 2000.

<p>Content Standard: Students in Wisconsin will understand that among the science disciplines there are unifying themes: systems, order, organization, and interactions; evidence, models, and explanations; constancy, change, and measurement; evolution, equilibrium, and energy; form and function.</p> <p>Rationale: These unifying themes are ways of thinking rather than theories or discoveries. Students should know about these themes and realize that the more they learn about science the better they will understand how the themes organize and enlarge their knowledge. Science is a system and should be seen as a single discipline rather than a set of separate disciplines. Students will also understand science better when they connect and integrate these unifying themes into what they know about themselves and the world around them.</p>			
<i>Performance Standards: By the end of grade four students will:</i>	<i>Sample Alternate Performance Indicators: (1-3 per standard)</i>	<i>Sample Performance Activities/Tasks: (1-2 per indicator)</i>	<i>Sources of Data</i>
A.4.1. When conducting science investigations, ask and answer questions that will help decide the general areas of science being addressed	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify the three domains of science (earth/space, life/environmental, and physical) 2. Identify a question that can be answered through a science investigation 3. Identify the general area(s) of science being addressed in a question 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.a. Sort items into appropriate science domains 1.b. Make a collage for each science domain 1.c. Complete three separate investigations and/or experiments and identify the domain each experiment represents 2.a. Using graphics and/or visuals, convey a question that can be answered in a scientific manner 2.b. Choose a question that can be investigated scientifically from a list of questions, some of which need science investigation 3.a. In cooperative groups, generate a question and design an experiment. Identify the science domain of this question and experiment 3.b. Ask and answer questions relating to which science domain(s) an experiment and/or investigation represents 	
A.4.2. When faced with a science-related problem, decide what evidence, models, or explanations previously studied can be used to better understand what is happening now	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify background knowledge related to a problem 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.a. Use graphic organizers such as KWHL charts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> K = what you know W = what you want to know H = how will you find out L = what you learned 1.b. Create a word web or semantic map 1.c. In a small group, generate a problem and specify the necessary steps to solve the problem 	

TABLE 1
Science Connection

THE GUIDE AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

The workgroup supported the notion that the alternate performance indicators would be of little value if they were not accompanied by a guide to assist educators in using them and a professional development initiative to familiarize educators with the concepts of standards-based instruction and assessment. Therefore, one of the authors of Illinois' alternate assessments, Dr. Margo Gottlieb, was contracted to write *Standards-Based Alternate Assessment for Limited-English Proficient Students: A Guide for Wisconsin Educators* (Gottlieb, 2000). The guide demonstrates how to design and use APIs and alternate performance tasks. It also assists educators in creating rubrics, interpreting data, measuring gains over time and reporting results at the local level.

Results of performance on alternate assessment at the state level are reported in a fifth academic proficiency category called "pre-requisite English." This category is used until LEP students take tests from the Wisconsin Student Assessment System (WSAS) where they may score in the four previously discussed categories of minimal, basic, proficient or advanced.

Professional development opportunities for using the guide and APIs began in spring 1999, and will likely continue for the next 2-3 years until a large number of educators are comfortable with the process of conducting standards-based, alternate assessments within their classrooms. As of April 2000, over 400 teachers had participated in the initial workshop series.

WISCONSIN'S TESTING ACCOMMODATIONS POLICY

By administrative rule, only alternate assessments can be given to LEP students through English proficiency level three (intermediate) on the five-point scale previously mentioned. Therefore, testing accommodations, when given, are for English proficiency levels four and five (advanced intermediate through advanced). Beyond this definition of eligibility, Wisconsin's tradition of local control has led to a comparatively open-ended policy towards accommodations with LEP students. This policy leaves most decisions regarding specific accommodations largely in the hands of local educators, simply advising them that the accommodations they use "must not invalidate the assessment." The Department of Public Instruction has published *Guidelines to Facilitate the Participation*

*of Students with Special Needs in State Assessments*⁶ which provide further examples of accommodation “do’s” and “don’ts.” For example, orally reading the language arts or reading sections of the WSAS is prohibited because it changes the construct being tested. Such an open-ended policy may promote greater and earlier inclusion of LEP students in large-scale assessment, but it is not without problems. We have virtually no documentation at the state level on which accommodations are being used where, with whom and with what results.

THE ADVANTAGES AND DRAWBACKS TO THE WISCONSIN APPROACH

As the only state to have developed alternate performance indicators for use with limited-English proficient students to date, it is important to consider what merits and deficiencies Wisconsin’s approach to alternate assessment of LEP students may hold. Beginning with the potential advantages, use of the APIs may promote greater alignment between standards-based curriculum, instruction and assessment for a group of students who have often been denied access to quality academic content, particularly in the beginning stages of English language proficiency development. In this sense, the APIs serve as much as a curriculum and instructional planning guide as they do for guiding assessment.

Alternate performance indicators promote multiple ways of assessing LEP student performance that are authentic and take place over time. This is congruent with the best practice recommendations for LEP student assessment (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). Content validity is high with alternate performance indicators as they are directly linked to the same academic standards other students are learning. Unlike many standardized assessments, no high stakes (e.g., student retention, graduation) are attached to performance on APIs, so issues of negative consequences for students are less a concern (Messick, 1994). Thus, by using alternate performance indicators to demonstrate academic progress until students have greater English proficiency, schools may avoid some of the disadvantages of giving standardized assessments too soon.

For the first time, teachers and schools have a systematic way to measure at the classroom level the academic performance and growth of LEP students at beginning and intermediate English proficiency levels. Teachers now have a framework within which to discuss academic progress with LEP students, their families and their local communities. This was only possible before with a few larger school districts that were able to assess students for academic content knowledge in students’ native languages (typically Spanish speakers only). In lieu of academic assessments,

most schools settle for English language assessment results as the sole indicator of LEP student progress. The problem with these assessments is that typically measured gains in English proficiency correlate poorly with eventual academic performance (LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). Language assessments also provide teachers with insufficient guidance for planning content instruction.

While LEP students were formerly excluded from the accountability system (listed simply as “Not Tested” on state reports of large-scale assessment results) they are now listed as participating in alternate assessment and are assigned a proficiency-based category which relates to the other four categories used for the majority of students.

This approach of assigning LEP students to a category called “Pre-Requisite English” in state level reports may seem puzzling to some. Certainly this category does not tell the state or local community how much math or science an LEP student may know. Appropriate use of the APIs will provide that information where it is most needed, however, at the individual classroom, student and family levels. The category of “Pre-Requisite English” provides a mechanism for including LEP students in state level reports that sends a clear, albeit incomplete, message that these students are working on the pre-requisite English skills necessary to demonstrate progress in the other state level reporting categories of minimal, basic, proficient, and advanced.

Surely less than ideal, “Pre-Requisite English” is still an improvement over the nebulous category “Not Tested” in the days when LEP students were completely absent from state level reports. Performance reports now include the percentage of students scoring proficient or advanced within each school, based both on total building enrollment and number of students eligible to be tested in English on the standardized measures. This provides schools with an incentive to move students towards English language and academic proficiency where none existed before.

Despite these very definite merits, the Wisconsin approach to academic assessment for LEP students is not without drawbacks. Performance on APIs cannot be equated directly with the four standard proficiency categories students achieve in taking the large-scale assessments. Because they are classroom-based and ongoing, issues of inter-rater reliability may exist between teachers even within the same school, to say nothing of the difficulties of attempting meaningful comparisons from district to district or at the state level.

Because Wisconsin has not set time limits for students to reach English proficiency benchmarks, it is still possible that some schools may allow LEP students to stay in the alternate category too long. This is not a new problem since some students languished in the “Not Tested” cat-

egory indefinitely prior to the new alternate assessment framework. It should be less of a problem with total building reporting now required. Nonetheless, many may consider the current incentive system inadequate, especially for districts or schools with a relatively small LEP student enrollment.

Full and effective implementation of the APIs in Wisconsin will require an extensive professional development effort. This is a drawback in the sense that we are, in 2000, a long way from that goal. It could also be considered as a merit, however, since successful implementation requires the kind of concerted professional development that will undoubtedly improve the quality of LEP student support programs by elevating academic standards and promoting linkages with the mainstream.

Finally, an effective plan to field test the use of the alternate assessment framework needs to be developed and implemented. Without field testing, we will not know the degree to which these alternate assessments predict eventual success on the standardized assessments students must take later. Wisconsin should also have a plan to measure the degree of implementation of the alternate assessment framework across the state.

DISCUSSION

I began with some questions to direct our thoughts on assessment for LEP students. The first two of these involved defining what “included in the accountability system” means, and where on a continuum of state and local accountability LEP students should be placed. These are difficult questions to answer because LEP students come to our schools with many differing profiles. Some arrive with no English proficiency, some with little or no prior schooling, some without literacy skills in their native language, and others with a host of issues associated with poverty or refugee experiences.

What is needed is a continuum of assessment options that fits both the English proficiency and academic proficiency needs of this wide range of students. Content area native language assessments that are standardized and comparable to the state’s large-scale assessments might be desirable for some LEP students, but are not practical for a state like Wisconsin with low total numbers of LEP students speaking multiple languages and dialects. Mandating that all LEP students take the standardized assessment after one or two years is of questionable value and validity, particularly as states like Wisconsin contemplate adding high stakes consequences to those same assessments.

Testing accommodations for LEP students represent an important transitional step between alternate classroom assessments and full participation in standardized testing. As such, accommodations should be

encouraged to the extent that they do not significantly affect the reliability and validity of standardized measures. Certainly this is an area where more research is needed, but in the interest of promoting full assessment inclusion in equitable ways, states like Wisconsin should not curtail particular accommodations without justifiable cause.

While Wisconsin, like other states, is hesitant to mandate additional procedures or controls at the local level, schools should be strongly encouraged to make full use of the local reporting possibilities provided in the alternate assessment framework. Only through thorough, ongoing assessment and documentation of LEP student academic progress will schools truly be accountable for *all* LEP student performance. State supported programs that currently provide the Department of Public Instruction with English proficiency data documenting student growth may reasonably be asked to provide data that also document academic gains.

We do well to remember that there are tradeoffs inherent in any accountability system. While excluding LEP students too often left them out of the reform equation, full inclusion in standardized testing too soon may encourage schools to look only for short term English language gains rather than longer term academic success. August and Hakuta (1997) remind us that, for wise decision making, schools and policy makers must first be aware of the complex nature of linguistic, cultural and academic background issues that LEP students bring to the learning table. Otherwise, support programs for LEP students will tend to be simplistic, short term and inadequate for ensuring genuine, long-term academic success.

CONCLUSIONS

Teachers of limited-English proficient students in the State of Wisconsin have an opportunity to make use of the new alternate assessment framework to enhance the teaching of language through content, with the knowledge that the content they are teaching is based on the same high standards all students must achieve. The assessment framework should also provide teachers with ongoing feedback regarding the academic progress of their students. Quality academic feedback, in particular, has been difficult to acquire for students from the beginner to intermediate levels of English proficiency.

Other states may wish to consider the development and implementation of a standards-based, alternate assessment framework for LEP students, as part of a broad continuum of academic assessment options. While full and early inclusion in large-scale testing has been recommended by many, these standardized assessments increasingly come with high stakes attached that often do not adequately consider the full array of language development and opportunity-to-learn issues LEP students face. Also,

the verdict on the effectiveness of testing accommodations for LEP students is still out (Butler & Stevens, 1997).

Teachers within academic support programs have traditionally experienced difficulty in moving beyond separate, remedial curricula. Alternate performance indicators offer teachers of LEP students a local framework within which they are encouraged to align their curriculum, instruction and assessment with challenging content and performance standards from the very beginning. This should enable support programs to accelerate the rate at which LEP students close the academic gap while acquiring the English skills necessary to make an effective transition into large-scale assessment systems that serve the wider school population.

NOTES

¹ While the term English Language Learner (ELL) is no doubt preferable to Limited English Proficient (LEP), LEP is still the legally recognized term for these students in both federal legislation and State of Wisconsin Statutes and Administrative Codes.

² While special educators estimate that between 10-20% of all students with disabilities will take alternate assessments, no similar national level estimates exist for LEP students, as states differ widely regarding how long students are allowed exemptions from standardized tests and what, if any, alternate assessments are required in the interim.

³ The requirement for full inclusion of students with disabilities is based on the Individuals with Disabilities Educational Act (IDEA) as amended in 1997; the requirement for LEP students is based on the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA) of 1994.

⁴ Office for Educational Accountability, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction informational bulletins on WSAS are available at the DPI website <<http://www.dpi.state.wi.us>>.

⁵ References to the DPI alternate assessment workgroup deliberations come from the groups' meeting minutes, 1997-99.

⁶ This document is available at <<http://www.dpi.state.wi.us/dpi/oea/specneed.html>>.

THE AUTHOR

Tim Boals coordinates the state-aided bilingual and ESL programs for the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. He frequently presents on topics related to best practices for English language learners and his research interests include improving assessment and accountability within language assistance programs.

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More Than the Usual Heterogeneity in the ESL Writing Class

MARK BALHORN

University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

This paper is the result of a quantitative study comparing the writing of foreign students with that of Southeast Asian permanent residents who have graduated from American high schools. This research tests the hypothesis that foreign students entering university ESL programs have a better grasp of certain formal characteristics of written English than do Southeast Asian permanent residents entering the same programs. The participants in both groups are drawn from a single, university-level ESL program. The two groups are compared for their construction of complex verb groups, familiarity with punctuation conventions, and use of syntactic devices associated with written English. A second test assesses knowledge of the parts of speech. The results of the study show that foreign students make fewer grammatical errors and are more familiar with the conventions and syntactic structures of written English than the Southeast Asian permanent residents. The foreign students also have more conscious knowledge of grammar. Possible reasons for these results are discussed, as well as classroom strategies for improving the writing of Southeast Asian permanent residents.

Universities have typically categorized their not-ready-for-English-101 students into two types: the "basic writers," native speakers who lack fluency in standard, written English and are what Shaughnessy refers to as "strangers in academia" (1977, p. 2); and the "ESL writers," non-native speakers of English who also lack fluency in standard written English, but are not necessarily, or even likely, to be strangers to the classroom. Though basic writers often come from marginalized communities whose members "have never reconciled the worlds of home and school" (Shaughnessy, 1977, p. 3), ESL writers, if they are foreign students, often "come from wealthy families" and as such "have profited from the privileges of wealth" (Leki, 1992, p. 61). Since access to education is one of these privileges, it is safe to say that many foreign students remediating their English in ESL writing courses at American universities come to us having already met some success in the classrooms of their home countries. They may lack English language skills, but their presence in the

university ESL classroom is a good indicator that they have mastered the rules, regulations, and procedures of the educational system from which they come. Thus, while many American basic writers can be described as being academically unprepared for college study, the same cannot be said for most foreign students; the latter may need to make a few specific adjustments to the academic culture of North America, but otherwise, they are ready to do school.

It is certainly appropriate and necessary then, when numbers are sufficient and the university has the where-with-all, that American basic writers and ESL writers matriculate into separate programs. The complication, however, arises when a third group of not-ready-for-English 101 students, Southeast Asian permanent residents, arrives on campus. Often, these writers are placed into ESL classes with foreign students. After all, English is a second language for these students and in a broad, geographical sense of the word "culture," there is a connection between, say, the Chinese and Indonesian foreign students who populate many university ESL programs and the Hmong, Lao, and Vietnamese Southeast Asians who are permanent residents of the United States. But race and geographic origin are not all. It is one thing for a member of a secure social class to matriculate through twelve or so years of the best education her country has to offer before going overseas to finish off a relatively consistent and solid formal education, and another to have little or no formal education in the mother tongue before fleeing persecution by one's own government and finding oneself stranded, along with parents and siblings, in an alien world only partially understood. The latter student is likely to feel very much a "stranger" in the classroom and be unable to "reconcile" the worlds of home and classroom. Thus, some Southeast Asian resident aliens, though technically ESL writers, are, in terms of their lacking acculturation to the formal classroom, much like American basic writers.¹

Given these differences in the backgrounds of foreign ESL students and some permanent residents, one would expect to find differences in both learning styles and writing. The former has been researched: Bliatout, Downing, Lewis, & Yang (1988), Hvidtfeldt (1986), Dufresne (1992) and Duffy (1992) describe in detail the learning styles of Hmong refugees and at least implicitly make comparisons with the learning styles of students who have grown up with the formal classroom. But little has been done to compare the writing of foreign ESL students and permanent resident ESL students. One exception is Tarone et al. (1993). Using a holistic evaluation method that considered accuracy, fluency, organization, and coherence, the researchers compared groups of SEA writers ranging from elementary school through the university level to university level foreign students. Although their results showed little difference between the

writing of SEA permanent resident writers enrolled in the university and that of university foreign students, it is striking that “the university international student group, made up of recent arrivals in the U.S., achieved about the same level of writing skill as the SE Asian refugee group which consisted of students who had been in the U.S. much longer and had been in U.S. public schools” (p. 160-61). Moreover, when the researchers compared groups of SEA resident writers from elementary to university levels, they found “little change in the writing scores of the mainstreamed SE Asian writers, as [they] look[ed] across the 8th grade through the beginning college groups” (p. 162). It appears, then, that foreign students reach a high, but pre-college level of writing proficiency during a relatively short sojourn in ESL writing programs, while SEA residents achieve a similar level before high school, but then stagnate.

Though Tarone et al.’s holistic analysis did not reveal significant differences between foreign ESL writers in the university and SEA resident writers, the vastly different learning curves that characterize their acquisition of written English lead us to suspect that foreign ESL writers and permanent resident ESL students have different needs as writers. And if that is true, we can expect these needs to be revealed in a comparison of their respective writing. By noting what distinguishes the writing of permanent residents from that of foreign students, we can become more aware of what skills and deficiencies SEA permanent residents bring with them to the act of writing. Certainly, important differences could be looked for in terms of paragraph development, essay structure, and coherence, but equally important differences are those of mechanics and syntax. After all, if adherence to the conventions of the written language (mechanics) and accurate production of the sentence structures common to written academic registers are indicative of a writer’s familiarity with the reading and writing of academic texts, then differences in these regards likely reveal differences in academic preparation and a consequent direction for remediation.

Hence, as a starting point for characterizing the needs of SEA permanent resident writers, we must distinguish their papers from those of foreign students by looking at the following questions: Are the specific grammatical errors made by one group different from those of the other? Are there grammatical patterns found in one group that are not found in the other? Are there differences in the explicit grammar knowledge of the two groups that would account for their differing abilities to self-edit as they write? Finding out just where the differences lie is of utmost importance if writing pedagogy appropriate to the particular needs of SEA residents is to be developed.

THE STUDY

An effort to gather specific information on the differences between foreign student and permanent resident ESL writers was made at a small Midwestern state university over fall semester of 1995. We first compared the freshman writing placement tests of SEA permanent residents with those of foreign students matriculating to the university. The comparison focused on sentence-level grammatical and lexical features that were indicative of grammatical accuracy and familiarity with written academic English. The second part of the investigation consisted of a questionnaire that tested elementary knowledge of the parts of speech.²

The 22 participants in the foreign student group were chosen to be representative of the type of intermediate to high English language proficiency, undergraduate level foreign students typically found in university ESL programs in the Midwest. Their ages ranged from 19 to 28, though most were in their early 20s. They came from five different language backgrounds: Indonesian, Japanese, Spanish, Chinese, and Korean. The inclusion of their particular placement test essay in the study was determined on the basis of their failure to place into Freshman English 101 and consequent mandate to an ESL writing course. The essays were then handed over to the ESL program where they were read again by at least two of the ESL faculty, who placed the essays into one of three levels of proficiency. The essays included in this study were taken only from the higher two groups. Thus, this subject group did not include foreign students whose writing skills had been judged adequate for university study, nor those whose writing skills placed them at the beginning level of the ESL program. The group was thus composed of intermediate and high level ESL writers with a mean TOEFL score of 508.

The SEA resident group was intended to be representative of Southeast Asian refugees who have had only a few years of primary and/or secondary education in the US and are attempting to matriculate to a US university. The 14 Hmong and two Vietnamese who comprise this subject group were in fact all of the SEA residents mandated to attend the ESL program during the year this study was conducted and the previous year. Their ages ranged from 18 to the late 20s. Again, their essays were included in the study due to their failure to gain placement into freshman English. Thus, like the foreign student group, the SEA resident group did not include SEA permanent residents whose writing samples placed them directly into freshman English. All 16 placed into either the high or intermediate level of the ESL writing program and, like the foreign student group, could be described as intermediate to high-level ESL writers. Since residents are not required to submit TOEFL scores to the university, no scores could be obtained for this group.

In addition to matching the two groups in age and English language writing ability, information regarding educational background was gathered on all participants. First of all, all 16 students in the SEA group had graduated from an American high school, and six of the 16 had attended an American junior high, indicating that most had come to the U.S. in their early teens. The mean number of years spent in the U.S. at the time of their participation in the study was 6.72. The mean number of years of prior American schooling was 4.81.

As for the 22 foreign student participants, all were graduates of secondary institutions in their countries of origin and none had had any experience in the American secondary education system. The mean number of years they had studied English before coming to the U.S. was 5.6. Most had begun to study English in their country of origin as a two or three-hour-per-week subject at the age of 12 or 13, though some did not begin until somewhat later. Only two had been in the U.S. for as much as six months while none of the other 20 had been in the U.S. any more than three weeks.

PART ONE

The first part of this investigation will address two questions. The first is stated below:

1. Are there differences between the two groups in their rates of error for English verb morphology?

The reasons for choosing verb morphology are at least two. To begin with, tense and subject-verb agreement are inflectional features of English that are either not realized grammatically in the first languages of the subjects in this study (excluding Spanish) or if they are realized grammatically, they are realized in a manner different from English.³ Hence, mastery of English verb morphology could not be approximated by any transfer from the first language, but could only be accomplished with an understanding of English verbal inflection. Secondly, in English it is mandatory to formally indicate tense and agreement in every finite clause, and there is not much ambiguity in the marking. The presence or absence of these grammatical features in subjects' writing is therefore easy to see and quantify.

The second question that will be addressed in Part One is as follows:

2. Are grammatical constructions common to written English used with greater frequency by one group than the other?

At the basis of this question is the suspicion that the kind of English learned by SEA residents is not the same kind of English that is learned by foreign students. As explained by Spolsky (1989), the environment in which one learns the second language determines what variety or even dialect the learner acquires. The environment in which most foreign students begin to learn English in their own countries is by necessity an English of books. There is little or no exposure to conversational, familiar, or informal varieties of English. Consequently, many foreign students come to U.S. universities commanding an English that, though imperfect and not yet fluent, is of a variety that is conducive to what Adamson calls "academic competence" (1992). SEA residents, on the other hand, may be more fluent than foreign students, but not necessarily in the variety of English that is expected in the university classroom. If this is so, we should expect that a comparison of foreign student and SEA resident writing will show that accurate and consistent use of the lexicon and grammatical structures common to written English is more prevalent among the foreign students than the SEA residents.

Procedures

The data for Part One of this investigation were taken from the writing test assessment files of the ESL program at the university between 1993 and 1995. The tests, given every semester to matriculating students, consist of an explanatory statement introducing the topic, followed by three alternative thesis statements. Writers are asked to choose one of the theses and support it; in effect, they write an argumentative essay. Though the topics are different each semester, the format is always the same and writers are always given 60 minutes to complete their response. The essays included in this study were on one of the following topics: pets, cheating in school, grouping students by ability, the effectiveness of competency exams, vegetarianism, the value of TV watching, gun control, or sex education. (For an example of a test prompt see Appendix A.) Though it is maintained that topic choice has an effect on writing performance and perhaps linguistic structures utilized (Hoether & Brossell, 1989, Huot, 1990), it is assumed in this study that the effect will be largely neutralized as each of the eight topics were written on in roughly similar proportions by both groups, and in all cases, the writing mode was the same: argumentative essay.

The writing assessment essays were examined for six different features. The first three features, subject-verb agreement, tense, and main verb morphology pertained to question one and were gathered by conducting an error analysis of the finite clauses of each composition. In regard to agreement, the evaluator looked for the presence or absence of

third person, singular '-s' or the correct form of 'be' when used as a main verb or first auxiliary element. For tense, the evaluator first established the time frame of the text and then examined the first element in the verb group for the appropriate tense form. Main verb morphology was checked for all complex verb groups, the appropriate form being one of three: infinitive, present participle, or past participle. Misspellings and regularization of irregular verb forms did not count as errors.

The last three features, meant to address question two, consisted of both a frequency count and an error analysis. The frequency count looked for the presence of relative clauses and logical connectors, two grammatical devices believed to be much more common in written styles of English than in spoken (Chafe, 1982; Clancy, 1982; O'Donnell, 1974). The logical connectors included in the frequency count were only those associated with more formal styles of written English. Therefore, connectors that signal contrast, concession, and result, such as *even though*, *however*, and *therefore*, were included in the count, while connectors associated with spoken styles of English such as compound conjunctions (*and*, *but*), time adverbials (*when*, *after*), and *because* and *if* were excluded.⁴ The error analysis regarded placement of periods. Since punctuation is a convention of written language exclusively, perhaps degrees of familiarity with written language would correspond to accuracy with placement of periods. Faulty use or absence of a period resulting in a sentence fragment or run-on sentence was counted as an error.

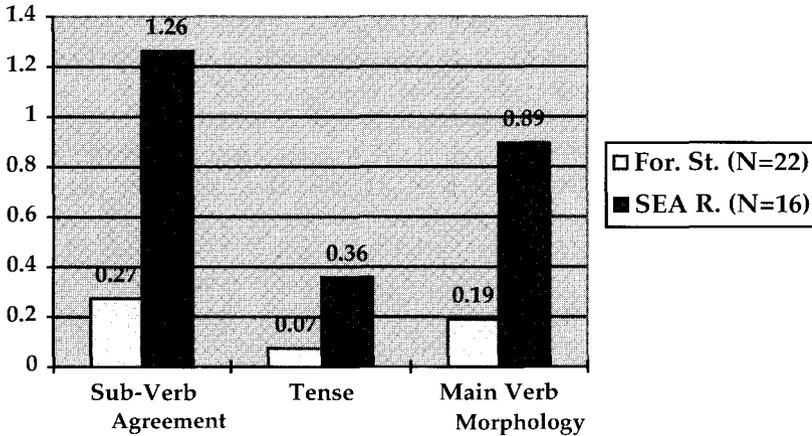
Whenever one of the six features or errors was found, it was noted in the margin. After the essay was gone over twice, the total number of features or errors were entered on a tally sheet. From the two tally sheets, one for each group of subjects, totals were collected for each of the seven features. However, since the mean number of words per composition was not the same for the two groups (foreign students = 307, SEA residents = 244), totals for each subject and each feature had to be converted to a rate per 100 words before means could be calculated and compared.

Results

Figure 1 shows the mean number of errors per 100 words of text for verb group errors.

In regard to question one, Figure 1 reveals that the SEA subjects of the study made more verb morphology errors than the foreign subjects did. Column one, for example shows that the foreign students made only .27 agreement errors per one hundred words of text while the SEA residents made 1.26. This means that SEA residents made five times as many agreement errors in their compositions as foreign students did. A similar ratio of intra-group errors obtains for verb tense. Though both groups had low rates of tense errors in comparison to agreement errors, column

FIGURE 1
Verb Group Error Means, Foreign Student & SEA
Permanent Residents Per 100 Words

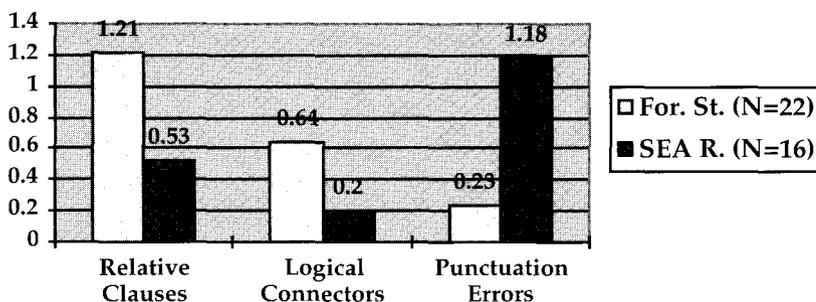


two shows the SEA residents again made errors at five times the rate of foreign students. In regard to main verb morphology, column three shows that the SEA residents were less accurate in using infinitives, past participles, and present participles. The SEA resident rate of .89 errors per one hundred words was four times higher than the foreign student rate of .19. Finally, though the SEA residents made more errors than the foreign students in all three areas of verb inflection and morphology, the relative rates of error within each group were the same: both groups of high-intermediate writers made the most errors in subject-verb agreement and the least in tense.

Figure 2 shows the mean frequency of relative clause and logical connector use as well as punctuation errors per 100 words.

Column one of Figure 2 shows that the foreign students in the study constructed 1.21 relative clauses per 100 words and the SEA residents .53. Thus, foreign students constructed relative clauses at twice the rate SEA residents did. Column two also shows foreign students used more of the target grammatical devices than the SEA residents did. The foreign student rate of .64 logical connectors per 100 words was three times that of the SEA resident rate of .20. Column three shows the largest difference of the three. While foreign students misplaced periods only .23 times per 100 words, SEA residents did so at a rate of 1.18 times per 100 words. The SEA resident rate for writing sentence fragments and run-on sentences was five times that of the foreign students.

FIGURE 2
Clause Construction and Punctuation Error Means Per
100 Words: Foreign Student & SEA Residents



PART TWO

The second part of the study attempts to answer a single question:

3. Does one group have greater knowledge of the parts of speech than the other does?

ESL instructors who have had both foreign and permanent residents in the same class report that many SEA resident writers are slow to remediate habitual grammar errors and, unlike most foreign students, are not able to participate in discussions of grammar generally (Brendel, Dyken, Klawikowski, & Tarver, 1995). A possible explanation for this may well be found in differences in the conscious grammatical knowledge of these two groups of writers.

Procedures

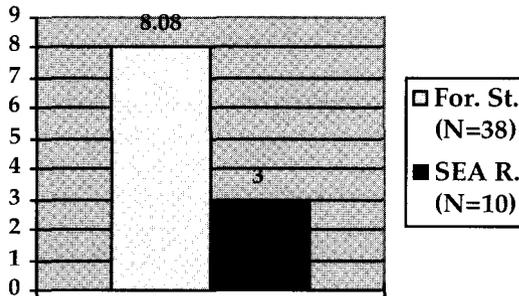
To investigate knowledge of the parts of speech, participants were given ten sentences in which one word was underlined. They were instructed to identify the underlined word as a "noun, verb, adjective, adverb, conjunction," or "preposition." (See Appendix B.) The total number correct were determined for each subject and means were established for both groups. Many of the students who participated in Part One of the study were not available when the data for Part Two was gathered in September of 1995; hence, the participants in this second part of the investigation were not exactly the same as in the first. The foreign student group consisted of the 38 foreign students whose English writing proficiency ranged from low to high. Essentially, this group was composed of all students enrolled in a writing class of the ESL program that semester

whose profiles were comparable to the foreign students in Part One of this study in terms of their age, number of years of English study before coming the US, and length of time in country. Only a handful of these foreign students were from the study in Part One. The 10 SEA residents were a sub-group of the SEA resident subjects in part one. The other six were not available for testing.

Results

Figure 3 shows the mean number of correct answers for each group for the 10 sentences:

FIGURE 3
Mean Score out of 10 on Test of the
Parts of Speech



The foreign students in the study were better at identifying parts of speech than the SEA residents were. The foreign student mean of 8.08 is more than twice as high as the SEA resident mean of 3. This is so, even though the foreign student group included subjects whose limited English proficiency had placed them into the lowest level of the university's ESL program.

DISCUSSION

Two observations can be made from the above results. The first is that the SEA resident student writers in the study appear to have a weaker grasp of English grammar than foreign student writers do. In terms of production, Figure 1 suggests that SEA permanent residents are less able to consistently establish agreement between subject and verb, indicate tense, and use the correct form of the main verb in complex verb groups than foreign students are. Likewise, in terms of comprehension, SEA per-

manent residents also appear to command less explicit grammatical knowledge than foreign students do. The relatively low score of SEA residents compared to foreign students shown in Figure 3 shows them less able to identify the major parts of speech of English.

The second observation is that the foreign students appear to be more familiar with the sentence structures and conventions of written, academic English than SEA residents are. In Figure 2, we see that SEA permanent residents used fewer relative clauses and logical connectors than foreign students did and were less accurate with their placement of periods.⁵

To explain the above results, we might discuss the different ways that each group learned English as a second language as well as the differences in their educational backgrounds. Given that the foreign students in the study had studied English an average of 5.6 years in their home countries and none had spent more than six months in the U.S. (most had spent only a few weeks), there is reason to believe they learned English much the same way American students in the U.S. learn a foreign language: as an academic subject in a part of the world where daily communication in the language of study is non-existent or very limited. In fact, in many countries, such as Korea, Japan, China, Taiwan, and Indonesia, the countries from which almost all the subjects in the foreign student group come, English is a required subject and knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the standard, written language are included in national exams that determine who may matriculate to the next highest level of education. Thus, foreign students' knowledge of English is in some respects like their knowledge of math, chemistry, or civics: they know the fundamental working principles of the subject matter and have a command of the basic terminology. This accounts for foreign students' knowledge of the parts of speech and perhaps also in part for their understanding and relatively consistent use of English inflectional morphology when writing. In addition, since their exposure to English is in the context of school, it is often formal, academic, and written registers that they become familiar with, the types of English in which one encounters relative clauses, logical connectors, and the conventions of punctuation.

But perhaps more important than foreign student exposure to academic English is the fact that foreign students have manipulated and mastered, at least to some degree, the academic style in their first language. They have read, written about, and been tested on school content, such as history, science, and current events in their native language and have thus acquired some facility in school ways of writing and thinking. Though their formal education and particular notion of literacy may be somewhat different from that practiced in the American university (see Carson, 1992), they nonetheless implicitly recognize topics and ways of discussing them that are appropriate to the classroom. They come to the

U.S. already familiar with the rhetorical communities of their own countries (Purves, 1986). This foundation in the literate culture of their first language equips them to validate and attend to the university ESL writing classroom demands for grammatical accuracy, specialized vocabulary, and complex conventions of punctuation.

For SEA residents such as those in our study, who come to the U.S. in their early teenage years knowing little if any English, the second language is not primarily an academic subject. First of all, they have an immediate need to communicate and so begin to acquire English in bits and pieces the moment they arrive in the country, whether they are enrolled in school or not. This explains why the mean number of years in the U.S. for our SEA subjects (6.72) is much greater than their years of U.S. schooling (4.81). They begin acquiring English in face-to-face encounters with neighbors, social service providers, landlords, and employers and develop an inter-personal, context-dependent fluency in English. Though this face-to-face acquisition is not all that different from the way monolingual American children learn English and the style acquired is suitable for day-to-day living, it is not sufficient for the classroom. Studies such as Poole (1976), Heath (1983), Wells (1986), and Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Hemphill, & Goodman (1991) that have looked at monolingual English speakers from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds have demonstrated this fact. They point out that unless the child is exposed to context-independent language in the home or in the first years of formal education, she may never become adept at performing school language tasks. Unfortunately, SEA residents like the ones in our study are unlikely to develop this style of language either at home or at school.

The home is not necessarily a place for such language to be learned because often SEA parents, especially Hmong, are not literate in either their first language or English (Bliatout et al., 1988) and are thus unable to provide a model. Though good ESL teachers may be able to compensate for the home language situation of many SEA resident children, it must be remembered that one of the crucial characteristics of the SEA residents in this study is that few had the benefit of either American elementary school or junior high school. Thus, the high school ESL teachers of these students had to teach not only language skills, but also the basic cultural and content area background knowledge believed to be to be requisite to the development of academic literacy (Cummins, 1991; Laufer and Sim, 1985). Obviously, three or four years are not enough to do all of this. If we assume that the account of Dufresne (1992), who studied SEA residents in Minneapolis high schools, also describes the experiences of the SEA residents in our study, one of two things happened to these students in high school. Either the SEA students remained in the ESL program receiving elementary but comprehensible input regarding

culture and content areas, or they were mainstreamed into regular classes “with little academic substance: physical education, art, industrial arts, home economics” where they were “given passing grades because of conduct, attendance, attitude, and hard work” (p. 18). In both cases, Dufresne argues, SEA permanent resident students graduate from high school “without really understanding the structure of the language and still have speaking, writing, and reading problems” (p. 17).

CONCLUSION

Further study into the academic preparedness of SEA residents is necessary. One path of inquiry to pursue is that if three to four years in American schools is not sufficient for post-secondary academic success, perhaps more are. Collier (1989) reports that the little bit of research done on this question is mostly negative. Adolescents with little previous L2 exposure never catch up with their American counterparts. Likewise Johnson and Newport (1989) in their study of critical period effects on second language acquisition report that “success in (second language) learning is almost entirely predicted by the age at which it begins (before age 10”; p. 81), not the number of years one studies English in the classroom.

But even if more years of study is neither feasible nor effective, more attention to syntax and form in the K-12 classroom might give SEA students editing skills to apply in the college classroom. Recently, in the school district from which the majority of the SEAs, especially Hmong students, at this university come, a program to ESL-certify elementary school teachers is underway. As the curriculum of the certification program includes English grammar, second language acquisition, and the preparation of language awareness lessons, there is likely to be a positive impact on the written language skills of SEA students eventually matriculating to this university. Unfortunately, this program will not help the late-arriving SEA students that this study is about, those who have not had the benefit of either American elementary school or junior high school. Perhaps a structure-focused course as an adjunct to the normal high school English curriculum would be a step towards providing these students with some tools for self-editing in college.

In connection to our study, information should be gathered on the majority of SEA permanent residents enrolled at this university who placed directly into freshman English and were successful. Did they come to this country at a much younger age than the students who placed into the ESL program? Is their mean number of years in the American school system significantly greater than the SEA residents in our study? Other research should examine the background knowledge and reading com-

prehension of SEA residents in university ESL programs. If it is true as maintained in this paper that SEA residents have had little exposure to academic English prior to their placing into the university ESL program, they should score low on tests of reading comprehension and vocabulary. Again, university level ESL programs are good places to look for the data since placement tests of overall language ability are normally administered to all students entering these programs. The results of such an investigation could further refine the profile of the differences between permanent resident and foreign ESL university students.

To help SEA residents currently enrolled in university ESL writing programs, several actions can be taken. First, an effort should be made to improve SEA residents' explicit grammatical knowledge. Workshops for SEA residents should be held to help SEA residents consciously understand the structure of the sentence and inflectional morphology as well as acquire a vocabulary of grammatical terms. The knowledge gained might translate into better self-editing skills and more effective student-teacher talk about language.

Secondly, if it is true as maintained in this paper that many SEA residents are unfamiliar with academic styles of English, they should be enrolled in high-level, preacademic ESL reading courses. In such college-preparatory courses, students read chapters from introductory texts in fields such as business, sociology, biology, and economics. The vocabulary is explained, the rhetoric examined, and students are assigned writing tasks similar to the tasks they will be asked to perform when enrolled in the university. A semester or two in a reading course like this would help to familiarize SEA permanent resident students with the language that they will be expected to use as well as give them a brief introduction to the content they will be expected to master in college.

Additional effort should be given to establishing tutorial programs and study skills courses for SEA residents, especially after they begin undergraduate study. Teachers at the university ESL program where this study was done report that though their SEA permanent residents are highly motivated, attend regularly, and apply themselves faithfully, many make progress very slowly (Brendel et al., 1995). Tutors could help improve this situation not only by offering additional opportunity for revision, but also by helping SEA resident students understand the assigned readings and relate them to the writing assignment itself. Working with a tutor throughout ESL study as well as during the first year of university coursework would provide SEA permanent resident students with additional study and writing strategies that would help lead to success in their subsequent university careers.⁶

NOTES

¹ Throughout this paper I have used the term "SEA permanent residents" to refer to the 12 Hmong and 2 Vietnamese who compose one of the study groups. I also use the term to refer to Asian immigrants with limited academic experience in the home country. I use this term to distinguish the subjects from Chinese or Korean immigrants who typically have attained higher levels of literacy in their own language and formal education before immigrating. I realize that some Southeast Asians, particularly some Vietnamese, do not fit the above description. Nonetheless, I think a distinction between these two types of immigrants is a useful distinction to make and I stand by this serviceable, if defective phrase. I can think of no better term.

² Thanks to Sue Clark Kubley for the information she provided on subjects in the SEA permanent resident group. Thanks as well to the Julie Schneider and Jim Kelim of the ESL program at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point for allowing me access to their students and records.

³ According to Bliatout et al. (1988), Hmong marks neither tense nor agreement within the verb group. According to Comrie (1990), the same is true for Chinese and Indonesian, though verbs can be suffixed to indicate aspect. As for Korean and Japanese, past tense is marked on the verb group through suffixation, but there is no subject-verb agreement.

⁴ The following list is of all the connectors counted as being typical of written, academic language: *as a consequence of, consequently, despite, even if, even though, however, in spite of, instead of, nevertheless, on the other hand, rather than, thus, therefore.*

The following list is of all the connectors thought to be typical of spoken as well as written English and therefore, not counted as "logical connectors": *after, as, because, before, for example, when, while.* It should be noted that 'while' did count as a logical connector when used contrastively.

⁵ One reviewer suggested that an explanation for these results might be found in research into critical period effects on second language acquisition which show that the earlier one begins acquiring the second language, the better one's eventual mastery of the language. Since the mean number of years foreign students in this study had studied English was 5.6 and the SEA residents only 4.81, it could be argued that the foreign students' one year head start accounts for their greater facility with written English. The problem, however, lies in determining what actually counts as "initial exposure."

Studies, such as Johnson & Newport (1989) and Slavov & Johnson (1995) that find correlation between "age of exposure" and ultimate mastery usually define "age of exposure" as "age of arrival in the United States with its resulting immersion in English" (Johnson & Newport, p. 81). Though the foreign students in this study did encounter classroom English a year earlier than the SEA permanent residents, they did so only two to three hours per week in the EFL classroom. This is quite different from the kind of exposure these critical period hypothesis researchers are talking about. In fact, what the foreign students experienced in the EFL context is more closely equated with "age of beginning formal English instruction," an independent variable that Johnson & Newport (p. 81) found had no significant correlation with test scores.

Moreover, since the mean number of years our SEA residents had been in the U.S. at the time of the study was 6.72, they must certainly have been exposed to English in that year and some months they were in the country looking for a place to settle. Some of this exposure may even have been immersion. Are we to conclude that the SEA residents had an earlier age of exposure to English than the foreign students and that the results of this study run counter to the studies mentioned above?

A more reasonable conclusion, it seems to me, is that given the vast differences in the kind and quantity of initial exposure these two groups experienced, the explanation for their differing performance is more likely to be found in a discussion of the ways their exposure to and study of the language differ.

⁶ For a brief report on a tutorial program designed specifically to help SEA permanent residents see Balhorn, M. & Meyer, L. (1997). 'Otherness' and other imponderables: Teaching Hmong students academic writing. *The Quarterly of the National Writing Project*, 19(3), 10-16.

THE AUTHOR

Mark Balhorn is an Associate Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point. His research interests include modern grammatical theory, language variation, literacy, and language acquisition.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Essay Exam

The Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture is soliciting citizen input on the implications of a vegetarian lifestyle. Since the Secretary is responsible both for setting national nutritional standards and for deciding U.S. land use policies, he and his staff feel that it is important to hear the opinions of average citizens.

Write an essay explaining your position on vegetarianism. Do your best to make your ideas convincing to those who set public policy.

Begin your essay with the following sentence (which you should *copy onto your paper*):

Every year more people adopt a vegetarian lifestyle.

Select one of the following three sentences as the second sentence of your essay and *copy it onto your paper*:

A. Many religions promote the use of vegetarian diets because such a lifestyle helps humans evolve to a higher level of existence.

B. Unfortunately, this trend means that more people are jeopardizing their health and vitality with an unnatural lifestyle.

C. A vegetarian lifestyle not only benefits the individual's health but also makes better use of our planet's resources.

DO NOT WRITE ON THIS PAPER

APPENDIX B

Grammar Identification

Name: _____

I. Directions: Identify the underlined word as a “noun,” “verb,” “adjective,” “adverb,” “conjunction,” or “preposition.”

1. The Humane Society was established to shelter animals.
2. The birthrate in the United States has begun to decline.
3. Photos are developed in a darkroom.
4. Mary could not qualify for the Olympics.
5. People will leave the party when the food has been finished.
6. Mary quickly left the room.
7. John decided to quit the soccer team and do more studying.
8. Americans may like pizza but I sure don't.
9. That picture isn't really very pretty.
10. She sat down on the floor beside the TV set.

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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.

Bilingual Education: Teachers' Narratives, Nancy Lemberger. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997.

As a first year bilingual teacher, I am struggling with many issues including learning curriculum, finding materials, doubting my own competence and advocating for my students in an environment that ranges from idealistic to indifferent to hostile. It was enormously validating then to read Lemberger's book and find that I shared the same questions, concerns, failures and triumphs of teachers in a wide variety of bilingual programs.

Lemberger states, "I wanted to show teachers' work and struggles over time from both historical and practical perspectives" (p. 2). She does this well, starting in the introduction with an accounting of her own experience. She then wrote individual narratives for eight teachers based on three to four hours of taped discussions and one to two days of observing and interacting in their classrooms. She made an effort to retain the voice of the teacher and each one's personalities and opinions come through strongly. They each approved their own narrative. In the end I was left feeling that I had just left an enormously satisfying conversation with understanding colleagues. And as she points out, by providing a place for teachers to be heard according to their own visions and not through the interpretive lens of a researcher, we get a chance to "make visible their efforts to counteract their own and their students' marginalization and their struggles to teach effectively and gain acceptance within the contexts of their particular schools" (p. 7).

In Chapter 2 Lemberger provides a historical and societal perspective, helpful to those who know little about the context of bilingual education. In Chapter 3 she provides a framework for comparing and contrasting the narratives according to themes centered around issues, theories and practices. There are two helpful grids that make it easy to orga-

nize thoughts and reactions to the text. These would make an excellent starting point for a course, staff development or literature discussion group. She also provides a chart that is an overview of the teachers' personal data, experience, education, program model and region. Again this is enormously helpful for people who are just starting to think about all the complexities of being a bilingual teacher. It gives a scaffold to hang ideas on.

Chapters 4 through 11 are the actual narratives, organized by program model and language to provide for easier comparison. Each chapter starts right in with the teachers giving some background and then talking about some of the following: their programs, their goals, their motivation, education, parent orientation, testing, successes, frustrations, curriculum, support system, school culture, management, teaching experience and advice they wish to share. The one I identified most strongly with was the one I almost skipped as being irrelevant to me, the Russian immigrant. Her frustration with trying to navigate the two cultures when the cultures keep changing is the same frustration that led me to pick up this book in search of answers. Knowing that someone with as much experience as she has, a native speaker of Russian who comes from the same place as many of her students, makes me feel more secure that my problems are not just my own, not just a cultural divide that I can't hope to cross. She describes modifications she has made in discipline and instruction and goals to meet the changing needs of the students.

In Chapter 12, Lemberger discusses the themes and issues that emerge from reading the teachers' narratives. The comparison of their different levels of bilingualism and how it affected their teaching styles was particularly useful to me. I was very uncomfortable with my own lack of fluency, but seeing the teachers compared this way helped me to realize that it is a difference, not a weakness, and can be used to my advantage. The other themes she discusses are: entry into the profession, certification and training, interactions with colleagues, administrative leadership, interactions with parents, changing communities and schools' accountability, instruction, use of the two languages, culture, curriculum and materials, and testing and assessment. These two to three paragraph summaries of some very complex issues would make wonderful starting points for discussion or action research projects.

Chapter 14 is aptly titled, "Theoretical, Background and Practical Information". Here Lemberger provides synopses of useful general foundation texts, historical texts and resources that explain program models. Addresses are supplied with descriptions and ISBN numbers of literature, tests, and curricula that teachers mentioned in the narratives as being particularly useful. Professional organizations and networks are included along with summaries of their goals and why they are important

resources. There are three appendices; one is a glossary of buzz words in the profession, and the others are sample interview questions and samples of materials the teachers used.

This is an easy read that leads to some thought-provoking questions about bilingual practices. I highly recommend it for individuals or groups, beginners or experienced, teachers, administrators or anyone affected by bilingual education. Everyone who reads it will be left with something to mull over and the voices of these eight teachers whispering in her ears.

THE REVIEWER

C-C O'Malley has been an ESL and bilingual teacher for the past ten years in Appleton and Green Bay, Wisconsin. She has taught in K-12, adult education and intensive college programs.

The Internet Activity Workbook, Dave Sperling. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents, 1999.

The Internet Activity Workbook, by author Dave Sperling (of "Dave's ESL Café" website fame), is a unique and original ESL course book. Its innovation lies in its use of an imaginative companion website <<http://www.prenhall.com/sperling/>> that provides dozens of links to other Internet sites. Those sites, which serve as the primary texts for learning American English and culture, form the basis for successfully performing the variety of reading, listening, speaking and writing activities throughout the workbook. Although not designated by the author for one particular level of learner, Sperling's workbook and website duo appear well suited for high-intermediate to advanced students, with potential application even in lower level classes under the guidance of an experienced or tech-savvy teacher. Adding to its functionality is the fact that the Internet Activity Workbook may be used either in a computer-based ESL classroom setting, as an out-of-class assignment for a traditionally-structured class, or individually by any learner who has computer access with a live Internet connection. Ultimately, it is the unusual interface between workbook and website which make this text so ingenious.

The Workbook and its companion website are divided into thirty chapters on various topics commonly studied in American ESL courses. These topics are presented alphabetically and include such representative themes as Animals, Cities, Family and Marriage, Food, Holidays, Literature, Movies, News, Sports, Weather and Work. After starting with the first chapter entitled "First Meeting," the rest of the book's units can be sequenced in any order because each stands on its own, adding to its

suitability as a supplement for courses with existing textbooks. Each chapter has a clear set of skill-focused goals, which are clearly stated at the beginning of the workbook and again on the first page of each chapter's website. For example, Chapter 3 entitled "Animals" lists the following objectives:

Speaking/Listening

Talking about favorite animals

Comparing animal characteristics

Reading/Writing

Reading about existing and extinct animals

Writing a paragraph or essay about animal sounds

Culture

Comparing how different languages express animal sounds

The four or five activities that follow this introduction in each chapter skillfully guide students and instructor along, and resourceful teachers will be able to adapt the difficulty of the activity to meet the language level of the students. The range of activities is wide and includes corresponding via email with "Key Pals" (other learners of English elsewhere in the world), performing research on American and other world cultures, and searching for information on the Web to use in group discussions and writing assignments.

The companion website is handsome and well-organized, with an easy-to-use interface and an appealing design. When students visit the site, they are provided with links to appropriate Internet locations for gathering all the information they need to complete each task. There are also portions of the site that explain new vocabulary for each chapter, a "bulletin board" for students and instructors to share their thoughts and practice their English with other visitors to the website, and a place for students to post their own writings for all to see. At the conclusion of each chapter, students try to untangle a short puzzle clue using the Internet and language skills they have developed. Added together at the end of the workbook, these clues combine to form the address for a secret website only accessible to individuals who have completed the book — just one more way this text displays innovative uses of technology in language learning. In fact, it is clear why Mr. Sperling has named the text a "workbook" — it is precisely because his website is the true text for the course, and the workbook is, well, a workbook.

Now any author who begins a "To the Teacher" section with the decree "Please don't be afraid of this book!" must have reason to believe that some teachers will find the material intimidating. And for many, using computers or the Internet can be a daunting challenge. Therefore,

of notable interest to instructors contemplating adoption of the Internet Activity Workbook are some special features: an online teacher forum for sharing ideas about how to use the book and website in classes; and the author's encouragement to contact him via email about questions or comments that arise while teaching with his text. In addition, the website features include an individualized online syllabus manager for instructors using the text, an extremely helpful option if your educational institution doesn't provide all instructors with web-based course management tools. With the online syllabus, students can see assignment deadlines and other messages from their instructor while working on the companion website. To make this feature even more appealing is the step-by-step tutorial on implementing an online syllabus easily. (For those who find the book's coverage of Internet basics too elementary, I suggest reading another of Mr. Sperling's titles, *Dave Sperling's Internet Guide, Second Edition*, Prentice Hall Regents, 1998. In easy-to-understand, non-technical language, the Guide describes many of the features of and uses for the Internet in language learning and teaching. It also comes with a CD-ROM that provides hundreds of links to websites that all language teachers, and not just ESL professionals, will find useful.)

The Internet is a constantly changing environment, and therefore there will be potential glitches in any Internet-based product. The Workbook is no exception, as some of the links in various chapters are already obsolete. However, it is resourcefulness that defines many ESL teachers, and I trust that everyone will see the strong advantages of this new addition to the ESL library and not focus on the quick effects of our fast-changing world on it. Whether this workbook/website couple ultimately suits your individual course or program needs or not, the way in which it exploits the riches of the Internet and models effective and clever use of that wealth should be an inspiration to ESL teachers and learners everywhere.

THE REVIEWER

John Skinner is pursuing his Masters degree at the University of Minnesota, where he has taught ESL in both the Minnesota English Center and the Commanding English Program. He is active in the Computer-Assisted Language Learning Interest Section (CALL-IS) of TESOL and the Computer Assisted Language Instruction Consortium (CALICO). Currently, John is the Website Editor for the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) and an Administrative Fellow in the CLA Language Center.

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