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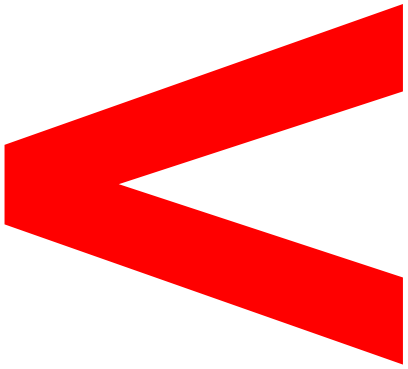

Inequality

Migration trauma & students at the margins
Racism in the language-teaching industry
Plus PBLA, self assessment, and more

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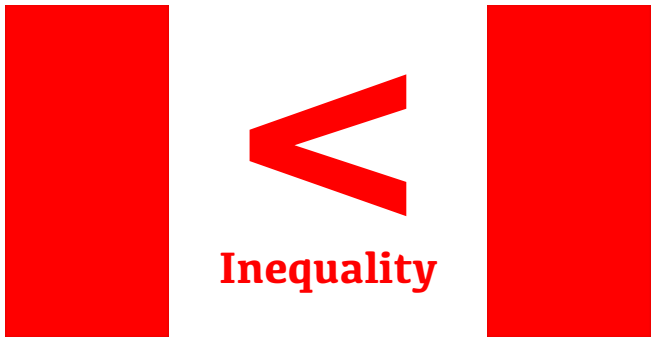

Calendar

January 3–6	Modern Language Association (MLA). Chicago, IL. http://www.mla.org/convention
January 19	Technology for Teachers (T4T) Conference. http://tesltoronto.org/call-for-presenters-t4t-2019
Feb 19–22	Languages Canada's Annual Conference, Winnipeg, MB. http://languagescanada.ca/en/language-education-sector/annual-conference/
March 9–12	AAAL, Atlanta, GA. https://www.aaal.org/events/2019-aaal-conference
March 27–30	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Atlanta, GA. https://www.tesol.org/convention-2019

EDITOR'S NOTE

English-language learners (ELLs) in Ontario regularly deal with inequality. They are often not just linguistic minorities, but also racial and religious minorities. They tend to be poor and have precarious jobs. On top of this they may be undereducated or traumatized. Each of these elements adds another layer of inequality, which, piled one upon the other, can suffocate. Needless to say, learning English under such conditions is even more challenging than usual.

This issue considers the facts of inequality for ELLs and their teachers. Allyson Eamer documents the struggles that immigrants face and the connections to mental illness. Karen Robson show how streaming in high school cuts off opportunities for immigrant children. Vijay Ramjattan presents evidence for racist hiring practices in private English schools. And Deyu Xing and Benjamin Bolden present a unique project using art to address the stress that Chinese ELLs experience.

The issue also includes Terry Vanderveen's hard-hitting critique of portfolio-based language assessment in LINC programs. Simon Borg and Adam Edmett summarize the many good reasons why organisations and teachers should use self-assessment as part of a broader approach to understanding professional competence and identifying ways of enhancing it.

Nima Sadat-Tehrani provides a detailed inventory of pronunciation issues faced by Vietnamese and Chinese students. And Sachiko Yasuda demonstrates how a perspective based in systemic functional linguistics facilitates the "reciprocally-supported development of linguistic knowledge and writing expertise can be achieved in a college-level foreign-language classroom."

Finally, we have a comic by Omar Dine, which we hope to make a regular feature.

Brett Reynolds
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CONTACT

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THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF PORTFOLIO-BASED LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT (PBLA)

By Terry Vanderveen, Abbotsford, BC

Abstract

The nature and effects of PBLA were investigated. I examined LINC program evaluations, government-solicited assessment reports, PBLA research, and other PBLA-related documents. I discuss the features of PBLA and its reported effects on language outcomes and teacher and student attitudes. I found that the government did not provide a rationale for PBLA and that the results of research did not support the introduction of PBLA. I also found that PBLA is neither standardized nor portfolio-based as claimed. It is costlier, more time-consuming, and appears to have more teacher pushback than the approach it replaced. Regardless, there is no evidence that the LINC program has improved students' language skills before or after the implementation of PBLA

Keywords: LINC, PBLA, CLB, Assessment

In 2010, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) introduced Portfolio-Based Language Assessment (PBLA) to improve the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program (LINC) (CIC, 2010). With more than $200 million (FY 2015/16) in funding, it is the largest language program in Canada and it continues to grow (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada [IRCC], 2017). LINC is important to students because the achievement of certain LINC benchmarks can improve high-stakes citizenship and employment outcomes (CIC, 2010).

PBLA was a large national intervention intended to deliver a new approach to language instruction and assessment to more than fifty thousand students (CIC, 2010). What was the rationale underpinning PBLA? What characterizes PBLA? What was its impact? To answer these questions, I examined PBLA research, program evaluations, reports, and other PBLA related documents (CIC, 2010; Fox, 2014; Fox & Fraser, 2012; Holmes, 2015; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada [IRCC], 2017; Pettis, 2014). I will begin by discussing LINC assessment reports and the PBLA pilot study. I will then look at claims that PBLA is standardized, authentic, collaborative, and portfolio-based. I will finish by describing PBLA's impact on teachers' attitudes, program costs, and student proficiency.

Concepts of formative, summative, and standardized assessment vary in PBLA literature, so I will define these terms for clarity. Summative and formative assessments have different

purposes. Both assess current performance in relation to the outcomes, but formative assessments are ad-hoc, unstandardized, and used to 'form' or guide instruction and learning. A summative assessment, however, is planned and often standardized to some extent but has no formative role because it marks the end of an instructional unit. Scores on summative assessments are permanently recorded and represent value to stakeholders after the course is finished. Formative assessment scores are not recorded and have no value once the target outcome has been achieved.

Standardized assessments have been characterized as externally developed, large-scale, and norm-referenced (Henning, 1987; Pettis, 2014). However, the defining feature of a standardized test is its reliability rather than its size or the type of inferences drawn from its scores. A standardized test requires "all test takers to answer the same questions, or a selection of questions from a common bank of questions, in the same way, and … is scored in a 'standard' or consistent manner" (Abbot, 2014). A standardized assessment can be large- or small-scale, and inferences drawn from its scores can be either norm- or criterion-referenced.

The Introduction of PBLA

Pre-PBLA

Just prior to introducing PBLA, CIC completed a comprehensive LINC program evaluation, which included the results of a survey and quasi-experimental study (CIC, 2010). In the program evaluation, CIC reported that the existing LINC program was cost-effective and that the teachers, materials, curriculum, and assessments were superior (pp. 14, 41, 42). The results of the survey and quasi-experimental study indicate otherwise. When surveyed, teachers reported that determining levels was confusing, that there were no progress and exit tests, that the program's objectives were unclear, and that there was no standard curriculum (p. 62). In the quasi-experimental study, CIC (2010) concluded that there were no significant differences in the "four skill[s]" between those who had taken LINC classes and those who had not (pp. 34, 35). The $100 million (FY 2008/09) LINC program in place when PBLA was introduced was neither pedagogically effective nor cost effective as claimed earlier in the same document (CIC, 2010).

Rationale for PBLA

It is unclear why the government chose PBLA. Prior to the PBLA pilot study, external experts hired by the government to evaluate assessment models did not support assessments like PBLA (Makosky, 2008; Nagy & Stewart, 2009). In a literature review of alternative assessments Fox (2008), the same researcher who later conducted the pilot study, reported on the lack of reliability, high costs, and high labour demands that were associated with portfolios. These drawbacks had also been discussed by Nagy and Stewart in their report to CIC on LINC assessment (2009) prior to PBLA. The government-hired experts, including a pilot study researcher, had clearly described inherent problems with

PBLA-like assessments (Fox, 2008; Nagy & Stewart, 2009), yet there was no evidence that these particularly relevant issues and documents were ever considered, which suggests that the decision to implement PBLA in 2010 (CIC) was foregone.

Four years after PBLA was introduced, experts (Pettis, 2014; Holmes, 2015) claimed that the decision to implement PBLA was based on the recommendations of other experts Makosky (2008) and Nagy and Stewart (2009). As mentioned above, these three experts did not support the use of portfolios as standardized assessments. Makosky did not even discuss the use of portfolios other than in a parenthetical comment about them being formative and controversial tools used by some school boards. Nagy and Stewart (2009) specifically warned against using portfolios as standardized assessments because of their low reliability, lack of validity, and high costs – problems acknowledged by the pilot study researcher prior to PBLA (Fox, 2008) and evident in the researcher's subsequent PBLA studies (Fox & Fraser, 2012; Fox, 2014).

The Pilot Study

CIC's first step in implementing PBLA was to pilot a "standardized portfolio-based assessment" that would "produce reports on student progress and the immediate outcomes of language training" (2010, p. x) to improve achievement and its measurement. The pilot study, however, focused on student and teacher behaviours and perceptions rather than achievement (Fox & Fraser, 2012). More than half of all the teachers surveyed reported that PBLA had no effect or a negative effect on their planning, teaching, and assessment (Fox & Fraser, 2012, p. 11).

Likewise, there was little or no evidence that the implementation of PBLA improved students' perceptions of how often they reviewed their work (Fox & Fraser, 2012, p. 20), their attendance (p. 23), their own fluency (p. 26), the effectiveness of the class materials (p. 26), and the organization of their work (p. 27). Insufficient rater-reliability, low teacher participation, and teacher complaints about PBLA were also reported. Teacher and student opposition to PBLA is convincing evidence that PBLA was ineffective, unpopular, and time-consuming, yet it was deemed a success by the government, the pilot study researchers, and an expert (CIC, 2013; Fox & Fraser; 2012, Pettis; 2012).

The Nature of PBLA

Formative and Summative Roles

At the time it was introduced, the government and experts established PBLA as a formative, summative, and standardized assessment (CIC, 2010; Fox & Fraser, 2012; Pettis, 2012). Two years later, however, one of the experts, the pilot study researcher, stated that she and others had "got it wrong", arguing that PBLA was not working as intended because it was used as a summative rather than a formative tool (Fox, 2014, p. 68). Other experts made similar arguments. Citing Black and Wiliam (1998a), Pettis (2012, 2014) and Holmes

(2015) claimed that all assessment must be formative, but Holmes also stressed the importance of good summative assessments. Teachers and other PBLA experts stated that summative testing would be unnecessary once PBLA was implemented (Elsa Net, 2015). These claims are inconsistent with the purpose of PBLA and the definitions of formative and summative assessments. Unlike formative assessments, summative assessments are necessary and their scores represent value outside the classroom. Furthermore, Black and Wiliam did not argue that all assessment should be formative, but they did state that summative assessments are required (1998b).

PBLA as a Portfolio-based assessment

Whether used formatively or summatively, PBLA lacks the characteristics of a true portfolio-based assessment. The PBLA "portfolio" is organized and scored according to the outcomes (the CLBs) but scores are not assigned to the portfolio itself. In a true portfolio-based system, the student, not the teacher, selects artefacts for assessment. Ultimately, the PBLA portfolio serves the same purpose as a typical binder — to improve the summative assessment outcome by organizing prescribed course work, including formative assessments, for review and study.

PBLA as systematic, authentic, collaborative, and learner-centred

PBLA has been defined as "…systematic, authentic, and collaborative" and learner-centred (Pettis, 2014, p.7; 2012, p. 18). PBLA is based on standardized outcomes but its assessment tasks are unstandardized because they are individually created or chosen (Pettis, 2014) by each teacher. In these respects, PBLA resembles a typical course with multiple sections and a shared exam. These teacher-chosen assessment tasks are authentic for the teacher but not the student. Furthermore, the involvement of individual teachers for artefact selection and the use of students' peers for summative assessment tasks (Pettis, 2014) is unsystematic and raises bias and authorship issues (Gearhart & Herman, 1998).

PBLA has been called collaborative and learner-centred (Pettis, 2012, 2014) but compared to students in a true portfolio or traditional system, PBLA students have less control. They have no role in the selection of artefacts for assessment (Ripley, 2012) nor do they want one (Fox, 2014). According to the PBLA guide (Pettis, 2014), teachers must choose artifacts because students choices were "unhelpful" (p.38). PBLA also prescribes much of the content and the use of student binders (Hajer, n.d.). Each binder must contain personal information, all class work for an entire benchmark, formative and summative assessment tasks for an entire benchmark, and 128 pages of reference material.

Much of the reference material, which includes information on the House of Commons, how to buy a house, and the provincial and federal income tax brackets, is widely available online, rarely accessed, and not tested. Therefore, it is not surprising that students and teachers reported that the PBLA binder was unnecessary, cumbersome, and stressful to use and repeatedly carry home and to class (ELSA Net, 2015; Fox, 2014). Students in traditional and true portfolio systems have more control over what goes in their binder or portfolio and how it is organized.

The Effects of PBLA

Effect on proficiency

The goal of the LINC program is to help students settle in Canada by improving their language skills (IRCC, 2017), but the implementation of PBLA has had a negative overall effect. In the pilot study, students reported that PBLA did not improve their English (Fox & Fraser, 2012). PBLA students also needed 50% more instructional time to complete a benchmark, and they used English outside of the home 20% less frequently than newcomers not in the program (IRCC, 2017; 2018). Most importantly, students who had been in the LINC program, pre- or post-PBLA, had not improved their English any more than newcomers not in the program (CIC, 2010, p. 35; IRCC, 2018, p. 9). Other negative effects associated with PBLA were high teacher pushback, higher labour requirements, and higher costs.

Teacher Pushback

Teacher complaints remain a prominent feature of PBLA seven years after it was introduced in 2010. Teacher pushback was clearly evident in early research (Fox, 2014; Ripley, 2012) and more recently in a petition signed by a group of more than 650 people who are appealing to the minister responsible for the IRCC to abolish PBLA (Lachini, 2018). Based on the petition statement and the comments, it appears many teachers are unhappy with PBLA for similar reasons given by the teachers surveyed six years earlier in the pilot study (Fox, 2012). Teachers have opposed PBLA since its introduction but the current opposition to it is striking because it is widespread and strong.

Labour Requirements

Another important problem, albeit not directly pedagogical, is the number of teachers and instructional hours PBLA requires. The use of portfolios increases labour requirements and costs, which can be significant (Catteral & Winters, 1994; Hargreaves, Earl, & Schmidt; 2002; Nagy & Stewart, 2009), and PBLA is no exception. Language instruction costs, which were highly correlated with the number of teachers (CIC, 2010), had changed very little in the five years prior to PBLA. However, four years after PBLA was introduced, assessment costs rose 220% while the number of students rose only 75% (CIC, 2010; IRCC, 2017). Teacher complaints about the additional time demands and unpaid work under PBLA (Fox, 2014; Lachini, 2018; Ripley, 2012) suggest that the large increase in funding was insufficient and that its labour requirements are still unmet.

Conclusions

First, the decision to implement PBLA was neither evidence-based nor clear. The results of the pilot study and the two government reports on assessment (Fox & Fraser, 2012; Makosky, 2008; Nagy and Stewart, 2009) did not support the implementation of a system like PBLA. Second, conceptions of portfolios and standardized, summative, and formative

assessments were inconsistent with their definitions and the purpose of PBLA. Third, PBLA is neither portfolio-based nor standardized. It is an assessment based on shared outcomes, which are standards, but it uses unstandardized tasks. Fourth, teachers and students view PBLA as onerous and ineffective. Fifth, PBLA and the previous approach were equally ineffective in changing language outcomes in Canada's $200 million (FY 2016) national language program (IRCC, 2017). PBLA, however, was costlier and required many more instructional hours.

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SELF-ASSESSMENT FOR LANGUAGE TEACHERS[1]

By Simon Borg, ELT Consultant and Adam Edmett, The British Council

Students are very often encouraged to engage in self-assessment in the belief that this allows them to take ownership of their learning and contributes to the development of learner autonomy. Similar arguments apply to *teacher* self-assessment: by reflecting systematically on their competences, language teachers can become more aware of their strengths and weaknesses and take more responsibility for their own professional development. In recognition of its value, teacher self-assessment is promoted in several education systems around the world; for example, the General Teaching Council for Scotland offers teachers a tool called a self-evaluation wheel. In other educational systems, such as Chile, teacher self-assessment is a formal component of teacher evaluation. In recent years, a number of frameworks have emerged which can support the use of self-assessment specifically for language teachers. Examples are the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (EPOSTL), the Cambridge English Teaching Framework, and the European Profiling Grid. The British Council also has a self-assessment tool and we discuss this in detail below.

Teaching for Success

Teaching for Success is an approach to the professional development of language teachers developed by the British Council. It includes a CPD framework which has 12 professional practices, and each of these is broken down into more detailed "elements" which describe what a teacher is required to know and do as part of that professional practice. One of the instruments included in the CPD Framework is a Self-Assessment Tool (SAT). The purpose of the SAT is to provide a measure of teacher competence which can be used by language teachers globally and which (ideally in conjunction with other measures) can inform subsequent decisions about teacher professional development. The SAT contains 48 elements (covering nine professional practices), each phrased in terms of teacher ability or knowledge. For each element[2], teachers self-assess by choosing one of these answers:

- The statement is not clear
- The statement is clear, but I'm not quite sure how to do this
- I can do this but not very effectively

1 This article is based on Borg, S. & Edmett, A. (2018). Developing a self-assessment tool for English language teachers. *Language Teaching Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168817752543

2 The wording varies in one section of the SAT.

- I can do this quite well
- I can do this very well

By completing the SAT and reviewing their responses (the online version generates a summary of these), language teachers can reflect on areas of their work which might provide a useful focus for ongoing professional learning.

As part of its development, the SAT was tested with a group of 1,716 teachers of English from around the world. The teachers were volunteers from a larger group who were enrolled on an online professional development course being offered by the Open University and the British Council. The teachers who completed the SAT worked in 125 different countries (57% in Europe and almost 19% respectively in Asia and the Americas) and taught at different levels of education from kindergarten to post-secondary. Over 82% of the respondents said that English was not their mother tongue and almost 85% were female.

We were interested in how teachers rated their own competences as well as in their feedback on the tool itself, and we discuss both of these issues below.

How teachers rated themselves

The Appendix lists all 48 items on the SAT according to the mean self-assessed competence on a four-point scale[3] where 1=low self-assessment and 4=high self- assessment. This shows that teachers' self-ratings were generally high, with the lowest mean being 2.37. The lower part of the list (i.e. the items where teachers rated their knowledge less highly) mainly includes items about 21st century skills (for example, critical thinking and problem solving), technology and assessment.

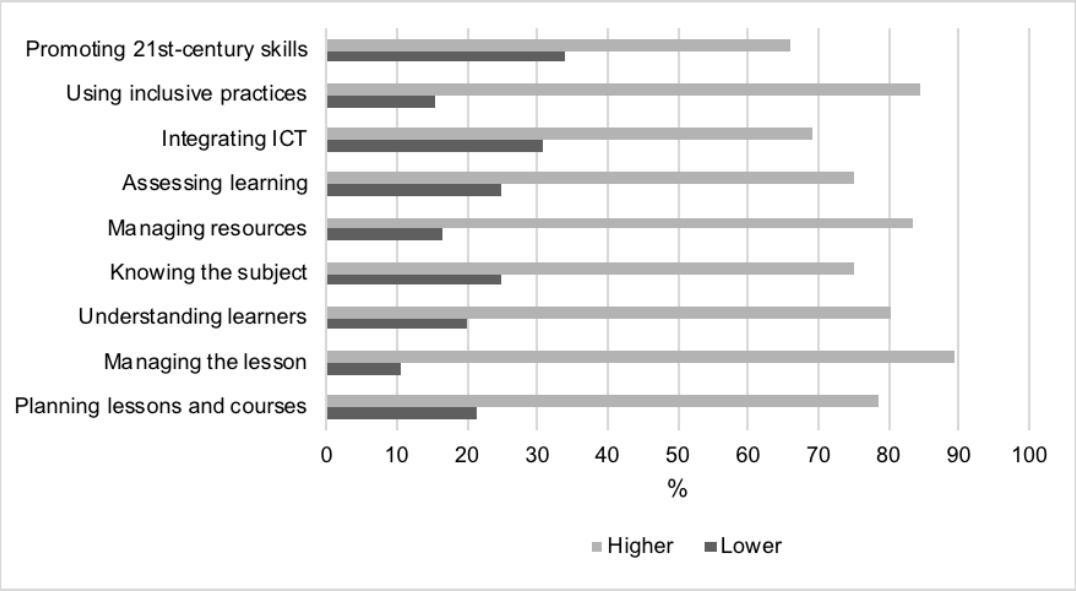

Figure 1: Summary of self-assessments on nine professional practices (Higher = "quite well" and "very well"; Lower = "not quite sure" and "not very effectively")

3 "The statement is not clear" responses were used to review the clarity of the SAT but not included in the overall calculations of how teachers assessed themselves.

Figure 1 summarizes teachers' self-assessments into two categories (low and high) for the nine professional practices on the SAT. Once again, the positive nature of teachers' responses is clear. "Managing the lesson" (89.4%), "Using inclusive practices" (84.5%) and "Managing resources" (83.5%) were the three practices with highest proportions of responses in the top two levels of self-assessment. "Promoting 21st-century skills" (33.9%), "Integrating ICT" (30.7%) and "Assessing learning" (25%) were the practices with the highest proportions of responses in the lower two levels of self-assessment.

Teachers' views about the SAT

Teachers were also asked a number of questions about the SAT and their responses are summarised in Table 1. These show that teachers felt that the SAT was relevant to their context, clear, and worth doing. Teachers agreed, too, that the SAT encouraged them to look for professional development activities and that they would recommend the SAT to a friend. Over 93% agreed or strongly agreed that the SAT covers most skills, knowledge and behaviours needed by teachers of English.

Table 1: Teachers' views about the SAT (%)

	N	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
The self-assessment was relevant to my context	1,701	33.5	52.5	11.1	2.5	0.5
The self-assessment was clear and easy to understand	1,703	41.3	49.5	7.7	1.2	0.2
Completing the self-assessment is a worthwhile activity	1,699	34.9	41.6	19.2	3.8	0.5
The self-assessment has encouraged me to look for further professional development opportunities	1,699	44.2	36.3	15.4	3.7	0.4
I would recommend the self-assessment to a friend	1,694	36.6	37.4	20.1	4.8	1.1
The self-assessment includes most of the skills, knowledge and behaviours that an English teacher needs	1,705	40.0	53.3	5.7	0.9	0.2

The final item on the SAT allowed teachers to make any further comments. Responses were provided by 189 teachers and these included a range of both positive comments about the SAT as well as suggestions for improvement. In terms of positive comments, many were brief (such as "excellent" or "interesting") but some were longer (e.g. "This is a very credible way of evaluating oneself"). Many teachers also commented on the benefits of completing the self-assessment. Its value in promoting reflection on teaching and on areas for further development were mentioned several times. For example, one wrote that "I found it really

useful because it triggered some other questions about my practice," another explained that "it made me think about what I was really doing in my classrooms and things that I should review" and a third noted that "this made me reflect on my teaching practice."

Teachers also made suggestions for improving the SAT. One was that a wider range of answer options might be provided, particularly "not relevant or not applicable" (we discuss this below). Another observation by several teachers was that some of the items in the SAT were not relevant to specific kinds of language teaching. While, these comments came from a small proportion of respondents, they are important given that the SAT aims to be a tool for language teachers everywhere. Respondents noted, though, that some of the questions were not relevant to teachers who taught individual students, very young learners, in adult education settings, or who taught specific skills only such as speaking. Teachers also noted that sometimes there were factors in their context which constrained what they can do, particularly in relation to the professional practice "Integrating ICT". For example, one wrote that "I can use digital technologies but have no access to them in the classroom, so I wasn't sure how to reply" while another explained that "Using digital materials … In my school as in most schools in my country I don't have an opportunity to use it very often and thus I can't grow professionally in this area."

Overall, though, while teachers did make suggestions for improving the SAT, their views about it were largely positive.

Discussion

We will focus on two issues emerging from our results. The first relates to the accuracy of teacher self-assessments. The second is about the feasibility of developing a tool that language teachers everywhere can use.

Accuracy of teacher self-assessments

In our trials of the SAT, teachers' overall assessments of their competence were high, with overall average rating across the 48 items of "I can do this quite well." One key question, then, that must be asked here, and which is relevant to self-assessment more generally, relates to the validity of these self-ratings: in other words, to what extent are teachers' responses to the SAT an accurate reflection of their actual abilities? This issue has been discussed with reference to students (for a review, see Brown, Andrade, & Chen, 2015) and various reasons for inaccurate self-assessments have been noted. In relation to teachers, three factors which might cause inflated self-assessments are (a) limited self-knowledge (i.e. lack of awareness of one's own competence); (b) threats to self-esteem (i.e. admitting to limited competence can make teachers feel uncomfortable or vulnerable); and (c) fear of consequences (i.e. concerns about what might happen as a result of a low self-assessment). Clearly, then, teacher self-assessment will be more productive when teachers are able to make valid judgements about their competence, comfortable with admitting there are areas of their work which can be improved, and in situations where the self-assessment does not

carry high stakes. In relation to this final point, an important distinction is that between formative and summative teacher evaluation (see, for example, Santiago & Benavides, 2009). While the former is concerned with improvement or development, the aim of the latter is to make a decision related to, for example, contract renewal or promotion. Summative teacher evaluation often has significant consequences for teachers and they will naturally want to report high self-ratings. There was evidence of this in Chile, where Taut and Sun (2014) analysed the use of self-assessments in a high-stakes teacher evaluation context and found that that score inflation was widespread. They thus recommended that "self-assessment should serve exclusively formative purposes" (p. 23). Teacher self-assessment is therefore more appropriate, and is likely to generate more accurate results, where the focus is on professional development rather than accountability.

Additionally, as teacher evaluation will be more effective when multiple measures are used (for a discussion of teacher evaluation more generally, see Borg, 2018), teacher self-assessment can be usefully combined with other indicators of what teachers can do, such as classroom observation (including peer observation) or a teacher portfolio.

Developing a global tool

The SAT seeks to be relevant to language teachers generally and while 86% of 1,701 teachers *did* agree that the SAT was relevant to their contexts, several did note that some of the items on it were not applicable. An obvious example is where teachers of adults were being asked about parental involvement. Another is the item which asks teachers if they can supplement the coursebook—some teachers may not use one. Eliminating such individual items would not necessarily resolve the problem given the diverse range of contexts and purposes that language teaching involves. So including a "not applicable to my context" option at this stage would be useful to identify in further trials which particular items are marked in this way, and such information could be used to further modify the items that are included under each professional practice. At the same time, though, the SAT mostly asks teachers about their competence—what they *can* do rather than what they *do* do—and for this reason including a "not relevant" option is problematic given that the items included in the SAT are seen to reflect competences required by language teaching professionals. This distinction between abstract competence and situated practice, though, may be too fine; we appreciate, too, that it is only natural for teachers to self-assess their competence by referring to their experience and accepting this may be the most productive way forward as the SAT is developed further. Overall, then, based on the insights emerging here, we would propose that a revision of the SAT include five response categories, including one for "not relevant" or "does not apply" responses plus the same four-point scale of self-assessed ability that was used here.

Conclusion

Self-assessment (whether via the kind of competence checklists we have discussed here or through other strategies) allows teachers to take more responsibility for the process of identifying their developmental needs. It is particularly useful in formative situations where the focus is on professional learning rather than high-stakes summative evaluations of teacher competence. Teacher self-assessment—especially in contexts where students are encouraged to do self-assessment—also allows teachers to practice what they preach. There are many good reasons, therefore, for organisations and teachers to use self-assessment as part of a broader approach to understanding professional competence and identifying ways of enhancing it.

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Appendix: Ranked means for 48 SAT items (N=1,716)

(1=low self-assessment; 4=high self-assessment)

Item	Mean
I treat all my learners equally and with respect.	3.68
I develop positive attitudes towards diversity in my classroom.	3.57
I understand my learners' level of English	3.45
I can create a positive learning environment.	3.42
I can give explanations that the learners are able to understand.	3.38
I can select materials from a range of different sources.	3.36
I can select activities which help meet the aims of the lesson.	3.27
I can give instructions effectively.	3.25
I can reflect on my own bias/beliefs and the impact this might have in the classroom.	3.23
I can select materials and resources based on learner needs.	3.22
I understand my learners' motivation to learn English	3.22
I can develop materials to supplement the coursebook I use.	3.20
I can check learners' understanding during the lesson.	3.19
I can give learners feedback on errors that helps them improve.	3.17
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach vocabulary to my learners.	3.13
I can monitor learner engagement.	3.12
I can evaluate the effectiveness of the materials and resources I use during lessons.	3.12
I can write lesson aims which describe the intended learning outcomes for a class	3.09
I understand my learners' interests	3.09
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach reading skills.	3.05
I can use a range of engaging techniques to introduce new grammar to my learners.	3.01
I help my learners identify individual learning goals.	3.01
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach my learners to speak English.	3.00
I promote collaboration and communication	3.00
I promote creativity and imagination	2.97
I can anticipate problems that may arise during the lessons and decide how to respond.	2.92
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach listening skills.	2.91
I can use technology confidently for the purposes of teaching English.	2.91
I can measure learners' progress effectively.	2.90
I can assess learners in a range of ways.	2.88
I understand my learners' preferred ways of learning	2.87
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach writing skills.	2.84
I can work with colleagues to design materials collaboratively.	2.84
I can describe how learner understanding will be assessed.	2.82
I can locate appropriate digital content effectively.	2.82

I can use digital tools effectively to help my students learn English.	2.82
I understand my learners' special educational needs	2.82
I can evaluate the quality of digital content.	2.81
I can describe how feedback on learner performance will be provided.	2.79
I can reflect on the effectiveness of the assessment I use.	2.79
I can use assessment results to inform subsequent teaching.	2.78
I can use technology to design and create teaching and learning materials.	2.78
I can use a range of engaging techniques to teach pronunciation to my learners.	2.73
I promote critical thinking and problem solving	2.66
I promote student leadership and personal development	2.66
I involve parents, learners and any other relevant persons in an inclusive learning environment.	2.64
I promote digital literacy	2.44
I promote citizenship	2.37

MIGRATION, TRAUMA AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Implications for language learning

By Allyson Eamer, Faculty of Education, UOIT

The number of international migrants (people living outside their country of birth) reached 258 million in 2017. That is more than 3% of the earth's population (United Nations General Assembly International Migration and Development, 2018). Who are these 258 million? How and why have they left their homelands behind? Did they depart for faraway places voluntarily or under duress? North(ern) America has been host to 22% of those international migrants, meaning that as many as 56 million people have had to learn—or are still learning—English when settling into their new lives in Canada or the U.S.

At this point, it would be good to remind ourselves that many of the migrants who have arrived on North American shores, have come as displaced people, that is to say that they have left their homelands reluctantly or by force—likely even hoping to return when conditions in their country of birth improve. Indeed according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, over 67 million of the earth's inhabitants fall within their categories of refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced or stateless people (UNHCR, 2017). How different must their language learning experience be when compared to that of immigrants who leave their homelands eagerly —in pursuit of new business or educational opportunities?

It is critical that this distinction is clear to all of us involved in language instruction. Involuntary migrants are in a state of limbo and may in fact even be non-committal with respect to learning the language of the receiving country due to a deep seated expectation that they will return "home" before too long. Furthermore, any proclivity or aptitude for language learning may well be trumped by the upheaval and instability associated with involuntary migration. Contrast that with economic migrants eager to improve their English and, by extension, their prospects for social and professional upward mobility within the new culture. Clearly there are vast differences between these two groups (involuntary and voluntary migrants) with respect to the accessibility of language classes, the degree of motivation for language learning, and the state of mind/ability to learn.

Second language acquisition theory encompasses variability in language learning success based on cognitive, personal, motivational, demographic and social-psychological factors that privilege some learners over others. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) combed the research to identify a number of variables which have been shown to improve an individual's ability to learn a language beyond his/her first language. They found that learners who

have integrative motivations (e.g., voluntary immigrants or those marrying into a different culture) tend to be the most successful language learners. They also noted that extroverts and individuals with high self-esteem make excellent oral language learners. These are not traits normally exhibited by people forced to leave their homes due to persecution, starvation or military conflict; and since increased language proficiency is linked to increased "life chances", the gap between the two migrant groups (involuntary and voluntary) widens on this front as well (Banerjee & Verma, 2012).

In recent years, I have been involved in research projects that focused on the English language learning experiences of marginalized people in Canada, and have come face-to-face time and again with the hard reality that language learning is not a level playing field. One project that I am currently working on (along with fellow UOIT researchers Dr. Jia Li, Jennifer Allore and Zahra Harbi) explores the impact of trauma (associated with seeking refuge in a new country) upon one's ability to study and learn English. When describing the loneliness she feels living in Canada and being separated from her family members in Syria, one woman said "When you're alone, it's not a life". Another participant, a refugee from Myanmar described his experience in a camp in Thailand while waiting to be sponsored to come to Canada: "I feel like I'm a stateless person. We don't have any identity or ID. We cannot go outside. If we go outside, they arrest us."

Through their powerful and compelling stories, I learned that even specific types of refugee sponsorships seem to privilege some over others when it comes to opportunities for language learning. For example government-assisted refugees have all costs associated with resettlement entirely covered for one year (e.g. accommodation, food, clothing) freeing them up to undertake intensive language classes to enhance their employment opportunities. The level of assistance provided to privately sponsored refugees can vary considerably depending upon the means available to the sponsoring faith or community-based sponsor. Furthermore privately sponsored refugees tend to feel obliged to become financially independent sooner than those who are funded by the government, perhaps because they view their sponsors as collectives consisting of individuals, rather than as an institution. Typically they quickly look for unskilled labour jobs (requiring minimal English) in order to be able to pay the bills and make ends meet. This then perpetuates their alienation from Canadian culture, locking them into low paying jobs (often shift-work) with few opportunities to learn/improve their communication skills in English.

When migrant parents have limited opportunities to learn English, the children often become their parents' link to resources such as health care, education and social networks. Castañeda (1996) in her poignant work entitled "Language and other Lethal Weapons" describes how a Spanish-speaking child from a Latin American immigrant family was required to translate her mother's symptoms for a doctor.

> How does a seven year old girl, not yet is the second grade, translate the life and death words "atora", "suffocate", "resollar", "panic"? How does she explain and interpret words she does not yet know in either language, while knowing at the same time that her mother's life sits on her tongue and what she does with the words given her? (p.202)

Castaneda goes on to demand "What cultural rites are these in which children become adults long before puberty?" Indeed the practice of using children as cultural and linguistic brokers can be a matter of survival for marginalized migrants. Children, attending elementary school and immersed in English through their classes, friendships and screen time, easily outpace their parents in acquiring the new language. The parents, whose more limited access to native speakers and preoccupation with providing the family's basic needs, come to rely on their children for assistance with navigating the new cultural and linguistic landscape. This is a source of concern for multiple reasons. The legacy of teaching English subtractively in schools (encouraging children to replace their mother tongues with English) has resulted in generations of children who, having not continued to develop their mother tongue, are less and less able to communicate meaningfully with their parents, let alone serve as interpreters.

Take for example Richard Rodriguez, whose 1983 memoir, "Hunger of Memory", has become a Hispanic-American classic. Rodriguez's painful account of his childhood shift from Spanish to English is a heart-wrenching story of loss. In an earlier work (1981), Rodriguez describes the impact of his language shift on his Mexican-American family as a painful tale of loss and grief.

> There was a new silence at home. As we children learned more and more English, we shared fewer and fewer words with our parents. Sentences needed to be spoken slowly when one of us addressed our mother or father. Often the parent wouldn't understand. The child would need to repeat himself. Still the parent misunderstood. The young voice, frustrated, would end up saying, "Never mind" – the subject was closed. Dinners would be noisy with the clinking of knives and forks against dishes. My mother would smile softly between her remarks; my father, at the other end of the table, would chew his food while he stared over the heads of his children. My mother! My father! After English became my primary language, I no longer knew what words to use in addressing my parents. The old Spanish words (those tender accents of sound) I had earlier used – mamá and papá – I couldn't use anymore. They would have been all-too-painful reminders of how much had changed in my life. (p. 32)

Leaving aside the undue burden placed on children to serve as interpreters for parents, and their diminishing ability to do so, as English replaces their mother tongues, let's revisit for a minute, the age-appropriateness of a child serving in this role. In an earlier research project (Eamer, 2008) in which I interviewed three generations of a Korean-Canadian family, I heard a story that resembled the one that Castañeda described. The patriarch told of his hospitalized wife being asked by a nurse if she had "voided" yet. Unable to understand, his wife turned to her young children, who were visiting her in her hospital room, for help. The children, unfamiliar with the term "voided" stared blankly. It was only after the nurse said "Did your mom pee-pee today?" that they were able to turn to their mother and translate the nurse's question.

I have seen teachers ask children to translate their own progress concerns to their parents at parent-teacher interviews. I have seen a child whose mother was being admitted for surgery, being asked by the admitting department staff if her mother had any metal implants. This worrisome tendency to adultify young children in the name of communicating important information to their parents reflects poorly on our society's ability to support English language learning for immigrant adults. While some government-sponsored classes offer free childcare for parents learning English, not all immigrants are entitled to this opportunity, and few can maintain formal learning while holding down jobs. It is past time for us to think outside the box and develop creative strategies for workplace language classes facilitated by employers through providing funding as well as time and space during work hours for volunteers, interns or others on practicum placements to offer language learning opportunities.

Another project that I have been part of considered the experiences of immigrants with psychiatric disabilities who were studying English in education programs located within psychiatric facilities across the country (Eamer, Fernando & King, 2017). In some cases these were young adults who had accompanied their parents to Canada as teenagers, and had subsequently developed mental illness. In other cases the patients were people who had immigrated as adults, and who had later been hospitalized for mental illness, making it challenging for them to learn English through community classes. Being able to navigate the health system, interact with their medical teams, and study in the hospital-based education programs—all with limited proficiency in English—is no small feat. Furthermore, in my interviews with them, I routinely heard them describe the impacts of their medication (the names of which, even as I as a native speaker could barely pronounce) upon their ability to learn in the hospital ESL classes. The drugs rendered them sleepy and often stole their acculturation ambitions along with their energy levels. One young man, hospitalized after being deemed not criminally responsible for an illegal act he had committed, told me that he intended to purposefully forget English once released because he planned to return to his native country as soon as he possibly could. How realistic his dream of going back "home" was, I cannot say.

Under even the most ideal circumstances there are mental health challenges associated with migration, even for those who voluntarily leave their countries behind in search of a better life. Pre-migration stressors include leaving behind family, belongings, and emotional supports. Upon arrival, newcomers experience stresses associated with finding employment, and learning a new language; and even after an extended period of living in a new homeland, immigrants have stresses related to experiencing discrimination and navigating inter-generational tensions within the family. For those immigrants with psychiatric disabilities, the experience of migration can exacerbate the illness and further isolate them in their new settings (Pumariega et al., 2005; Jafari et al., 2010). Research has shown that some of the most highly reported mediators against stress and depression are: access to psychological and social supports (Srirangson et al., 2013; Hovey & Magana, 2000), increased contact with members of the receiving culture (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al.,

2006), feeling accepted (Fazel et al., 2012; Guzder et al., 2011) and establishing friendships in the receiving culture (Vega et al., 1987).

Being able to communicate in the language of the receiving culture is a key component of all of the mediating factors listed above, and yet it is often logistically very challenging for migrants. In the absence of equity in terms of access, motivation (integration vs ambivalence) and wellness, clearly some newcomers will be at a disadvantage with respect to acquiring the level of language proficiency necessary to successfully and efficiently acculturate.

We would do well to remember the distinction between learning a language for purposes of gaining an asset (because of its instrumental or high culture function) and learning a language for survival. Cortès-Conde and Boxer (2002) refer to the former as the *bilingualism of the elites* which conjures up images of well-heeled people of European ancestry learning a "language of diplomacy' (which would, of course, also be a language associated with colonialism), or images of upper-middle class parents enrolling children in Mandarin classes to ensure their success in business school down the road. That sort of language learning is not typically associated with anxiety and stress. The same cannot be said for those learning a language for survival purposes. Known as the affective filter, anxiety, stress and other negative emotions have been shown to impede the language learning process (Krashen, 1982).

The filter derails comprehensible input, thereby limiting the linguistic gains that can be made by the learner. Individuals, such as involuntary migrants and people living with mental illness, typically have significant affective filters which, the research shows, results in seeking fewer opportunities to engage with others in the new language. Even when interactions do occur, the benefits to the learner are obstructed by the forces of anxiety and stress.

Any consideration of inequities related to the teaching and learning of English must include a focus on the life circumstances of the learner including factors related to migration, resettlement and wellness. Each of these factors has implications for one's motivation, access and ability to learn a language, which in turn has implications for language teachers and policy makers. Hence, both the front line workers (language teachers and settlement counsellors) and those more distant from the front line (teacher educators and politicians) have a role to play in ensuring an equitable, creative, and sensitive approach to providing language programs that meet the needs of all of our newcomers.

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STUDENTS AT THE MARGINS

By Karen Robson, McMaster University

Since 1980, the number of university-bound students has more than doubled. The expectations that parents and youth have around attaining post-secondary credentials has become a taken-for-granted reality. No doubt that you have heard that "a university degree is the new high school diploma." Extensive university and college expansions have occurred in all areas across the country to accommodate this growing desire. The 2016 Federal Census revealed that Canada has the highest proportion of university and college graduates in all of the OECD countries, with more than half of adult citizens between the ages of 25 and 64 having such a credential (Statistics Canada, 2017).

There is widespread perception that it is only possible to get a good job by attaining post-secondary education. The stakes for potential college and university students are high. These are their future livelihoods -- their ability to become economically independent adults -- that they are making decisions about. Saying that, it is problematic that so much focus on the transition to post-secondary occurs in the latter parts of high school. As a researcher who studies the factors that help or hinder the transition to university and college, my findings consistently point to much earlier indicators that act to shape the pathways of students.

Although it is clear that going on to college or university requires a lot of hard work on the part of the student, the research that I have been doing with my colleagues at Toronto District School Board, McMaster University and York University have time and time again revealed that there are other factors at play. In the Toronto District School Board, over half of all students speak a language other than English at home. Findings from the TDSB have shown that students who were born in Latin America, East Africa, and the English-Speaking Caribbean were far more likely to drop out of high school. However, this issue of disproportionate drop-out rates is clearly not linked solely to language acquisition. For instance, students from East and South Asia are the least likely of all groups to drop out.

Research undertaken by the TDSB has only briefly examined the connection between ESL, allocation to special education, and drop-out. The results are murky and indeed in need of further study. One problem is that ESL students are difficult to identify in the existing data sets. If we consider that recent arrivals to Canada are more likely to be ESL, data from 2009 show dropout rates of the most recently arrived (two years or less) at around 20%, whereas the rate for those born in Canada was around 17% (R. S. Brown, 2010). Also, ESL students

who have language difficulties as well as special education needs may take a longer time to get an IEP or IPRC because the impact of ESL must first be disentangled to reduce concern over inaccurate diagnosis due to language barriers (R. S. Brown & Parekh, 2010).

However, we also know from our various studies that Black boys, especially those from low-income families, are much more likely to be designated as having special education needs. And having special education needs often means that the majority of high school courses taken are at the applied level. Despite conjecture to the opposite, it remains true that post-secondary options for students who take a majority of applied courses are quite limited. It is disturbing to hear that applied courses are explained to prospective students and their parents as being university-viable or that it is relatively easy to change from an applied to an academic route at some point in one's high school path. Universities do not accept applied courses and it is most definitely not the case that switching between these streams is easy. Also, it is the case that the vast majority of college applicants have taken a majority of academic courses.

People for Education have done remarkable advocacy work in drawing attention to the problem of steering high school students down the applied route (Hamlin & Cameron, 2015). Their research has demonstrated how students from the lower socioeconomic and racialized classes are overrepresented in these streams. In a very real sense, these processes reproduce the social inequalities in society, by limiting the life chances of the students who come from backgrounds that are in very low representation in post-secondary institutions. Students who are the most "at risk" of not completing high school or going on to college or university are funnelled into academic tracks that ensure their choices will be limited.

American education researchers found streaming to be harmful to students *in the 1990*in the very same ways we are revealing in our own research today. It should be noted that our American colleagues have had access to an abundance of school data while in Ontario (and the rest of Canada for that matter), detailed demographic data on students is still very much limited to that collected by the TDSB. When it is obvious that race, economic background, and gender are driving the make-up of an applied stream and that such a stream severely limits the future prospects of a subgroup of students who already on the margins, this seems to be an opportunity to change the system rather that to dig the bureaucratic heels in harder to maintain it.

And so we have the ground-level heroes—the principals that have heard this research from People for Education and the TDSB and could not, in good conscience, continue to funnel students into applied streams that they knew would circumvent the opportunities of their most at-risk students. Pilot projects have been launched at a 16 Toronto high schools so that streaming is eliminated in some grade 9 and 10 courses. Such schools offer extra tutoring and after-school help. Preliminary results are encouraging, as is the call from the TSDB Director John Malloy to phase out Grade 9 and 10 streaming within the next three years.

I recently received an email from a member of the public accusing me of wanting to lower the academic playing field because I had pointed out evidence of how particular groups of students tended to be overrepresented on applied pathways. However, this email was in response to some recent research that I had published with my colleagues on how race was a determining factor of predicting university enrolment had changed between 2006 and 2011 (Robson, Anisef, Brown, & George, 2018). Our research found that while in 2006, Black students were less likely to enroll in university compared to Whites, the reverse was true in 2011. Statistical models run on large data sets like the TDSB Student Census allow us to examine how grades, special education needs, and being in the applied stream also impacted university enrollment. Unsurprisingly, grades were consistently one of the most important factors, as was not being the applied stream and not having special education needs. When we examined the data in both years, we found that in general, Black students had lower grades, and higher proportions in applied and special education. This had not changed between 2006 and 2011. But if Black students had high enough grades, were not in applied courses, and did not have a special education designation, they were *more* likely to go to university than their White counterparts. There is no lowering of the academic playing field here; it is quite the opposite. Black students have to run the gauntlet—the structural obstacle course—to avoid being placed in the pathways that lead nowhere—and when they can manage to do that, they are more likely to go to university than White students.

A student's path to educational success is not something that begins in high school. To focus on high school education as a predictor of later-success is to ignore how the student is shaped and socialized from a very early age. One of the biggest predictors of later post-secondary enrolment is grade 9 credit accumulation. Completing fewer than 8 credits by the end of grade 9 is association with very low prospects for going on to postsecondary, whether it is university or college. While about 15% of students have fewer than 8 credits by the end of grade 9, this percentage is much higher (20–25%) for some subgroups, like Somalis, Afghans, Spanish-speaking students, and Portuguese students (R. Brown, Newton, & Tam, 2015). You can go back even further to the EQAO scores in primary school and find that risk factors for poor academic outcomes are evident even before that. Suspensions and absenteeism are also highly associated with poor academic outcomes. These findings are hardly surprising to any teacher, but the fact of the matter is that from a policy perspective on improving outcomes for the most at-risk students, the findings are almost entirely ignored. Looking at how students are doing in grade 9—and even before—is necessary to shape the student into being college or university-ready. It is not a transformation that can occur in grade 12. Trying to fix these problems in grade 12 is far too late.

Suggestions

I am often asked, after I launch my series of criticisms, to make some suggestions to help students at the margins. The first suggestion I make is to resist putting your child in a majority of applied courses, regardless of what the teacher or counsellor might say. The

conjecture about it being recognized for university application is false and it is also untrue that switching between streams is possible without redoing a large portion of your high school education.

The second suggestion I make is if your child has a special education need, do not write-off university or college. Colleges are particularly accommodating places for students with learning challenges and even have outreach programs to recruit them. Universities are getting up to speed with their offices for student accommodations, and indeed the number of students with academic accommodations has increased considerably in recent years. Sometimes all that is needed to level the playing field is a simple adjustment, like added time for exams or a note taker—accommodations that are fairly easy to implement and can make the difference between success and failure for some students.

LINC teachers are very likely teaching students who are the parents of the high school students I am writing about. One way that LINC teachers can help break this cycle of reproducing inequality is to incorporate reading high-school course description into reading material. How are the applied and academic streams different? Perhaps showing them news articles about the elimination of applied courses in some high schools could get parents armed with information and also provide opportunities to engage in the specialized language being used around course options.

Not all students have family backgrounds with experience in post-secondary institutions. It may be the case that LINC students have foreign credentials from countries whose post-secondary structures are very different from ours. If the parents are interested in post-secondary pathways for their children, examining institutional website for "open days" or other information sessions put on by universities and colleges which are open to prospective students can be a useful exercise to arm LINC students with further information. Also getting them to navigate institutional websites for information on the different programs and admission requirements may assist these students in helping their own children navigate the system.

Students come from a variety of family backgrounds and those from lower socioeconomic groups are often skeptical about the high cost of postsecondary education. Because it is unlikely that they have the thousands of dollars to cover tuition up front, student loans would be necessary. However, it is common for students from modest backgrounds to also be reluctant to enter into debt. This is where educating students and their parents about the Ontario government's Ontario Student Assistance Program is crucial. Students whose family incomes are less than $50,000 are eligible for free tuition. Students who are first generation may not know about these programs or may not even believe in their authenticity.

The application process and understanding of the multitude of different programs can be completely overwhelming. As a first generation student myself, I remember how navigating the field was fraught with mistakes and embarrassment and how my high school

counsellor just handed me a brochure and assumed I could make sense of it. I had high marks—obviously I knew what I was doing. However, I did not know what questions to even ask. More recognition of this lack of "cultural capital" (as it is called in the academic literature) has occurred in recent years, with some pilot programs bringing workshops into high schools that focus on understanding different programs and application procedures. Sometimes just showing students how to fill out an application form can make a huge difference. A simple exercise in showing students and their parents how to apply through Ontario's centralized application system could go a long way in increasing the enrollments of students who would otherwise not apply. Just the simple knowledge that you can apply for multiple universities or colleges through a single application process is something that is not common knowledge for students without a history of Ontario post-secondary experience.

The challenges faced by students at the margins are complex. They are often, through no ill intention, placed on trajectories that simply reproduce generations of inequality. As educators, we can be instrumental in breaking these cycles at various stages along the way, but only when we accept that the *easiest* solutions are often not in the best interests of the student's long term outcomes.

Author Bio

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RACE AND EMPLOYABILITY IN PRIVATE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

By Vijay Ramjattan, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

What racial identity do you need in order to be considered a competent English language teacher? This question may seem absurd because race seemingly has nothing to do with one's ability in English language teaching (ELT). However, in a small study examining the experiences of 10 teachers of colour looking for work in various private language schools in Toronto, Canada (see Ramjattan, 2015), I found that these teachers came to understand from employers that being white meant that one was better qualified to teach English. Therefore, the opposite message was that people of colour lacked the competence to teach the language.

These employer sentiments do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, they should be seen as ongoing manifestations of racist, colonial thinking that persists in the field of ELT. Indeed, there is a strong connection between nativeness/expertise in English (teaching) and embodied whiteness, which started with the global spread of English being facilitated by British and later American colonial efforts to "civilize" various colonized peoples and continues with such things as western-based learning materials and methodologies being promoted as the standard for the global ELT industry (e.g. Motha, 2014; Jenks, 2017; Phillipson, 1992). This connection between English and whiteness may be especially pronounced in the context of private language schools for several reasons. In fact, since they are mostly unregulated and often operate as businesses that treat students as almighty consumers (Clark & Paran, 2007; Ramjattan, 2015), these institutions may resort to questionable practices in order to generate revenue. Thus, if students are willing to pay to attend schools with mostly white teachers, employers may resort to racist hiring practices that disadvantage teachers of colour in spite of their actual qualifications.

However, since overt racism is socially unacceptable in countries like Canada, the employer preference for white instructors is articulated in a more subtle manner. Regarding the experiences of the teachers of my study, this articulation took the form of racial microaggressions, everyday slights that contain a racist meta-communication for people of colour (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Sue, 2010). For the remainder of this article, I highlight some of these microaggressions that subtly communicated that race is a central component in being perceived as employable in the context of the private language school. After detailing these experiences, I offer some initial suggestions on how we can dismantle racial inequalities in the hiring of instructors (in private language schools).

Maria: A white name will land you an interview, but not the job

Names are an intrinsic part of our identities as they often reveal our ethnic backgrounds. Yet names and ethnicity do not always correspond since, for example, people of colour may have names typically associated with white ethnic groups. This is the case for Maria (all teachers are given pseudonyms), an ethnically Japanese teacher who is originally from Brazil. Because of her European-sounding name coupled with taking her husband's German last name, Maria notes how she can pass as white when submitting résumés for teaching positions. However, even though her white-sounding first and last names may help her get callbacks for interviews, her racial identity often prevents her hiring. One instance of this trend is seen in the following narrative where an employer seemed dumbfounded upon discovering that Maria did not look like her name:

> When the employer saw me for the interview, the first thing that came out of her mouth was, "What's your name? Why do you have this last name?" I explained that I'm married and that's why. From the moment she saw me, I knew that she did not want to hire me as she mentioned right away that the position had just been filled. (Ramjattan, 2015, p. 697)

Despite her superior qualifications, Maria understood that the employer's questioning of her name and subsequent mentioning that the position was no longer available were subtle indicators that she was racially unqualified to be an instructor at the school. If she physically matched her name, perhaps she would have received a job offer.

Josh: Nonnative by association

Aside from confusion about their names, another type of microaggression experienced by the teachers involved the employer use of the term *native speaker* to euphemistically refer to a white person when describing ideal job candidates. This term was particularly salient in the following conversation between an employer and Josh, a mixed-race teacher who, being born and raised in Canada, identifies as a native speaker of Canadian English:

> [The employer asked,] "Where did you do your studies?" And I replied, "Here in Toronto." She went, "And anywhere else?" I replied, "No." She then asked, "What language do you speak at home?" And I said, "At home, I speak English." She then asked, "And your parents?" "They speak about six or seven different languages all mixed up," I replied, "But I can't speak those languages. I can only speak English." And after that, she went, "But when you communicate with them, how does that work?" I said, "They have jobs in Canada. They understand English perfectly." And then [...] she said, "Okay, but we're really looking for a native speaker." And I said, "That's fine because I am a native speaker." Just as I said that, a white woman came out with a Scottish accent. And I thought, "Gee,

> she's not a native speaker [because her first language may be Gaelic or Scots] and she's working here." So I didn't know what to take from it, but they never called me back. (Ramjattan, 2015, p. 698)

As suggested by the employer's questioning, Josh was deemed a nonnative English speaker by his association with nonnative-speaking parents. Indeed, in spite of explicitly stating that he is a native speaker and furthermore doing so in a so-called Canadian accent, Josh was unable to convince the employer that he was linguistically qualified for the job. When Josh noticed the Scottish worker who may or may not have spoken English natively, he realized that the employer's desire for a native speaker was truly a desire for any white teacher regardless of actual language background.

Q: Not what students are looking for

Of course, the reason why employers desire white teachers is that these individuals are the desired worker for student-customers. This point leads to one final type of microaggression: employers shifting the source of racism to consumer preferences. For example, consider this story from Q, an ethnically Indian teacher who was deemed an inappropriate job candidate:

> [The employer] said outright, "Are you a teacher of English? Are you an English teacher?" From the sound of it, it was okay if I was teaching math [...] but not English. I replied, "Yes, and here's my résumé. I've got a CELTA [Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults], and I have [...] experience." She looked at my résumé and commented, "Oh, you have been teaching actually." I said, "Yeah, that's what I said." She then said, "Unfortunately, I don't think our students would accept you." (Ramjattan, 2015, p. 699)

What makes this microaggression story unique is its explicit nature. In fact, in contrast to the above narratives, the interviewer directly told Q that she would be an unacceptable teacher despite acknowledging her qualifications and professional experience. Nevertheless, this interaction remained microaggressive as the employer shifted blame onto students' bigotry. That is, she had no choice but to adopt racist hiring criteria because not doing so would upset students and therefore not be good for business.

Dismantling racial inequalities in ELT hiring practices

Although the above instances of employment discrimination against teachers of colour certainly do not represent the hiring practices of every private language school in the local context of Toronto and beyond, the mere fact that they can occur warrants some sort of action. Therefore, to conclude, I wish to present some general recommendations on how we can address the racial inequalities that can be embedded in the hiring practices of private language schools:

1. Since they are typically unregulated, private language schools need to be overseen by some regulatory body that could enforce equitable hiring practices. In the Canadian context, this suggestion may already exist with Languages Canada, an organization that promotes the Canadian language education industry. To be a member of this organization, schools must adhere to a code of conduct, which includes embracing the cultural/ethnic diversity of their employees (Languages Canada, n.d.). Therefore, instead of voluntarily doing so, all private language schools should be required to join organizations like Languages Canada.

2. Along with increased regulation, more action research is needed to explore employment discrimination in private language schools. When we discuss action research in the context of ELT, we tend to think about teachers conducting investigations on how to better their own pedagogical practices and/or their students' learning. However, we can also conceive of action research as informal studies that seek to bring social change in the private ELT industry. This is where the power of storytelling emerges. In fact, when teachers of colour who experience hiring discrimination have the opportunity to share their experiences to a larger audience (either in the form of collective documentation of their stories on social media or through more formal outlets like *CONTACT Magazine*, for instance), there is the increased possibility that others will sympathize/empathize with their predicaments and feel inspired to enact further anti-racist efforts, etc. Action research must be done by white allies as well. For example, white administrators and teachers could investigate why their schools are not hiring any/more qualified teachers of diverse racial backgrounds.

3. Perhaps the most important recommendation for change, which interconnects with the previous two, is simply acknowledging that race and racism are an inherent part of the ELT profession. As I mentioned in the beginning of this article, the employer dismissal of the teachers of colour in my particular study reflects wider held notions of whiteness being tied to nativeness and thus expertise in the English language. Therefore, terms like *native speaker* become synonymous with *white person* as seen in Josh's narrative, for example. Whether it be through teacher education programs or conferences, then, we need to understand that language in general and English in particular cannot be divorced from notions about race (see Rosa & Flores, 2017, for how the emerging field of raciolinguistics addresses this very issue). The implication of this point is that even if we believe that we are solely critiquing someone's (perceived) language ability when considering their suitability for a teaching position (at a private language school), we may also be making judgments about their racial identity.

Admittedly, the above recommendations require much more thought and planning than what I can offer here. However, I hope that they at least spread the message that the appropriate qualifications for ELT should not be racially embodied. Rather, we must go back to the idea that having the necessary amount of formal education, training, and experience is what makes a qualified English language teacher.

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INSIGHTS INTO THE CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY CHINESE ESL LEARNERS

By Deyu Xing and Benjamin Bolden, Queen's University

Imagine you were an international student, studying at an educational institution in China, with very limited spoken Chinese. How might you feel, trying frantically to understand a completely foreign language; if you were voiceless, unable to communicate something you were desperate to say; if you were also all alone, far away from home?

In the age of globalization, it is common practice for Canadian educational institutions to recruit international ESL students (Zhang & Beck, 2014). The biggest group of international students in Canada is from China (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2017). But how do Chinese international students actually experience education in Canada? The term "acculturation" refers to the psychological adaptation process that immigrants go through when settling in a new country (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Cheng and Fox (2008) have defined international students' academic acculturation as "the dynamic adaptation processes of linguistically and culturally diverse students engaging with the academic study cultures" (p. 309). So how do Chinese international students in Canada experience academic acculturation?

Research has demonstrated that oral English communication capacity is profoundly connected to international ESL students' academic acculturation in English-speaking countries (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Research has also demonstrated that Chinese international students tend to have a lower English communication competence than other international students (Li, Chen, & Duanmu, 2010; Wang et al., 2012). Together, these findings suggest that Chinese international students are likely to struggle with academic acculturation due to limited spoken English. However, to this point, very little research has examined these students' lived academic acculturation experiences.

As an attempt to address this knowledge gap, we designed a musically enhanced narrative inquiry (Bolden, 2017) that involved in-depth arts-informed interviews with six Chinese ESL university students with limited oral English communication capacity. As the name implies, musically enhanced narrative inquiry (MENI) is an arts-based research approach built on narrative inquiry practices that involves artistic exploration utilizing sound and music. Music is used to enhance the representation of data and findings through its potential to capture and communicate nuances of human experience that would otherwise be neglected (Bolden, 2017) and to offer profound possibilities for deepening understanding and connections between participants and audiences (Bolden, 2008; Leavy,

2009). In addition, to compensate for the limitations of verbally based data collection tools in capturing the multidimensionality of lived human experience (Blodgett et al., 2013), and to open up richer communication that embraces the emotional and sensory complexity of participants' stories (Bagnoli, 2009), we invited participants to use visual artistic representations as a means of communicating their experiences to us. Prior to the interview, participants were asked to choose or create a piece of art to represent some aspect of their academic acculturation experience, and to bring it along to the interview as a prompt for discussion.

Findings

In order to develop understandings from the interview data, we engaged in processes of narrative re-storying (Creswell, 2005), the creation of musically enhanced narrative representations (Bolden, 2017), and general inductive analysis (Thomas, 2006). Our goal in sharing these findings is to provide ESL teachers with a vivid sense of our participants' experiences.[1]

What are the Academic Acculturation Experiences of Chinese ESL Students with Low Oral English Communication Capacity?

> I just sat there, silently. I felt like a transparent person sitting among them. Although they seemed to be right within reach, they were a world apart from me, thousands of miles away. I thought to myself, sitting there, 'How am I going to live a life like this?' – Kevin

Our analysis revealed that the academic acculturation stories of the six Chinese ESL students in this study were penetrated with: (a) excitement and shock, (b) frustration and pain, (c) anxiety and inferiority, (d) loneliness and isolation, (e) helplessness and resignation, (f) awakening and regret, and (g) hope and uncertainty.

Art Pieces

We now share what participants told us as they discussed the visual art pieces they chose or created to represent their experiences.

Kandy. When I found myself not able to say what I thought and how I felt, I just felt like that person in *The Scream*. (As an artistic representation of her experiences, Kandy shared the nightmarish image painted by Edvard Munch (1893) of a skeletal figure with eyes and mouth opened wide in an agonized scream.) Once the Canadian students started to talk, I would think, "Oh my God! Why are they speaking so fast? Oh my God! Why can't I speak? Oh my God! Why didn't I say it right? Oh my God! Why?" I felt so constrained and so confined. I could not talk with anyone

1 Prior to conducting this research, we received ethics clearance from the Queen's University General Research Ethics Board and informed consent from all six participants for dissemination of their stories and provided art presentations. In order to protect the privacy of our participants, any use of the data conceals all identifying information such as names and locations. Pseudonyms were assigned to all participants.

about those frustrating feelings, and had to keep them all to myself. Sometimes, it was really hard to manage and I felt like screaming. But I couldn't do it, because I was afraid that the sound would attract attention.

Selina. To me, Canada is a place full of freedom and opportunities, very different from China. I almost felt like I was being released from jail when I came to Canada. However, I couldn't seize any of those opportunities because I could not communicate in oral English. The falling star in the painting represents the opportunities and also the hope that I want to grasp. If I could grasp just one opportunity, I am sure I could grow and see a bigger world. But without the ability to fluently and efficiently communicate in oral English, I can only watch that star fall in front of me.

Kevin. I chose this picture as the representation of my story because, to me, people are the most important element of life no matter where I am. (Kevin provided a photograph of many people with hands raised in enjoyment and excitement at a stadium music concert.) I was a very social person in China, making friends wherever I went, but in Canada, I was forced to suppress my desire to talk because of my limited spoken English. I could not develop relationships with Canadians, so I always felt alone. I have taken thousands of pictures of the fabulous landscape of Canada, but I chose this picture as the artistic representation of my story, because no matter how fascinating the landscapes were, I always felt something important was missing from the pictures, the people.

Lisa. Studying here in Canada with limited spoken English just feels like that barren tree in the picture. Unlike the other trees around it, it has lost all its leaves, all barren. It's just like my life here as an international student in a Canadian university—I lost everything I had in China, my social influence, my confidence, my voice, and everything, just like that tree in the picture, barren. Nothing worked after I arrived here because of my inability to communicate, academically or socially.

Figure 1. Artistic representation of Selina's story, created by Selina.

Figure 2. Artistic representation of Lisa's story, photograph taken by Lisa.

Nick. The photo I chose as my narrative representation is a photo I took in the library. I see it as the best description of my life here because I often stay there until midnight or 1 a.m. in the morning before I go back to my dorm. When I walk home in the dark and quiet midnight, I cannot help asking, "Why do I have to spend a supposedly happy weekend in the library like this?" It gets very depressing sometimes. You can almost feel that depressing feeling in the seemingly never-ending stairs in the picture. Every day, I was running up and down those stairs, but unable to read any of the books that I wanted to read because it was already too much for me to handle my academic course content. I really wanted to grab some books from the literature shelves, but I found myself not even able to afford the time to grab the book.

Figure 3. Artistic representation of Nick's story, photograph taken by Nick.

When I was looking down the stairs from the top floor of the library, I felt like I was being suffocated by all the review and preview for my exams and quizzes, desperately trying to catch a breath but to no avail. For a task that took one hour for the Canadian students, I would probably need five hours, because they could understand the lecture content in class and ask questions, while all I could do was take notes and record the lectures to review afterwards.

Amanda. I chose this picture as the representation of my academic acculturation story in Canada for three reasons. First, I felt somewhat protected by the big tree beside me, resembling the language program protecting me from the actual undergraduate study stress and my parents securing my educational expenses. Then, the moon on the top left corner reminds me of home when I miss home. The picture was taken around the Chinese Mid-Autumn festival. I was homesick. I got very homesick alone abroad when I encountered problems, especially when I got sick. When the doctor told me that I had to have an operation, I called my mom right away. Regardless of anything else, I needed to hear her voice to make me feel safe. Lastly, the light is still there in the picture, just like my hope to learn English well eventually, although I am not sure how yet.

Figure 4. Artistic representation of Amanda's story, photo taken by Amanda

To further illustrate what the students told us, we invite you to listen to a musical composition that serves as a distillation and synthesis of what we learned about the students' experiences. Please use this link to access the song. The lyrics for the song are in Chinese, with words and phrases drawn directly from the Chinese interview transcripts. We have provided a translation below.

无言的忧伤
The Sound of Silence
独自一人 异国他乡
Alone, treading on a strange land, alone.
无法开口 言伤
Mouth open, silence.
独自一人 异国他乡
Alone, walking in a foreign world, alone.
热闹非凡 旁观
Faces smiling, silence.

你可曾体会 那无言的忧伤
Have you ever felt that sadness without the words?
你可曾听见 那无声的呐喊
Have you ever heard that mad scream in silence?
我翻山越岭 漂洋过海 难道只为 这繁花似锦下的孤单?
Sitting inside the room,
I asked myself, alone.
"Did I come, across the mountains and the sea,
thousands of miles away from home,
to be alone?"

独自一人 异国他乡
Alone, walking on a strange road, alone
无法开口 言伤
Autumn leaves falling, barren.

独自一人 异国他乡
Alone, walking in the lamplight, alone.
落叶飞扬 影孤长
Midnight shadows swinging, soundless.

你可否明白 那无言的绝望
Have you ever felt that despair without words to compare?
你可否感受 那无声的惊慌
Have you ever felt that trembling running through the vein?
我翻山越岭 漂洋过海 难道只为 这雪花飘零下的冷淡?
Standing under the moon,
I asked myself, alone.
"Did I come,
across the mountains and the sea,
thousands of miles away from home,
to be alone?"

你是否明白?
Do you understand?
(Narration with chords)
我悔恨的是 那蹉跎的美好光阴
Regrets. Time wasted on useless things.

我愤恨的是 那南辕北辙的苦行
Rage. Endeavours exerted in vain.

愿胸怀世界的你
听到我的声音
How I wish,
you who have the minds to see the worlds,
will hear my voice,
and walk a different path.

蓦然回首时
不再像我一样
独自一人 异国他乡
无法开口 言伤
So when you go across the ocean to see the world of your dream,
it will be like your dream, unlike me,

walking in a foreign world, alone, in the sound of silence.

For access to the other seven themed musical representations and full stories, please use this link.

Conclusion

ESL educators need to be aware of the particular challenges international ESL students with limited oral communication capacity face. Our research highlighted the intense emotional strain that our participants experienced as a direct result of their inability to communicate orally; they experienced frustration, anxiety, inferiority, loneliness, and helplessness. Even with high capacity in listening, reading, and writing, international students with limited oral language can experience severe challenges. Our research findings emphasize the need for English language teaching to focus on more than just listening, reading, and writing; *speaking* is crucially important. Through helping learners to develop this capacity, ESL teachers empower their students to connect.

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THE EFFECT OF FIRST LANGUAGE ON INTELLIGIBILITY

By Nima Sadat-Tehrani, Centennial College

This study consists of two parts. The first part is the report of two experiments carried out to see the effect of a shared first language (L1) on second language (L2) intelligibility. The concern of the investigation was specifically pronunciation and phonological factors. The second part deals with pronunciation errors of Mandarin and Vietnamese speakers that are motivated by their respective phonological systems, thus providing help with designing pronunciation teaching materials.

The study was started with the following research question: Do English learners understand each other better in English when they share the same first language? This L1 effect is sometimes referred to as Interlanguage Speech Intelligibility Benefit (Bent & Bradlow 2003) and it is not a new question, but the results of previous studies do not converge; whereas some researchers have found an L1 effect to exist, others have come up with evidence to the contrary. For example, Imai et al. (2005) showed that listening to Spanish talkers, Spanish listeners did better than native English listeners in a word recognition task, and Xie & Fowler (2013) reported that Mandarin listeners outperformed English listeners in identifying Mandarin-accented speech. This shared L1 effect has been suggested to exist more in low-proficiency learners (Wijngaarden et al. 2002, Stibbard & Lee 2006, and Hayes-Harb et al. 2008). On the other hand, Munro et al. (2012) saw no effect of L1 among Cantonese, Mandarin, Russian, Ukrainian, and English subjects, listening to Cantonese-accented speech, and Crowther et al. (2016) observed no difference among French, Mandarin, and English listeners in listening to French-accented English. There has also been some evidence of a negative L1 effect, e.g., Ingram & Nguyen (2007) found that Vietnamese-accented English was more intelligible to English native listeners than to Vietnamese listeners. The present investigation tried to shed some light on the issue with the following two experiments.

To measure the intelligibility of speech, talkers and listeners of different L1s were used. Two experiments were carried out. The first concerned English and Mandarin and the second Vietnamese and Korean. The research was approved after undergoing ethical review. The audio recordings of English sentences produced by different talkers were played for different listeners, who were asked to transcribe what they heard. Based on the number of correct keywords written, the intelligibility score was calculated. The results indicate that L1 does influence intelligibility, i.e., talkers who share the same L1 understand each other better. The details of the experiments follow.

Experiment 1

Participants and method

The recordings of two Mandarin talkers (1 female) and two English talkers (1 female) were used, and the number of listeners was 31 Mandarin and 45 non-Mandarin. The listeners were all full-time intermediate and upper intermediate ESL students, studying at a Canadian College. All participants were compensated with a Tim Horton's gift card. The measurement of intelligibility was done through a technique named the dictée task, originally introduced by Brodkey (1972) and subsequently used in other studies. (For a summary of measurement techniques, see Munro 2008: 201.) The dictée task involves playing stimulus sentences for subjects and asking them to write what they heard. The intelligibility score is then calculated by counting the number of words transcribed correctly. The recordings of this experiment came from the Wildcat Corpus of Native- and Foreign-Accented English database (Van Engen et al. 2010), from which 60 sentences by four talkers (two Mandarin and two English) were used, i.e., 15 sentences each.

The transcription part was done in groups. The listeners were given an answer sheet each and were asked to transcribe what they heard. The files were played in a different order for each group. Each sentence was played only once, after which the research assistant paused the recording and visually monitored the listeners until he made sure everyone was done writing, and then went on to play the next sentence. The sentences had 3–5 keywords each, based on the correct transcription of which the intelligibility score percentage was calculated. No points were deducted for minor spelling errors.

Results

The intelligibility scores appear in Figure 1, which contains the correct transcription percentage of different listener-talker pairs; for example, the blue bar indicates that non-Mandarin listeners understood English talkers 59% of the time.

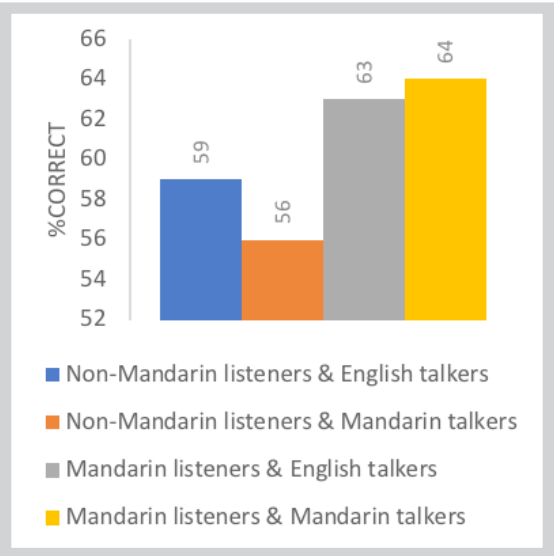

Figure 1: Intelligibility scores in percentage. From left to right, the bars represent the pairs: Non-Mandarin listeners & English talkers; Non-Mandarin listeners & Mandarin talkers; Mandarin listeners & English talkers; Mandarin listeners & Mandarin talkers

A two-way ANOVA with listener and talker as independent variables and intelligibility score as dependent variable showed nonsignificant difference for talker and listener-talker interaction, but the listener effect was significant (an asterisk indicates statistical significance): Listener: $F(1,78)=7.34$, $p<0.01$*

To confirm this further, *t*-tests were performed, which yielded the following results:

Listeners	**Talkers**		***t*-value**
	Mandarin	English	
Mandarin	64	63	$t(30)=0.22$, $p=0.82$
Non-Mandarin	56	59	$t(44)=2.78$, $p=0.01$*

Talkers	**Listeners**		***t*-value**
	Mandarin	Non-Mandarin	
Mandarin	64	56	$t(74)=2.64$, $p=0.01$*
English	63	59	$t(74)=1.22$, $p=0.22$

As can be seen, there is a significant difference in two of the cases. First, non-Mandarin listeners understood English talkers significantly more than they understood Mandarin talkers, and second, Mandarin listeners understood Mandarin talkers significantly more than non-Mandarin listeners did. In the other two cases, no effect was observed. Mandarin listeners showed no significant difference in understanding Mandarin and English, and Mandarin and non-Mandarin listeners showed no significant difference in understanding English talkers. Interpreted together, the results of these tests suggest that whenever the communication involved Mandarin talkers on one end and non-Mandarin listeners on the other, there was more chance of unintelligibility. To further confirm the findings with other languages, a similar experiment was carried out with Vietnamese and Korean L1s, the details of which follow.

Experiment 2

Participants and method

One Vietnamese (female) and one Korean (male) talker, and 14 Vietnamese and 13 Korean listeners took part in the experiment. The participants were students at a Canadian College enrolled in full-time intermediate and upper intermediate ESL courses. They received a Tim Horton's gift card for their time. Each talker recorded 15 sentences, which were taken from Bent & Bradlow (2003). The participants were presented with the sentences in written form and were asked to read them in a natural way, leaving a small pause between the items. If they made a mistake, they were instructed to record the item again. The dictée task was done identically to experiment 1. The groups of listeners were provided with an

answer sheet each, on which they transcribed what they heard. They heard each sentence once but were given ample time to write it.

Results

The percentage of keywords transcribed correctly is given in Figure 2.

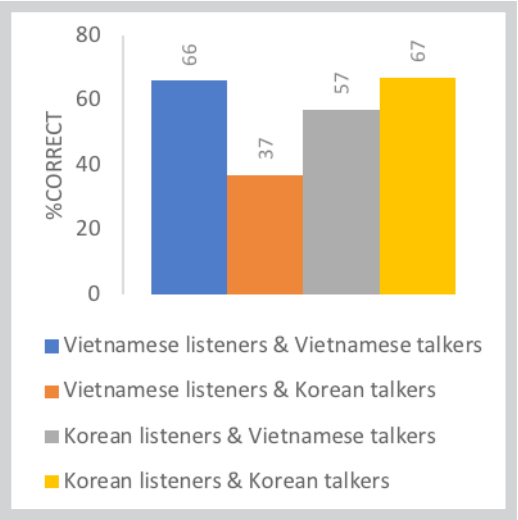

Figure 2: Intelligibility scores in percentage. From left to right, the bars represent the pairs: Vietnamese Listeners & Vietnamese talkers; Vietnamese Listeners & Korean talkers; Korean Listeners & Vietnamese talkers; Korean Listeners & Korean talkers

A two-way ANOVA with listener and talker as independent variables and intelligibility score as dependent variable determined a significant effect for all cases:

Listener: $F(1,27)=6.87, p=0.01^*$

Talker: $F(1,27)=9.51, p<0.01^*$

Listener-talker interaction: $F(1,27)=42.88, p<0.01^*$

T-tests corroborated the above results:

Listeners	**Talkers**		***t*-value**
	Vietnamese	Korean	
Vietnamese	66	37	$t(12)=8.78, p<0.01^*$
Korean	57	67	$t(13)=4.34, p<0.01^*$

Talkers	**Listeners**		***t*-value**
	Vietnamese	Korean	
Vietnamese	66	57	$t(25)=3.12, p<0.01^*$
Korean	37	67	$t(25)=5.90, p<0.01^*$

There is a significant effect observed in all cases, which means that Vietnamese and Korean listeners found the speech of those who shared their L1 more intelligible.

Discussion

These experiments were designed to determine the effect of first language on intelligibility. The results of both experiments point in the same direction: when non-native English speakers communicate, the listener comprehends the speaker to a higher degree if they share the same first language. It is reasonable to conclude that one of the causes of this enhanced level of intelligibility is a shared phonological system. For instance, when a Vietnamese listener understands a Vietnamese talker better than a Korean talker, a contributing factor can be seen as the specific characteristics of Vietnamese phonology. For example, upon hearing the word *rice* pronounced as *rye* (without the final /s/) by a fellow native speaker, a Vietnamese listener may understand it correctly as the intended word *rice*. Being subconsciously aware of a phonological rule in Vietnamese that disallows an /s/ at the end of a syllable, and so a Vietnamese listener mentally may add this /s/ to the end of *rye*, comprehending it as *rice*.

The findings so far motivated the next research question: what are the typical pronunciation errors caused by L1 phonology interference? Accounting for L2 pronunciation through L1 features has its roots in the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Lado 1957). This view attributes the errors in L2 learning to the linguistic features of the L1. This approach has faced criticism throughout the years, for example, that it ignores individual learner differences or that it considers all errors to be of equal importance (Derwing & Munro 2015, Munro 2018). While the above criticisms are valid, having knowledge of the learners' L1 can be helpful for pronunciation teachers (if other contributing factors such as age and previous learning experience of a learner are not ignored) (Brinton 2018).

Thus, the next stage of the study aimed at detecting the errors made by Mandarin and Vietnamese speakers and accounting for them in terms of the phonology of the two languages, on which the following sources, among others, were consulted: Avery & Ehrlich (1992), Swan & Smith (2001), Duanmu (2007), Třískova (2011), for Mandarin; and Thompson (1987), Avery & Ehrlich (1992), Hwa-Froelich et al. (2002), Ha (2005), Tang (2007), for Vietnamese. The found error patterns act as a guide to writing teaching materials for ESL pronunciation courses. The errors were gleaned from the recordings of the author's Mandarin and Vietnamese students, 34 Mandarin (14 female) and 27 Vietnamese (12 female) speakers. The total durations of the recordings were 181 and 109 minutes for Mandarin and Vietnamese, respectively, and they included both scripted and spontaneous speech.

Error categories

The following error categories were found.[1]

a) Consonant deletion

The deleted consonant was mostly syllable-final. The deletion occurred for two reasons. One was phonotactic constraints; for example, the dropping of /f/ in *life* as the syllable coda constraint allow only /n, ŋ/ in Mandarin and /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ/ in Vietnamese in syllable-final position, or the dropping of /t/ in *about* by Vietnamese speakers due to the impermissibility /t/ after the diphthong /aʊ/ (or an /aʊ/-like Vietnamese phoneme, to be precise). The other factor motivating the deletion was the lack of (an exact) counterpart in the L1 inventory, e.g., /ʤ/ in Vietnamese. The abbreviations Man., Viet., and N.O. in the tables stand for Mandarin, Vietnamese, and Not Observed, respectively.

Change	Examples	Man.	Viet.
/t/ → Ø	*favourite*, *out*, *that*, *but*, *politely*, *not* (Man.); *about*, *quite*, *straight*, *might*, *formulate*, *consolidate*, *out*, *communicate*, *roommate*, *appreciate*, *outdoor* (Viet.)	√	√
/d/ → Ø	*good looking*, *attitude*, *could*, *repeatedly* (Man.); *provide*, *wide*, *advice*, *childhood* (Viet.)	√	√
/k/ → Ø	*bake* (Man.); *dictionary*, *reflection*, *action*, *like* (Viet.)	√	√
/m/ → Ø	*name*	√	N.O.
/b/ → Ø	*describe*	N.O.	√
/g/ → Ø	*English*	N.O.	√
/f/ → Ø	*life*	N.O.	√
/v/ → Ø	*five*, *improve*	N.O.	√
/s/ → Ø[2]	*place*, *this*, *advice*, *increase*, *practice*, *reduce*, *nice*, *successful*, *semester*, *district*	N.O.	√
/z/ → Ø	*is*, *always*, *Vietnamese*, *those*, *because*, *was*, *useful*, *Tuesday*	N.O.	√
/ʤ/ → Ø	*huge*, *original*	N.O.	√
/n/ → Ø	*town*, *hometown*, *design*, *fine*, *only*	N.O.	√
/l/ → Ø	*while*	N.O.	√

b) Consonant cluster simplification

Consonant clusters are generally not allowed in Mandarin and Vietnamese, so learners tended to do one of the following:

i) Delete one or more consonants:

1 The IPA system has been implemented throughout the paper. The pronunciation used as a frame of reference is based on Canadian English (e.g., Boberg 2008). Some simplifications have been applied where necessary to arrive at a more unified presentation; for example, the vowel of *solve* can be /ɒ/, /ɑ/, or /ɔ/ depending on regional or social factors but has been transcribed as /ɑ/.

2 Interestingly, the reverse trend was also observed, i.e., adding /s/ (or sometimes /z/) to the end of words (r*estaurant, turn, food, guy, hundred, lecture, key, reason, again, me, main, design, thing), which may be explained through overgeneralization, whereby a* Vietnamese speaker who subconsciously knows the possibility of an /s/ being deleted in his/her pronunciation adds an unnecessary /s/ where not needed.

Change	Examples	Man.	Viet.
/t/ → Ø (/ts/→/s/, /rt/→/r/, /kt/→/k/, /nt/→/n/, /lt/→/l/, /st/→/s/)	*states*, *jackets*, *start*, *short*, *protect* (Man.); *demonstrates*, *percent*, *point*, *assignment*, *felt*, *result*, *based* (Viet.)	√	√
/d/ → Ø (/nd/→/n/, /dr/→/r/, /rld/→/rl/)	*found* (Man.); *friend*, *and around*, *dream*, *world* (Viet.)	√	√
/k/ → Ø (/ks/→/s/, /kt/→/t/, /kl/→/l/, /ŋk/→/ŋ/, /sk/→/s/)	*accepted*, *district* (Man.); *experience*, *explain*, *express*, *district*, *conclusion*, *function*, *think*, *ask* (Viet.)	√	√
/s/ → Ø (/ks/→/k/, /str/→/tr/, /st/→/t/, /rst/→/rt/, /ns/→/n/)	*expression*, *expensive* (Man.); *sixteen*, *stress*, *demonstrates*, *fast*, *best*, *most*, *last*, *first*, *since*, *experience*, *chance*, *science* (Viet.)	√	√
/z/ → Ø (/rz/→/r/, /rdz/→/rd/, /lz/→/l/)	*cars*, *words* (Man.); *animals* (Viet.)	√	√
/ʤ/ → Ø (/nʤ/→/n/)	*change* (Man.); *change* (Viet.)	√	√
/ɻ/ → Ø (/rɻ/→/r/)	*research*	N.O.	√
/n/ → Ø (/nd/→/d/)	*find out*, *kind*	N.O.	√
/j/ → Ø (/hj/→/h/)	*human*	N.O.	√
/ks, sk, st, nd, ld/→ Ø	*sixty*, *ask*, *first*, *next*, *kind*, *find*, *mind*, *old*	N.O.	√

ii) Insert or substitute a vowel to add a syllable:

Change	Examples	Man.	Viet.
/ə/ insertion /kɑm.plɛks/→/kɑm.pə.lɛks/ /ɪŋ.glɪʃ/→/ɪŋ.gə.lɪʃ/ /kloʊðz/→/kə.loʊðz/ /pɪkt/→/pɪ.kəd/	*complex*, *English*, *clothes*, *picked*	√	N.O.
/i/ insertion /ʧeɪnʤ#/→/ʧeɪn.ʤi/	*change*	√	N.O.
Consonant substituted with /ə/ (/k/→/ə/, /d/→/ə/)	*accept*, *socks*, *next*, *wind* (Man.); *spend*, *friend*, *and* (Viet.)	√	√

c) Phoneme switching

The English phonemes that are not found in Mandarin and Vietnamese – or are not identical to the English counterpart – e.g., /v, ð, θ, z, h, æ, ɪ/ (Mandarin) and /ð, θ, ʤ, ɻ, ɪ, æ, oʊ, eɪ, ɑɪ, ɑʊ/ and syllable-initial /p/ (Vietnamese), caused the most switching. The other motivation for switching was phonotactic constraints, e.g., the syllable coda constraint (see case a above), for example, the b→k switch in *problem* for Vietnamese learners.

Change	Examples	Man.	Viet.
Consonants			
/v/ → /f/	*I've made*[3]	√	N.O.
/v/ → /w/	*video, unmoving, advice, lovers, over*	√	N.O.
/θ/ → /s/	*think, third, thought, thirty, thousand, things, something, rethink, nothing, mouth, with*	√	N.O.
/θ/ → /t/	*thank, think, thinking, third, thirdly, thing, theory, thought, author*	N.O.	√
/ð/ → /d/	*that, them* (Man.); *that* (Viet.)	√	√
/ð/ → /z/	*the, although* (Man.); *the* (Viet.)	√	√
/z/ → /s/	*business, designer, caused, is, ideas, because, as, shoes*	√	N.O.
/h/ → /x/	*how*	√	N.O.
/p/ → /b/	*product, people, part, point, past, peaceful, place, personally, process, problem, perfect, positive, simple, propose, improve, example*	N.O.	√
/b/ → /k/	*problem*	N.O.	√
/s/ → /t/	*experience*	N.O.	√
/s/ → /k/	*interesting, introduce*	N.O.	√
/ʃ/ → /k/	*English*	N.O.	√
/ʃ/ → /s/[4]	*shelter, shop, should, special, especially, conscious, pressure, T-shirt, English, fresh, wish*	N.O.	√
/ʧ/ → /s/	*much, beach*	N.O.	√
/ʧ/ → /t/	*much*	N.O.	√
/ʧ/ → /k/	*which*	N.O.	√
/ʤ/ → /d/	*garbage*	N.O.	√
/l/ → /n/	*basketball, baseball, call, all*	N.O.	√

3 In syllable-final phoneme switches, a final devoicing rule may have been at work (Hansen 2001), e.g., changing */aɪv/ to /aɪf/ in this example. Also note that in such examples, the final consonant deletion strategy was not employed as in case a above, e.g., /aɪv/ was not rendered as /aɪ/, possibly to make a distinction between the present perfect and the simple past. whereby a* Vietnamese speaker who subconsciously knows the possibility of an /s/ being deleted in his/her pronunciation adds an unnecessary /s/ where not needed.

4 The /ʃ/ sound exists in Vietnamese (a retroflex /s/, to be exact) and is represented by the letter s; however, it is regionally pronounced as /s/, e.g., in the north, and this seems to be the motivation behind this switch. Interestingly, the switch was seen in the opposite direction as well (s →ʃ: so, solve, accent, mistake, professor, specific, pronunciation), which may be due to overgeneralization, i.e., using /ʃ/ when it is not needed, in order to sound correct.

Vowels/Diphthongs			
/æ/ → /ɛ/	*action*	√	N.O.
/æ/ → /ə/	*fast*, *understand*, *fashion* (Man.); *practice* (Viet.)	√	√
/æ/ → /ɑ/	*man*, *Frank*, *language*, *band*, *popularity*, *carrots* (Man.); *attitude*, *activity* (Viet.)	√	√
/æ/ → /eɪ/	*ran*	√	N.O.
/æ/ → /aɪ/	*as*	√	N.O.
/ɪ/ → /i/	*practice*, *especially*, *live*, *picking*, *tripped*, *kitchen* (Man.); *city* (Viet.)	√	√
/eɪ/ → /ɛ/[5]	*main*, *came*, *painting*, *take*, *painful*, *same*, *waste* (Man.); *same*, *awake*, *brain*, *main*, *taking* (Viet.)	√	√
/oʊ/ → /ɑ/	*notice*	N.O.	√
/oʊ/ → /o/	*overcome*	N.O.	√
/aɪ/ → /ɑ/	*time*	N.O.	√
/aʊ/ → /ɑ/	*pronounce*	N.O.	√

It is also notable that in both groups of learners, some vowels seem to have been switched due to the influence of orthography. For example, in the word *heroes*, the first *e* was rendered as /ɛ/, which is a common pronunciation of this letter in many words such as *hen* or *bed*:

Letter(s) influencing the change	**Change**	**Examples**
a	/ə/ → /ɑ/	*dollar*
e	/i/ → /ɛ/	*heroes*, *theory*
ea	/ɛ/ → /i/	*wear*, *wearing*
o	/ɑ/ → /o/	*on*, *honest*, *model*, *dollar*, *modern*, *cost*, *following*, *solve*, *symbolic*, *follow*
	/ə/ → /o/	*of*, *carrots*, *purpose*, *theory*, *other*
	/u/ → /o/	*unmoving*
ou	/ɑ/ → /aʊ/	*thought*, *bought*
u	/ə/ → /ʊ, u/	*lucky*, *beautiful*

5 Although the diphthong /eɪ/ exists in Mandarin, the reason for this error has been suggested to be that as /eɪ/ cannot be followed by a final consonant in this language, any such consonant distorts and shortens the diphthong to /ɛ/ (Huang & Radant 2009).

d) Word stress misplacement

Mandarin is a tonal language, and tone, similar to stress in English, is used to distinguish word meaning (Zhang et al. 2008). Thus, this language lacks word stress, at least in the sense that English has it. Vietnamese is also a tonal language and does not have culminative word stress (Nguyen & Ingram 2006). Consequently, many examples of stress misplacement were seen in the data:

Nouns: *workmánship*, *atmósphere*, *indústry*, *distríct*, *purpóse*, *intervíew*, *váriety*, *imáges*, *táttoo*, *supermárket*, *reasón*, *architécture*, *languáge*, *místake*, *formúla*, *servíces*, *procésses*, *Canáda*, *manágement*, *prográm*, *subtítle*, *Englísh*, *vehícle*, *indivíduality*, *résponse*

Adjectives: *únique*, *interésting*, *ártistic*, *comfórtable*, *rómantic*, *unnecéssary*, *psychólogical*, *limítless*, *complicáted*, *informátive*, *sýmbolic*, *spécific*, *confident*

Verbs: *realíze*, *encourage*, *immigráte*, *diminíshing*, *continúe*

Adverbs: *constántly*, *accídentally*, *áccidentally*, *logícally*

Pronouns: *everythíng*, *somethíng*, *everywhére*

Conclusion

The first part of this research included experiments whose results suggest an effect of first language on intelligibility, meaning that communicators who share the same L1 may understand each other better. The second part focused on pronunciation errors of Mandarin and Vietnamese speakers and tried to account for these errors in terms of the phonological properties of a learner's L1. Overall, the findings of this paper demonstrate that a learner's L1 can be seen as a source of L2 pronunciation errors. Previous research suggests that familiarity with L1 facilitates intelligibility (Clarke & Garrett 2004, Bradlow & Bent 2008), and the findings here point in the same direction and can be used as a guide in designing pronunciation teaching materials.

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LEARNING-TO-WRITE AND WRITING-TO-LEARN IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

By Sachiko Yasuda, Kobe University, Japan

In this paper, I will demonstrate how the reciprocally-supported development of linguistic knowledge and writing expertise can be achieved in a college-level foreign-language classroom. To that end, I will address the theoretical interplay between systemic functional linguistic (SFL) concepts and task-based language teaching (TBLT) as a means to enrich the fields of teaching writing in a foreign language. To date, SFL approaches to second language (L2) pedagogies such as TBLT have been rather rare in second language acquisition (SLA) research. Due to the traditional boundaries between the disciplines of SLA and L2 writing (Ortega, 2012), language development (the writing-to-learn dimension) and writing development (the learning-to-write dimension) have been investigated separately (Manchón, 2011). This article therefore argues that for some of the core yet still insufficiently explored issues in the fields of SLA—the reciprocally-supported development of linguistic knowledge and writing expertise—linking the SFL theory to the idea of TBLT may help language teachers to develop a more realistic idea of how writing can be taught on the one hand, and help writing practitioners to become more aware of how language can be taught on the other hand.

Linking writing with task: How SFL informs TBLT

The concept of TBLT has increasingly been used as the theoretical underpinning of task sequences in language education (Skehan, 1996; Long, 2014). TBLT assumes that language is used as a means to an end and that the objective of language activities is the successful completion of a task (outcome-based), rather than the formation of accurate utterances (form-based). Despite its focus on outcome, however, the task-based approach seeks a compromise between communicative practice (i.e., a stronger form of TBLT) and formal instruction (i.e., a weaker form of TBLT), depending on the learners' needs. According to Ellis (2003), the weak version views tasks as a way of offering communicative practice for language forms in a rather traditional way, whereas the strong version sees tasks as a means of enabling learners to learn the target language by experiencing how it is used in an authentic context. In this way, the task-based theory provides an instructional framework that organizes language classrooms in a sequential manner, initially encouraging students to learn the formal features of the target language to construct a target genre

("task-as-process"), then shifting to the genre realization or meaning-making process ("task-as-workplan") (Ellis, 2003).

The main concerns of TBLT, however, have been about issues associated with developing oral proficiency (e.g., Ellis, 2009; Skehan & Foster, 2007; Robinson, 2007). In this paper, thus, I suggest that the scope of TBLT can be expanded by exploring writing events. Embracing writing in the agenda of TBLT will enable TBLT researchers and practitioners to gain a more complete understanding of the learners' language use, insofar as it is motivated by the functional need to deliver complex content within discourse, as is achieved by combining the communicative purpose of the genre, the content, and the audience type.

With regard to the motivation behind the use of SFL, I would like to argue that, among the different conceptual frameworks used in L2 writing research, SFL is the most felicitous theory in providing a nexus point between language learning and writing development. This is because SFL offers an explicit framework for explaining the relationships among the written genre, the audience, and meaning-making linguistic choices (e.g., Christie, 2002; Halliday, 1994, 1996, 1998; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). More precisely, as described in Figure 1, SFL nicely explains how the context of a particular genre is construed through three layers of register variables: field (i.e., what is taking place), tenor (i.e., who is taking part), and mode (i.e., what role language is playing) (Martin, 2005). SFL then explains how the register variables of field, tenor, and mode are realized in three metafunctions of ideational, interpersonal, and textual choices respectively in the genre. In the SFL view, investigating these three register and metafunctional variables can lead to a systematic understanding of how genres are constituted and how they work in a particular social context. It is expected that these agendas of SFL can help TBLT practitioners develop tasks or materials enabling learners to learn the target linguistic features and eventually produce a text in a context-appropriate written genre as an outcome.

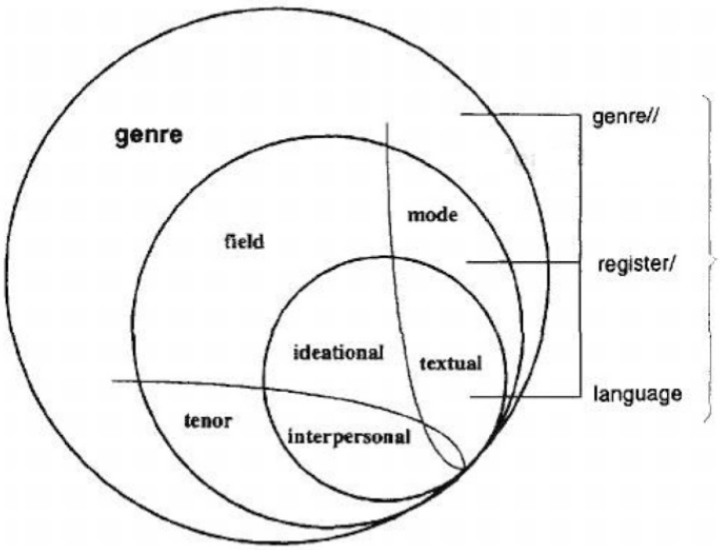

Figure 1 Genre, register, and language (Martin, 2005, p. 8)

Linking task with writing: How TBLT informs SFL

While the SFL theory has much to contribute to TBLT, TBLT also has much to inform SFL. SFL is a theory of genre and language, not one of teaching and learning. As indicated above, SFL's primary focus is on explicit descriptions of genre features or lexico-grammatical choices made by the writer to construct the meaning (i.e., what should be done). The theory itself does not offer pedagogic procedures that make both language learning and writing development occur concurrently (i.e., how it can be done). Herein lies the role that TBLT could play in compensating for the theoretical gaps in SFL.

As for the systematic pedagogic procedures for teaching language, TBLT assumes that there are two types of task: target tasks and pedagogic tasks. Target tasks are communicative acts that we accomplish through language in the real world (e.g., making an appointment, making a request, and, and reading a newspaper so on), while pedagogic tasks are the activities and materials used to help learners to accomplish those target tasks (Norris, 2009). These conceptual discussions about task types indicate that TBLT can be an effective framework that offers sequenced tasks in which learners are encouraged to utilize language to accomplish a certain outcome in a certain context/genre/task.

By borrowing these ideas from TBLT and combining them with SFL, this article aims to present a concrete example concerning genre-based tasks. In the rest of this paper, I will present how genre-based tasks were designed and implemented based on the synergetic theoretical combinations of SFL and TBLT in the context of college-level academic English as a foreign language (EFL) courses for biology-major students at a Japanese university.

The Context

This section will demonstrate a four-semester sequence of genre-based EFL courses (Levels 1–4) offered for biology-major students at a Japanese university. This course was 15 weeks in length and taught by the author. With reference to Byrnes (2005, 2011), the four-semester course sequence was designed to familiarize the students with various written genres in different textual spheres in a step-by-step manner, shifting from private to public and general to academic. Precisely, within the four-level curricular progression, Level 1 focused on primary discourses used in everyday oral situations. In Level 2, the target genre shifted to secondary discourses used in the written mode primarily through expository essays such as description, comparison and contrast, and argumentation. Level 3 introduced students to email writing as a blurred genre in which the oral and written modes were combined to enable students to experience a wide range of modalities and consider the audience and the overall purpose (see Yasuda, 2011). Finally, Level 4 expanded language use in the written mode from general to more academic by focusing on subject-specific texts.

Due to the space limitation, I will focus on the Level-4 portion in demonstrating how genre-based tasks were developed and implemented considering the needs of biology-major

students at the Japanese university. The Level 4 course sought to shift its target genre-based tasks toward a scientific representation of reality by integrating content-oriented reading of academic texts (e.g., research reports on biotechnology, genetics, and biodiversity) into language learning tasks. Writing a summary was selected as the target task since this genre serves as "an aid to close reading and understanding of a field of knowledge" (Hood, 2008, p. 352) and it provides the opportunity to demonstrate an understanding of the new subject itself and of the specialized language associated with it—which exactly corresponded to the biology-major students' future genre/task needs.

Designing Tasks for Teaching and Learning How to Write a Summary: Pedagogic and Target Tasks

To design task sequences for the 15-week course, the target task (writing a summary of an academic text) was broken into its component pieces or sub-tasks. Table 1 is a course schedule for the Level-4 course and demonstrates how pedagogic tasks were sequenced and integrated into reading activities so that learning genre, task, content, and language could happen concurrently.

Table 1 The course schedule

Week	Reading Topics	Genre of the Reading	Pedagogic Tasks for Summary Writing
1	Guidance		
2	The Uses of Genetics	Research report	Pre-instructional summary-writing task (baseline task)
3	How to write a summary		Analysis of the selected summaries on the "Uses of Genetics" in Week 2
4	Hirofumi Yamashita's Three Star Vegetables	Magazine Column	Paraphrasing practice (i) Acknowledge/ Clarify
5	What is COP 17?	Magazine Column	Paraphrasing practice (ii): Summarize/ Organize
6	What is TPP?	Newspaper Article	Paraphrasing practice (iii): Shift level of abstraction
7	TPP & Domestic Agriculture	Newspaper Article	Paraphrasing practice (i), (ii), and (iii)
8	Disappearance of Wildlife	Science Textbook	Summarizing practice (i): The target readers are those who have little background knowledge on the topic.
9	Photosynthesis	Science Textbook	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Disappearance of Wildlife" in Week 8

10	Evolving animals	Science Textbook	Summarizing practice (ii) The target readers are those experts who have certain background knowledge on the topic.
11	Species Diversity of Mammals	Research Report	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Evolving animals" in Week 10
12	Bio-Diversity	Research report	Summarizing practice (iii): Using reporting verbs and acknowledging the author of the original source
13	DNA Testing	Research report	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Bio-Diversity" in Week 12
14	Wrap up		
15	Biotechnology & Genetic Engineering	Research report	Post-instructional summary-writing task (Outcome)

The course schedule illustrated in Table 1 highlights some notable features that make it different from a traditional content-based syllabus implemented in previous years at this institution. First, the reading topics were selected based on the students' academic needs, aiming to develop their content knowledge as well as discipline-specific words and lexical phrases. Second, the reading materials came from authentic sources (e.g., science textbooks used in high schools in English-speaking countries, online newspaper articles, and research reports) which the students were likely to encounter in their future academic careers. Third, the genres of the reading materials were sequenced based on their relative complexity, not impressionistically, i.e., shifting from magazine column, newspaper articles, and science textbooks and to research reports.

Lastly and most importantly, the reading activities were integrated into summary writing, which constituted a range of pedagogic tasks or sub-tasks. As shown in Table 1, in Week 3, the students learned fundamental conventions of summary writing through an analysis of the selected students' summary samples. The fundamental conventions of summary writing included: (i) definition, (ii) purpose and the importance of considering who their audience is and what they need; (iii) how summarizing is different from paraphrasing in terms of purpose and meaning-making linguistic operations (the purpose of a summary is to condense the content into a short form; while paraphrasing is concerned with the restatement of the original sentence in a form that is different from the original); and (iv) summary conventions (e.g., using reporting verbs, citing the author's last name, using the present tense, etc.). Then, in Weeks 4–7, the students learned the three types of paraphrasing: the acknowledging paraphrase, the organizing paraphrase, and the abstracting paraphrase (Lipton & Wellman, 1999). Through explicit instruction on various types of paraphrasing techniques, the students were expected to increase their awareness of how to control the level of abstraction depending on the audience (expert or general public). In Weeks 8–13, the students moved to summary writing practice. They were encouraged to write a summary of the source text they had read in class to different audiences, such as an

elementary school student who has little technical knowledge on the topic and a graduate student who has substantial knowledge on the topic. The summaries were submitted to the instructor after each class and then returned to the student in the following week with the instructor's comments and feedback. Some of the students' summary models were selected and used in class for genre analysis to raise their awareness of what does or does not constitute an effective summary.

In fact, this in-class analysis of sample summaries, conducted every other week, constituted the main feature of the pedagogic genre-based tasks for this course. The students engaged in the model analysis based on the scaffolding questions that were informed by the ideas of SFL. Sample scaffolding questions and the student worksheet for the analysis of genre models are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Scaffolding questions for analysis of the genre model

Read and analyze the summaries and answer the following questions.

1. Content

- What is a main topic of the original article?
- How does each of the three summaries address the main topic?
- Which sentence plays the role of thesis statement?
- How is the thesis statement in each summary supported by further details?
- Which summary sample do you think is better than the others? Why?

2. The relationship between the summarizer, the original author, and the audience

- Suppose the intended audience of your summary was a secondary school student, which summary sample do you think s/he would prefer? Why?
- If the intended audience of your summary were a professor, which summary sample do you think s/he would prefer? Why?
- How does the writer acknowledge the original author?

3. Language

- How does the writer reword the source information in a way that avoids copying the original author's words verbatim?
- What kinds of lexicogrammatical resources does the writer use to generalize the gist?
- What kinds of lexicogrammatical resources does the writer use to condense the information?
- How is the summary organized?

For this genre analysis, the students were presented with different summary models of the same source text that addressed different audiences (e.g., experts and non-experts) for different purposes (e.g., overview summary and goal-oriented summary). On other occasions, the students were presented with both effective and less effective summary models. Then, referring to the SFL-initiated scaffolding questions in Table 2, the students

were encouraged to dig into the summary models as discourse analysts (Désirée, 2009) in terms of how each summary reflected ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings and how the three types of metafunctions interacted simultaneously with one another to realize the genre. At the ideational level, the analysis encouraged the students to identify the main point of the text and analyze how writer expressed his/her macroproposition ("Content" in the worksheet in Table 2). At the interpersonal level, the students were prompted to analyze how the writers positioned themselves vis-à-vis the original author and how they expressed appraisal, evaluation, and judgment ("The relationship between the summarizer, the original author, and the audience in the worksheet in Table 2). At the textual level, the students were encouraged to analyze the flow of information and the lexicogrammatical resources that helped transform the original text ("Language" in the worksheet in Table 2). The students then independently composed their summaries regarding the content of the article that they had read in class. These pedagogic tasks were designed and implemented so that students could eventually transfer what they learned to the target task for this course (See Yasuda (2015, 2017) for major findings regarding the students' concrete outcomes).

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study presented how pedagogical procedures of TBLT can be linked to conceptual principles of SFL in the context of the college-level EFL course for biology-major students. Analysis of the students' outcomes at the end of the course indicated that the in-class model analysis based on the SFL-inspired scaffolding questions may have given them a new insight into how to write a summary. As the students continually engaged in analyzing various summary models from the tripartite metafunctional perspectives, they might have developed metalanguage, which enabled them to distance themselves from the model text and consider genre-appropriate lexicogrammatical choices and patterns. Further, the results revealed that their increasing awareness of language choices was accompanied by their enhanced awareness of the audience. The changes in the students' audience awareness and understanding of the genre were also apparent in their summaries of the source text at the end of the course. While extensive copying was evident in the pre-instructional summary tasks, the occurrences of direct textual duplication decreased markedly in the post-instructional tasks.

The findings suggest that linking SFL to TBLT enables teachers to develop tasks and materials promoting the concurrent development of linguistic knowledge and writing expertise. This insight is of particular importance in the EFL context because EFL writers, in general, are often less exposed to the intricate relation between language and genre in real-life situations than is typically the case for English as a second language writers. Therefore, incidental learning of the genre-language relations is less likely in EFL contexts. In such contexts, the linguistic resources for constructing meaning in a text, including lexis, grammar, and discourse structure, must be brought to consciousness and explicitly taught to students. Although this study focused on academic summary as a target genre, the

genre-based tasks in this study could be applied to other task types; e.g., emails (Yasuda, 2011), book reviews (Ryshina-Pankova, 2010); interviews (Achugar & Colombi, 2008), and lab reports (Schleppegrell, 2002). These studies have shown that SFL-informed genre tasks encouraged learners to analyze and discuss the tripartite relation among field, tenor, and mode in specific L2 instances, which helped them in becoming sensitized to a variety of lexicogrammatical resources, genre functions, and realization patterns as well as the lexicogrammatical items that were appropriate to make meaning in a given rhetorical context. Although these rhetorical situations were artificially devised by the instructor, interactive contexts can be created during in-class tasks in a manner that can enhance the students' deeper involvement. These conveyance-of-meaning-oriented writing tasks can thus be implemented by linking the two theoretical notions of genre and task such that they enable students to be sensitized to the lexicogrammatical items with reference to their contextual adequacy and communicative success as a whole. The interplay between SFL and TBLT could fruitfully provide a nexus point between learning-to-write (the content) and writing-to-learn (the language) or linguistic knowledge and writing expertise.

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