

Teaching EFL in Thailand: A bilingual study

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VOLUME I
Chapters 1 - 7

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Certificate

I certify that this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being submitted as part of a candidature for any other degree.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me, and that any help received in preparing this work, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in the thesis.

Signature of Candidate

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Abstract

The majority of the world's learners and teachers of English are located in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts such as Thailand, but related academia, teacher training and textbooks remain for the most part located in English-speaking countries of the Centre. Key assumptions of the latter have been that students wish to enter into the target culture and to work towards native speaker competence; classrooms have consequently reified the native speaking teacher and excluded students' first language. But in fact, for most EFL contexts such as Thailand, neither those goals nor their associated methods are relevant.

This study takes as fundamental to the Thai EFL context the presence of a first language shared by teacher and students, and explores how Thai teachers' use of both L1 and L2 creates a distinctive bilingual pedagogy.

The research takes an ethnographic approach which comprises the observation of ten English classes at a provincial Thai university and interviews with nine teachers on site. The framework for analysis is grounded in systemic-functional linguistics, and integrates this theory of 'language in use' with a socio-cultural theory of mind, elements of SLA, and trans-disciplinary perspectives. The study thus seeks to engage with Thai teachers' voices both as they are heard in the classroom and in dialogue with the researcher. To date, there exist in English no published studies of Thai EFL which have conducted this kind of enquiry.

The study produces new ways of describing Thai EFL classrooms. It discusses how L1 contributes to students' capacity to 'make meaning' in L2; how L2 constructs different possibilities of speaker 'performance' as well as of speaker 'reticence'; and how bilingual teachers deal with textbooks which appear exclusively in L1. The study demonstrates that Thai EFL is quite distinct from the ESL domain in which it is usually subsumed, and that on the contrary, it is strongly affiliated with Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) in almost every feature of curriculum, methodology, student participation and teacher bilinguality.

Notes on Terminology

Each of the nine teachers in this study was asked to select a pseudonym for her or himself; the university itself has also been allocated a pseudonym.

Following Thai convention, I refer to teachers by the title *ajarn* (lecturer), together with first name; for example *Ajarn Laksana*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1988-89, I spent a year teaching English at Isara University in Thailand. This was my first experience of Asia, and was to be followed by a number of further experiences of EFL teacher training in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam throughout the 1990s. Over those years, I was struck time and again firstly by how inappropriate the ESL methodology which I had learned and which formed the basis of teacher training programs in Australia seemed to be in these EFL domains; and secondly, by the ways in which discourses favouring monolingual native-speaking teachers of English at the expense of bilingual non-native teachers appeared to have become naturalised. At the same time, however, I was able to observe the ways in which L2 learning could be transformed by local teachers' capacity to draw upon the first language which they shared with their students.

By returning to Isara some fifteen years later, I was able to work in this familiar site to explore more closely how Thai teachers did make use of L1 and L2 in their classrooms, and to what effect: this study is the result.

Qualitative studies of second language classrooms are still rare; those which attempt to relate classroom data to broader social contexts more so; and in the Thai context, there do not appear to be any such studies to date. More generally, Pakir has noted that 'Asian Applied Linguistics research and findings are almost invisible on the Western front' (2004: 70). The present study seeks to address this gap in the literature and thereby make visible a part of Thai EFL. In so doing, it has sought to bring together several of layers of data analysis which relate to teachers and learners, curriculum and methodology, professional domains and global ELT.

Research questions are clustered as follows.

Describing bilingual classrooms

- (1) In what ways do Thai EL teachers make use of two languages – English and Thai – in their classes with university students?
- (2) What do these teachers perceive to be the purposes and effects of the use of L1 and L2 in this context?
- (3) To what extent does the curriculum, as represented by the textbook, support the learning of a second language and culture?

Exploring semiotic development

- (4) How does the use of both languages contribute to students' potential development of meaning?
- (5) How does performing L2 in the classroom impact upon Thai teachers' and students' self-expression and senses of identity?

Relating pedagogy to professional context

- (6) How does the professional domain of Thai EFL relate to ESL and to FLT?

It may be noted that questions (3) and (5) emerged in the course of the study, as enabled by the ethnographic approach pursued.

A number of theoretical perspectives are drawn upon in this work, but fundamental is a view of learning as embedded in social, cultural and political contexts. My approach to language, learning and culture first follows that of Michael Halliday, who views *language* as 'comprehensive, extravagant, indeterminate, non-autonomous and variable' (1997b: 5); who sees *learning language* as 'learning how to mean' (1975); and who asserts that *culture and language* co-evolve in the same way that meaning and expression co-evolve (1992/2003: 380). Secondly, I bring together a number of trans-disciplinary perspectives in order to investigate how identity is performed within a second language. Thirdly, the study draws upon the social interaction model of learning developed by Lev Vygotsky and expanded by, for example, James Lantolf, Leo van Lier and Claire Kramsch. Fourthly, in looking at bilingual learning, two valuable constructs have been provided by Vivian Cook's *multi-competence* model of the learner's internal processing mechanisms, and Michael Byram's *intercultural* model of foreign language pedagogy. Fifthly, Achara

Wongsothorn's own work and her collaboration with other Thai scholars have illuminated many dimensions of ELT in the Thai context. And lastly, the study has embraced many of the political insights offered by critical approaches to ELT, in particular those of Alastair Pennycook and Robert Phillipson.

Following this **Introduction**, Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 comprise a review of the literature, which moves from broad to specific. **Chapter 2** describes relevant theories of *Language, Learning, Culture and Performance*; **Chapter 3** moves to *Practices of Language Teaching*; **Chapter 4** narrows the field to *L1 and L2 use* in language classrooms; and **Chapter 5** further specifies *the Thai context* of this study.

Chapter 6 sets out the ethnographic approach of this research.

Chapters 7-11 comprise discussion of the data. **Chapter 7** attempts to create a multilayered picture of the major theme of the thesis – teachers' use of L1 and L2 in the classroom – by incorporating both etic and emic perspectives. That is, first, each of the nine teachers' classes is analysed for language use both through characteristic teaching *moves*, and through key teaching moments called *episodes*. Then teachers' own views on the purpose and effects of L1/L2 use are canvassed and related back to observed classroom data. Chapter 7 thus draws upon both insider and outsider perspectives in order to construct a picture, hitherto largely invisible, of the ways in which L1 and L2 are used in English classes in the Thai context.

Chapter 8 explores ways of understanding the roles of L1 and L2 in developing meaning. First the notion of 'comprehensible input' is problematised in several ways: its ambiguity of agency; its asociality; and its assumed monolinguality. Then the notion of 'scaffolding' is reviewed in the light of its currently rather broad and sometimes conflicting appropriations. Following this, I propose a new way of describing the bi-directional semiotic reconstruction which is offered by L2 development, which I term *Transmutation of Meaning* (TMM).

Chapter 9 takes discussion of the meanings afforded by L1 and L2 into the interpersonal sphere: into the *performance of identity*. An attempt is made to differently view this process through synthesising perspectives offered by Anthropology, Biology, Linguistics, Philosophy and Sociology, as well as Performance Studies. Five processes of performance are thus identified and related to the use of Thai and English in the lessons observed. Participating teachers speak here of the ways in which they perceive their social roles to vary according to L1 and L2 use in the classroom. Additionally, because Thai students' verbal reticence had emerged to be a matter of concern to teachers in the study, attention is given to exploring student performance and reticence to perform L2.

Chapter 10 broadens the discussion to *curriculum*, in the shape of the textbooks which formed the basis of the majority of classes observed. Here I investigate ways in which the role of the textbook, and how teachers mediate it, occur in this context. While critiques of textbooks have been frequently made, attention to the ways in which they are approached by bilingual non-native speaking teachers is rare. At this point in the study, it becomes possible to begin to distinguish more clearly the general purposes and goals of EFL from ESL, and to explore commonalities which EFL might have with FLT.

And so, where Chapters 7 and 8 focus on methodology, Chapter 9 on teachers/learners, and Chapter 10 on curriculum, **Chapter 11** draws upon all four preceding discussion chapters in order to consider the professional nature of EFL in Thailand, and in so doing, seeks to relocate the study to the global domain by creating a matrix of nine major types of language teaching.

Chapter 12 concludes the study by exploring implications for research and for practice. It asserts the uniqueness of bilingual teaching in this Thai context, and proposes key elements in the professional development of both native speaking and non-native speaking teachers of English.

Chapter 2

Language, Culture, Performance and Learning

- Part 1 Language and culture
- Part 2 Language and performance
- Part 3 Language and learning

Part 1 Language and culture

This study is a semiotic one, being concerned with how meanings are taught, learned, and developed. Specifically, it explores how meanings are created in and through a second language, and the two-way relationship this has with the first language. When exploring such relationships, it is valuable to draw upon the notion of *linguaculture* (Friedrich, 1989: 295) as well as that of *linguistic relativity* (Whorf, 1956), both of which resonate with the work of Halliday, who addresses language as a system for meaning-making in contexts of situation and culture. Halliday's model of language is also one which affirms that every piece of 'natural' communication serves not only to *construe experience* but also to *enact personal relations*; it is a model where competence and performance are re-integrated; one which explains the relationship of language and culture; and one which can also, through the notion of register variation, account for phenomena such as verbal art. The central place of Halliday's work in this study will be complemented by drawing upon a range of perspectives across disciplines as appropriate.

The concepts of language, culture, performance and learning which are addressed here will be drawn upon in every part of the thesis, and will particularly inform the analysis of pedagogy in Chapter 7, as well as Chapter 8's exploration of meaning, and Chapter 9's discussion of performance.

In this first section, I will briefly describe Halliday's model of systemic-functional linguistics and sketch a view of the relationship between language and culture.

Systemic-functional linguistics

In Halliday's view, language both constructs and is constructed by semantics, hence the title of his account of language development: *Learning How to Mean* (1975). Halliday traces back to Malinowski's anthropological work the necessity to locate language in its *context of situation* and *context of culture*, viewing an absence of contextual features as reducing analysis of language to one of form with limited meaning (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). *Context* thus does not refer here to syntactic cues, as is the case in some theories of reading, but rather, to the material and semiotic environment of a text.

Halliday's model of linguistic context may be metaphorically compared to Gibson's psychology of visual perception, and in particular to Gibson's three forms of vision: 'snapshot', available when one is immobile, 'ambient', enabled by turning the head and looking around, and 'ambulatory', which results from arising and moving the body (1979/1986: 3, 303). These perceptions can be compared to language, whereby snapshot vision is akin to a model focussed on *form*, ambient vision extends the model to *context of situation*, and ambulatory vision to *context of culture*. In this way, it may be seen that a 'snapshot' can only offer one limited view of environment or of language; as Gibson puts it:

The single, frozen field of view provides only impoverished information about the world. The visual system did not evolve for this. The evidence suggests that visual awareness is in fact panoramic and does in fact persist during long acts of locomotion. (1979/1986: 2)

This study aims to catch something of the 'panorama' of language 'in locomotion', that is, it seeks to apply a model which can capture the richness afforded by studying language in its fullest contexts.

In Halliday's theory of language, the term *Grammar* (sometimes termed *Lexicogrammar*, to signify that lexis is part of the system) refers to the networks of choices available to a language user, as distinct from the usual formal description of syntax and morphology. Accordingly, grammar is analysed both

at discourse level, describing rhetorical structure, cohesive links, and clause-complexes, and at clause level, describing choice of theme/rheme, given and new information structure, transitivity, and subject/mood (Halliday 1985a, 1994). Halliday's grammar identifies three semantic metafunctions which are realised in text: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*; all text in all natural languages (except the infant's reduced proto-language) is seen as operating through these metafunctions. At discourse level, the three metafunctions are described through the register variables of Field, Tenor and Mode. Field is constituted by choices made concerning the 'content' of our speech/writing; Tenor is constituted by the taking and ascribing of subject positions in the discourse; and Mode is constituted by textual coherence which varies according to the distance/proximity, both spatial and temporal, which exist between speaker and interlocutor.

Halliday's functional model is a powerful tool for analysing language in use. Through it, we may examine not only the subject-matter of an exchange, but also the concomitant positioning of participant roles; and additionally, we may uncover the part that language itself plays (or, in this case, that two languages play) in enabling text to be created with coherence and cohesion.

One feature of Halliday's grammar of particular value is his description of *congruent* (or 'literal') expression, and *non-congruent* (or 'metaphorical'), the latter category which may be further divided into *experiential metaphor* and *grammatical metaphor* (1975). Phylogenetically and ontogenetically, congruence precedes non-congruence (Painter, 1993; Derewianka, 1995; Halliday, 1998: 223). And for a second language learner, non-congruence will normally be better developed within her/his mother tongue than in a second language (see also Cummins' 1979 notion of an L2 learner's early development of BICS [Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills] and later CALP [Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency]). The ways in which non-congruent language is presented within a formal classroom setting may accordingly be seen to constitute an important and sensitive part of teacher talk in the second language classroom.

Culture

The notion of culture has been construed in many different ways according to perspective, scale, and focus of investigation (e.g. Kramersch, 1993; Holliday, 1994; Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Hinkel, 1999). Here, I will follow Hinkel's view of culture as consisting of 'social norms, worldview beliefs, assumptions, and value systems' (1999: 2). These beliefs and practices may then be examined for the ways in which they construct 'learning, understanding, production and interaction in a second language and a second culture' (ibid.). For Halliday, following Firth and before him Malinowski, there is no equivocation about the relationship between language and culture. Each constitutes the other; and semantics incorporates pragmatics (Halliday, interviewed by Thibault, 1987: 612). Halliday views language as 'actively constructing reality' (1995: 259), a notion complementary to the notion of discourse as a process through which 'we create, relate, organize and realize meaning' (Riley, 1985: 2). Discourses, then, are seen as 'ways of being in the world' (Kramersch, 1998a: 61); as ways of meaning which constitute and are constituted by language/action. A person may therefore variously, permeably, and often self-opaquely, enact various discourses.

This perception of language and culture as co-constitutive also enables us to make comparisons between the ways the grammars of different languages are shaped by and shape experience. While every language may be seen to have the capacity to construe the range of meanings required within its culture, different languages nevertheless have their own sets of meanings which are 'unmarked'. As Halliday puts it:

Each language has ... things which it brings into prominence, which it associates with one another, and which it *has to* express.

(1975: 198, italics in original)

Halliday illustrates this through comparing the linguistic realisations of time in both Chinese and English. He shows that while each language has the potential to realise non-characteristic ways of meaning, speakers of either language nevertheless focus on different features of events, and so build up a different

framework for the systemisation of experience. In other words, each speaker will participate in a different grammar, with differing cognitive perspectives. Consequently, as Schlesinger observes, certain ideas which are readily construed in one language require 'more *effort*' when construed in another (1991: 17; italics in original).

In his analysis of the relationship between language and culture, Halliday draws upon the work of Whorf (1956), pointing out that while the latter is commonly charged with determinism, what in fact Whorf provides is a view of 'the essential dialectic relationship between language and the social semiotic systems within which language functions as a realisation'; and that 'Text creates the situation as well as the situation creating the text.' (in Thibault, 1987: 617). In essence, this accords with Gee's view that while 'the way a language cuts up the world will influence how we initially think about something, ... it does not determine how we finish thinking about it' (1993: 274).

Kramsch has noted a 'current resurgence' of interest in linguistic relativity (2004: 235), and draws upon Lucy (2000) to distinguish three ways in which language and thought are related: semiotic, linguistic and discursal. She asserts, following Lantolf (2000a), that a sociocultural view of learning opens up 'the possibility of placing language relativity at the core of language acquisition and use', and concludes that sociocultural approaches such of those of Whorf above, as well as of Vygotsky (1978), Wertsch (1991) and others, enable us to examine 'the way individual and collective thought and sensibilities are co-constructed, shaped, and subverted through language as communication and representational practice' (2004: 251).

There is also valuable research which examines language and culture from a cognitive perspective. Gopnik and Meltzoff (1993: 213) find that 'Conceptual developments are not just pre-requisites for semantic developments. Instead, linguistic variation may actually influence cognitive development.' And Slobin draws upon cross-linguistic studies of narrative to propose that the events of a picture story book 'are experienced differently by speakers of different languages in the process of being verbalised' (1996: 88). Thorne, in his broadly-

based discussion of cognitively focussed research, concludes that 'language is in a bi-directional relationship with conceptual development and category formation' (2000: 234).

The relationship of language and culture is central to the classroom analysis undertaken in this study, for when learning a second language, we are learning to understand not only new forms, but forms which realise new meanings; and new meanings which constitute new culture. This view of language and culture enables us to see language learning as always culturally embedded; and to see the learner as one who crosses and recrosses cultural boundaries as her/his linguaculture develops. The relationship of language and culture is explored in Chapter 8 of this study, concerned with the making of meaning across two language/cultures, as well as in Chapter 9, concerned with performing identities, and in Chapter 10, with respect to the cultural dimensions of curriculum.

Part 2 Language and performance

This study is located in the public domain of the classroom: of interest therefore are teachers' and students' performance of English. In this section, I relate language to the body, performance/competence, performativity and verbal art.

The body

A starting point for examining performance is the body. Threadgold speaks of:

the centrality of the body to the business of making meanings, the fact that texts only mean as embodied and enacted texts ... in which meanings are ... superimposed upon and embedded within one another' (1992: 3).

A related notion is that of *Proprioceptivity* – the self's awareness of body mass, shape, orientation and movement, or physical 'being', which depends upon 'topographically organised neural maps of somatosensation in the thalamus and cortex' (Lackner, 1988 in Lake, 1991: 65). Proprioceptivity is a concept which I

would like to extend to *Linguceptivity*, referring both physically and metaphorically to our 'sense' of our first language, its existing meaning-system, associated lexico-grammatical realisations, and performance of various 'repertoires' of identity. The way we perform a second language, then, can be seen to emerge from the linguceptivity of the first language. Lemke (2002: 84) has described how in second language learning:

There are changes in how we move and how we feel, in the rhythms and musicality of our speech, the timbre and 'grain' of our voice. We add new dimensions to our Selves; we expand, through use of the language, our repertory of possible identities and ways of being human.

And once we enter a new language, there is no going back, for as the first language/culture transmutes the second, so does the second transmute the first (V. Cook, 2003).

A reconnection of body and mind has also been recently explored by Thibault, whose eco-social semiotic theory places the integrated body/mind in 'a dynamic open system which is both sensitive to and constrained by its contexts' (2004: 8), that is, where the body is sensed by virtue of its environment. These biological perspectives are found of value here because they acknowledge the embodiment of first and subsequent language learning, and because they bring out a notion of identity – physical and social – as being 'mutually afforded' between an entity and its experiences (Gibson, 1979/1986).

Performance and competence

Note is also made of Chomsky's development of Saussure's *langue* and *parole* into notions of *competence*, the implicit grammatical knowledge of the idealised native speaker, and *performance*, the linguistic output of a speaker. This dichotomy was applied to SLA by Krashen's Input Model (1981), which hypothesised that 'learned', that is, grammatically focused second language, was performance-oriented and could thus be internally monitored, whereas 'acquired', i.e. fluency-focused second language, was competence-oriented and thus was not available for conscious monitoring. However, a

performance/competence distinction has been found wanting by linguists, ethnographers and educators who prefer to see language as a system for making meaning. A significant development was that of 'communicative competence', introduced by Hymes (1972) to distinguish 'appropriateness' of language use from 'grammaticality'; this sociolinguistic reworking has been taken up by Canale and Swain (1980), Savignon (1983), Bachman (1990) and others. Halliday points out, however, that by settling to work within 'competence', albeit in this expanded form, Hymes accommodated the Chomskyan distinction between language system and instance. Halliday proposes an alternative solution to that of Hymes: that 'instead of rejecting what is messy', (that is, performance), 'we accept the mess, and build it into the theory ... we don't try to draw a distinction between what is grammatical and what is acceptable' (1978: 38). For as Halliday elsewhere asserts: 'the language system, and the language instance or act of meaning, are one phenomenon not two', and he compares the relationship between system and text to that of climate and weather (1992/2003: 382).

Similarly, in work which predated Chomsky, opposition to the original Saussurean dichotomy was displayed by Bakhtin, Jakobson, Voloshinov and Vygotsky. Voloshinov confined the value of Saussure's 'abstract objectivism' to 'deciphering and teaching a dead, alien language' (1929/1986: 82), noting that '*a synchronic system ... does not correspond to any real moment in the historical process of becoming*' (ibid, p. 66; italics in original), and instead asserting that 'language presents the picture of a ceaseless flow of becoming' (ibid). Thus Voloshinov may be seen to have turned the Saussurean duality on its head by representing *langue* as not ahistorical and asocial, but rather a reflection of the history of *parole* (Sidnell, 2001).

Performativity

A connection will be made here between the Hallidayan notion of 'enactment' and the concept of 'performativity'. The latter was developed by Butler (1990, 1993) from Austin's (1962) 'performative' speech act type, whereby language brings into being what it speaks. Butler explores this notion in regard to 'identity', proposing that it is created by language in the performance of itself;

that is, that identity is the effect rather than the cause of our actions/speakings. Identity in this light is not seen as a singular, indissoluble, nor necessarily conscious phenomenon; it is a set of 'repertoires' (Kroskrity, 2001: 107), a constellation of roles and desires which vary according to time and place. In Butler's view, no performance is simple repetition; each new speaking is different from the last, and therefore carries with it agency. We cannot step into the same stream twice; or, as Halliday asserts: 'every act of meaning transforms it [language], however microscopically, from what it was into something else (1992/2003: 389). Because the object of the current enquiry is to explore what happens when one set of meanings, those of the first language, are transmuted into a broader set, which constitutes those of the second language, I will investigate how *L1 enactments and experiences* are construed as *L (1 x 2) enactments and experiences*, and the openings up of identity which are thereby enabled. In this respect, I also recognise that identity is constructed by the self *in conjunction with* others, and that when moving into a new language/culture, identity may thus become more 'marked', that is, more visible and audible – again, both to the self and to others. Awareness through being 'othered' by the L2 experience can thus present possibilities for adopting, resisting or appropriating various aspects of the performed self.

As indicated earlier, a Hallidayan model of language accounts for the performance of identity within all natural language: 'all construction of meaning – all discourse – functions simultaneously **both** as construal of experience **and** as enactment of interpersonal relations' (Halliday, 1995: 257, emphases in original). Thus in this study, the Hallidayan term 'enactment' will be taken to include the Butleran notion of 'performativity', with the proviso that the latter is seen to add an invaluable political perspective to what happens to our sense of self in the learning of another linguaculture. For while Halliday's linguistic theory can analyse participants' social roles, Butler's philosophy can describe the cultural and political effects of these roles as the individual is constituted 'in' and 'by' the world.

Performance and verbal art

While the perspectives on performance examined thus far have viewed it as a part of all language, performance may also occur as a *public* act. Because the classroom is one public domain, it is of value to note the relatively recent field of 'Performance Studies', which has applied notions of performance to the ethnography of communication, and in particular to public performance of folklore. Originating in the work of Hymes (1975), but moving to incorporate post-modern perspectives, the field of Performance Studies has taken a view of performance as 'artful communication' which 'invites critical reflection on communicative processes' (Bauman & Briggs, 1990: 60), and which contributes to the 'decentring of the verbal text' (Threadgold, 1992: 3). This area can be seen to offer a valuable perspective on the *performance* of self, through which the earlier linguistic dichotomy with *competence* has become irrelevant.

One kind of public performance which will be a focus in this study is that of verbal playing in the form of humour. The latter may best be described through the lens of Verbal Art (Hasan, 1985), a term itself serving to broaden the traditional notion of 'literature' (written, canonical, restricted genres) to 'texts' either written or spoken, and which are available in a range of domains and genres. Verbal Art may thus be realised through spoken language – from everyday genres of anecdote, joke or song to the 'oratory' of public occasions; as well as through written language – from everyday genres of fairy tale or magazine story to literary works.

In descriptive terms, Verbal Art is distinguished in two ways. First, it is constituted by language which is 'marked' through 'patterning' (Halliday, 1971). Although language itself is a patterned activity, patterning in Verbal Art is taken to be 'the chemistry which results from the combination of the many co-occurring patterns within the same text' (Hasan, 1985: 19), and is shaped by repetition and contrast at lexical, syntactic and semantic levels. But patterning can equally well occur in non-art texts, and consequently, Verbal Art must also be distinguished communicatively in its imaginative function (Halliday, 1973), construed in either *aesthetic* and/or *play* dimensions. The aesthetic function of language is said to result from 'the use of language to draw attention to itself'

(Fabb, 1997: 15). It has also been related by Carter to a broader expression of creativity, which inheres in 'the degree to which language use departs or deviates from expected patterns of language', and which 'defamiliarises the reader ... [and] generates new or renewed perceptions' (2004: 59).

In its play dimension, Verbal Art may also function as 'a source of enjoyment, either for ourselves or for the benefit of others' (Crystal, 1998: 1); and it may have an opening up effect, in that 'play introduces into language use a random element which works against more rational forces and destabilises them' (G. Cook, 2000: 139; see also Lantolf, 2000b; Tarone, 2000; Belz, 2002a).

In this study, Verbal Art was seen to be created extensively in one Thai EFL class in the shape of humour. In a search for ways of describing this phenomenon, it was found that Hasan's (1985) three semantic strata of *verbalisation*, *symbolic articulation* and *theme* could account for what happens to language when it is used in ironic, joking or teasing ways. According to Hasan, the first stratum, *verbalisation*, represents what is required to communicate in any meaningful piece of language – the constellation of phonology/graphology, lexico-grammar and semantics. But verbal art induces a second layer of semiosis, *symbolic articulation*, which allows that: '... one order of meaning acts as a metaphor for a second order of meaning', and hence, 'the art of verbal art resides in its symbolic articulation' (p.100). In the present study, this is seen to happen in the productive tension between 'everyday' meanings and 'ironic' meanings. The third stratum, which Hasan calls *theme*, represents a 'hypothesis about some aspect of the life of social man', and may be regarded as 'close to ideology' (ibid, p. 99). In this study, the related concept of *discourse* will be preferred, as the latter avoids the intentionality suggested by Hasan's 'hypothesis' notion. And so, the notion of discourses, as established earlier, will enable analysis of what happens when certain meanings are juxtaposed for, in the case of this study, humorous purposes.

Humour, then, may be usefully regarded as one form of both Verbal Art and language play: that which deals 'with the absurd or unexpected' (Crystal, 1998: 12). Language play in general can serve to unsettle perceptions; humour in

particular may be said to build upon existing mores in order to destabilise them, with an outcome of either changing or of consolidating those mores. The locating of humour in this way is also believed to be of value in bringing out G. Cook's assertion of the unremarked ubiquity of verbal creativity in everyday life (2000). In the present study, the capacity of this phenomenon for opening up meaning and performance will be further discussed in Chapter 7, as well as in relation to performance in general (Chapter 9).

Part 3 Language and learning

In this section, I will look first at the field of Second Language Acquisition, describing mainstream approaches, and then at sociocultural models of learning. This is followed by an examination of Inner Speech in L1 and in L2. Finally, two key features of L2 learning are explored: Bilingualism, and Code-Switching. Ideas gathered from this literature will be applied to the analysis of classroom data in Chapter 7, as well as in Chapter 8's discussion of how meaning develops across languages.

It may be noted in the following survey that not only is there a continuing bias in the research literature towards European/American contexts and monolingual models, but that application to FL learning in contexts such as Thailand is still rarely found.

Second Language Acquisition

The mainstream of SLA research has located itself, as has mainstream linguistics, in the discipline of psychology. Its view of language has generally been focussed on form rather than on meaning, seeking to measure syntax and morphology, and occasionally phonology or lexis. However, the key construct of Chomsky's Generativist model (1965) has been described as embedded in 'anglocentric "universalism"' (Halliday, 1995: 259); and SLA's idealisation of the native *speaker* has been opposed because of its extension into reification of the

native speaking *teacher* (Canagarajah, 1999b). The central image of SLA is said to be of 'the transplanted learner' (Sridhar, 1994: 801); and Brutt-Griffler (2002) confirms a continued assumption that L2 is learned in a mother-tongue environment, which type represents a minority of SLA participants worldwide. The disparate nature of ELT in various contexts will be explored in Chapter 11 of this study.

Mainstream SLA's view of the learner has also been a psychological one, with little to say about classroom learning, 'either as relevant data or as relevant application' (P. Gibbons, 2002: 43-44). SLA methodology has generally been positivist in nature (Nunan, 1992), and has been said to suffer from 'science envy' (Block, 1996: 64). Application of mainstream SLA to the classroom has been popularised through the work of Krashen (e.g. 1982, 1985). Although his various hypotheses have engendered strong critiques (summarised by Ellis, 1999), and his period of 'hegemonic bliss' (Block, 2003: 5) is long gone, Krashen's bringing together of notions of *comprehensible input*, a *silent period* for beginning learners, and *the role of affect in learning* have made a considerable impact upon language teachers because in these respects at least, here is a theory which resonates with everyday experiences of the language learning process. For all this, however, Krashen's work still adheres to a Chomskyan notion of a Language Acquisition Device; it focuses upon the acquisition of grammatical morphemes as indicators of learner progress; and its view of learning is confined to an input/output model of speech processing which emanates from mathematical/IT paradigms (see Shannon & Weaver, 1949). And so, for Krashen, 'comprehensible input' is the necessary and sufficient condition for SLA to occur; with learner production of language, or 'output' being seen only as evidence of learning, rather than as part of the learning process itself (cf. Swain, 1985; Pica, 1994; Gass, 1997).

More generally, an Input-Interaction-Output model of language learning, with associated notions of 'message' and 'conduit', has become central to mainstream SLA. Indeed, Block (2003: 5) records that this model represents 'the most ambitious, well-developed and productive area of research' in that

field over the past two decades; and R. Ellis, in a survey of the SLA literature, confirms that metaphors of the learner as ‘machine’ and ‘container’ remain the two most dominant images (2001: 83).

In recent years, a small but growing part of the SLA field has emerged which views knowledge as socially constructed, which situates the L2 learner as a social as well as psychological being, and which draws upon text and discourse perspectives (for example, Swain, 1986; Donato, 1994; Lantolf, 1994; van Lier, 1996; Kramsch, 1998a; Wells, 1999; Block, 2003; Gibbons, 2003; M. Johnson, 2004). Now, alternative images of learning are proposed: for example, ‘affordance’ (created by Gibson, 1979/1986, and taken up by, for example, van Lier 1996, 2002); ‘participation’ (Lantolf, 2000a) and ‘ecologies of learning’ (Kramsch’s edited volume, 2002). Donato comments that:

the utterances of a teacher ... in a foreign language classroom are more than linguistic input to be made comprehensible. They are essentially social practices of assistance that shape, construct, and influence learning
(2000: 40)

The notion of ‘comprehensible output’ coined by Swain (1985) has also been questioned by Kramsch (1995) and others, with alternatives offered (e.g., ‘collective scaffolding’ by Donato, 1994). For the time being, however, none of these has gained wide currency. Swain has meanwhile reviewed her notion of comprehensible output, suggesting that ‘output’ should be taken to refer to ‘a socially-constructed cognitive tool’ (2000: 112); and more recently, has proposed the term ‘languaging’ (2005) as one which can bring out the *process* of language, and which can integrate both meaning-making and agency.

Sfard (1998) calls into question the central metaphor of SLA, that is, ‘acquisition’ of language. Halliday has never accepted this metaphor, believing that human beings *develop* language, rather than *acquire* it, and that the latter term should be reserved for material objects such as ‘a new car’ (Lecture, Sydney University, Department of Linguistics, 1986). Pavlenko and Lantolf

(2000) suggest that a 'participation' metaphor complement that of acquisition; M. Johnson (2004) proposes that participation replace it.

In 1997, a special edition of the *Modern Language Journal* offered challenges to and defences of the domain of SLA. Firth and Wagner, for example, attacked SLA for its perceived neglect of social and discursal perspectives, and proposed changes which include achieving 'a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and international dimensions of language use' together with 'an increased emic ... sensitivity' (1997: 286). Their paper stimulated a range of supportive responses (e.g. Liddicoat, 1997; Rampton, 1997; Firth & Wagner 1998) and opposition (e.g. Long, 1997; Poullisse, 1997; Gass, 1998). One revealing defence of existing SLA explained that:

the emphasis in input and interaction studies is on the *language* used and not on the act of communication.

(Gass 1998: 84; italics in original)

Socially-situated perspectives in the second language field are for the most part based on the work of Vygotsky and his followers (Sokolov, 1972; Leont'ev, 1981; Luria, 1979; Vygotsky, 1978a, 1979, 1986). Key notions have included that of 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976), coined to describe the process of guidance which occurs within the learner's Zone of Proximal Development, the latter referring to a learner's capacity to achieve with assistance that which s/he cannot yet do alone. Activity theory (see Wertsch 1979, 1981) views purposeful activity as being based on socially-defined beliefs and desires, and occurring in particular contexts. Knowledge itself is seen as jointly constructed between learner and teacher or amongst learners, for as van Lier puts it: 'social interaction is the engine that drives the learning process' (1996: 147).

Learning theories of social construction resonate with a Hallidayan analysis of language development (1975; also Painter 1984, 2001; Foley, 1991; P. Gibbons, 2002). A view that all knowledge is socially constructed enables us to perceive how cultural contexts and language will determine what and how we

learn. Knowledge is embedded in culture and developed through social interactions, with language its major semiotic: language and cognition are interdependent processes. Language can now be seen as part of an ecology (van Lier 2000, Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001; Leather & van Dam, 2003; Thibault, 2004) where learners interact with environments spatial, social, cultural, educational and linguistic.

Inner speech

L1

Inner speech refers to the internal monologue which accompanies our daily lives, a process recognised in the West at least from the time of Plato according to Sokolov, who notes that Plato's 'Theaetetus' defines thinking as 'the conversation which the soul holds with itself in considering anything' (1936, in Sokolov, 1972: 34). The concept was explored in different ways by both Piaget and Vygotsky, with Vygotsky placing the development of inner speech/cognition as resulting from dialogic external or social speech (in distinction to Piaget's view of inner speech as resulting in social speech). Inner speech is explored here because it throws light upon what may be happening, invisibly, in students' minds during the learning process, and this is an issue which will be pursued later in Chapter 9, that dealing with performance and non-performance of L2.

Inner speech may be quite different from external speech. It potentially takes at least two forms. The first is *egocentric* in function, in which case there will be reduced syntactic and semantic elaboration. This form may be 'abrupt, governed by predicators, often unintelligible [to others] because referents are unclear'; and 'condensed and compact', with a high degree of ellipsis (Cohen, 1998: 188). A single word of egocentric inner speech may be 'so saturated with senses that many words would be required to explain it in external speech' (Vygotsky, 1982: 48, in Murphey, 1989: 34). In this function, inner speech can be the most personal and contextually embedded form of language, when there is no apparent audience, real or imagined.

Alternatively, inner speech may be more fully linguistically construed, and this happens in two kinds of thinking (Cohen, 1998). The first occurs when we are faced with a cognitively demanding task such as that associated with logical argumentation/discussion, and/or the consideration of a number of perspectives. Here, inner speech will serve to make explicit through language our cognition which may hitherto have been minimally realised in language. This kind of inner speech is still directed only or principally at its initiator; its function is still 'non-communicative' (V. Cook, 1991b), and will be termed *cognitive* here. Secondly, there is a *rehearsal* function of inner speech, which allows us to not only make explicit to ourselves what and how we mean, but refines the meanings into verbalised ones appropriate to the context of interlocutor and domain (that is, to tenor and field).

There is some terminological ambiguity in the literature (summarised by Centeno-Cortés & Jimenéz Jimenéz, 2004: 9), with 'Inner Speech' sometimes but not always being distinguished from 'Private Speech'. In this study, Private Speech, following Vygotsky (1986), will be taken to represent utterances which are vocalised, but are addressed to oneself, rather than to an audience. Thus, private speech is regarded as intermediate between inner and outer speech, as in *inner* → *private* → *outer*.

L2

Of interest in the present research are the roles of both L1 and L2 in the process of inner speech, since an understanding of how both languages operate may assist in exploring classrooms where in many cases, students may offer little 'evidence' of learning in the form of external speech, but nevertheless appear to be and are regarded by teachers as being on task as determined by visual signs and written outcomes.

A number of studies have explored the role of L1 in the L2 writing process. Positive contributions enabled by students' internal use of L1 have been identified by Piasecka (1988); Friedlander (1990); Shamash (1990); Koboyashi and Rinnert (1992). In particular, Wang and Wen (2002) studied sixteen undergraduate Chinese EFL writers, and by using think-aloud protocols,

determined that all but one participant used Chinese for composing, and that on average, 32% of think-aloud data was in L1 for a narrative task, and 24% in L1 for an argumentation (although in that study, task setting may have impacted upon outcomes). Principal uses for L1 were identified as text-generating and idea-generating.

Cohen's 1998 study, referred to earlier, also explored the potential of inner speech for optimising L2 learning strategies. Cohen suggests that the *cognitive* function of inner speech is confined to L1, and he identifies the function of inner speech in L2 as that of *rehearsal*. However, this would appear to be likely only the case of beginning students. A study by V. Cook did investigate the inner speech of fifty-nine 'high-level' bilingual teachers and students (1998: 5). When participants were asked to become aware of and report on their use of L1 and L2 in 'talking to oneself' (here taken to mean unrehearsed inner speech, or Cohen's *cognitive function*) 46% of participants reported using L1 only, 33% both L1 and L2, and 21% reported using L2 only.

With respect to the more visible 'private speech', McCafferty (1994) found that while other factors also played parts, L2 proficiency was a major determinant in the amount of L2 private speech which occurred when learning. Centeno-Cortés and Jimenéz Jimenéz (2004) investigated both the quantity and the different kinds of private speech (which the authors termed 'private verbal thinking') employed by learners of Spanish, reporting that advanced learners were able to extend L2 private speech to cognitively demanding thought, and that by contrast, intermediate learners were found to employ the L2 'mainly while reading and for repetitions of parts of the question, fixed expressions, metacomments' (2004: 31).

It appears from these studies that an exploration of what may be happening in the minds of second language users can serve to authenticate the presence of an 'invisible L1', and to position it as a major player in the development of L2. This understanding of 'silent' attentiveness will be invaluable in appraising the classroom activities observed in the current study.

Notions of Bilingualism

The bilingual learner

Of particular importance to the present study are the alternative positionings of L2 learners offered by studies of bilingualism. The term *bilingual* here will be taken to describe a speaker who can communicate appropriately in various contexts in two languages (Baker, 2001; Kroll & Dussias, 2004). The term *ambilingual*, or 'balanced bilingual' will be confined to speakers who have equal and expert proficiency in two languages, a group which represents a small minority of bilingual speakers (Halliday, Macintosh & Strevens, 1964).

It has been estimated that a greater part of the world's population is bilingual than is monolingual (Edwards, 1994; Tucker, 1999), and so it seems aberrant that the latter has become the norm for investigation within SLA, resulting in a pervasive view within SLA that an L2 learner is deficient in comparison to a native speaker of that language, and thus in a seemingly naïve bias in the field (Cook, 1992; Y. Kachru, 1994; Belz, 2002b). But as Cook points out, an L2 learner simply cannot be a native speaker (1997: 12). Herdina and Jessner assert that in terms of communicative efficiency, a monolingual speaker 'must be considered merely half as efficient as the bilingual speaker' (2002: 128). And it has been proposed that the bilingual speaker be recognised as the new yardstick in language study (Cook, 2002), for 'It is... monolingualism that represents a special case' (Romaine, 1996: 573).

Ervin and Osgood's (1954) classic study, though now problematised, distinguished between the states of Co-ordinate Bilingualism and Compound Bilingualism – sometimes known as the 'one pot/two pots' view of the bilingual brain. A Co-ordinate Bilingual was held to possess two separate language systems in the brain, these resulting from having learnt the two languages separated in time and place. On the other hand, the Compound Bilingual was viewed as having one semantic system with two surface representations, as a result of learning two languages at the same time. Grosjean characterises these two views as 'separatist' and 'holistic' respectively (1989). The state of Compound Bilingualism was not favoured by Ervin and Osgood (1954), and according to Baker (2001), the view that mixing language systems generally

caused confusion for the learner, and resulted in 'subtractive bilingualism', was generally held until the early 1980s. That position was attacked by Cummins and Swain, who proposed a 'dual iceberg' model of language whereby the visible tips of the iceberg – the surface languages – hide the greater submerged mass which is seen as proficiency common to both languages (1986: 82). Further work by, for example, Bialystok (1991, 1999), Ricciardelli (1992), and Mohanty (1994), contributed to a transformation of the field, and by 2000, Cummins could report on one hundred and fifty studies which supported the value of additive bilingualism in education (p. 37),

Support for the additive or multiplicative value of bilingualism is provided by a *multi-competence model* of the second language user. This model has been developed by Cook (1991b, 1992, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003) to describe 'the compound state of a mind with two grammars' (1991b: 112), and envisages the relationship between L1 and L2 in the learner's mind as an 'integration continuum' (2003: 6). Cook asserts that when a bilingual is communicating in one language, 'the other language is still residually activated' (1992: 567); in other words, the bilingual brain has two languages simultaneously 'on-line' (2001: 408). In support of his model, Cook draws upon an extensive literature which includes analyses of code switching in a paper by Grosjean entitled 'The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person' (1989), as well the findings of Sridhar and Sridhar (1980: 413), who point to utterances where elements of two languages appear in the same sentence but with one coherent syntactic structure as evidence of semantic integration. Other studies of speech processing have similarly concluded that 'the language systems of the bilingual are permeable' (Kroll & Dussias, 2004: 191; see also Baker & Prys Jones, 1998).

Further support for the multi-competence model is derived from studies into the effect not of L1 on L2, but of L2 on L1 (see Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Cook's edited volume, 2003). In the latter, for example, Laufer found evidence of L2 (Hebrew) influence on the collocation judgements of Russian L1 speakers; and Jarvis examined a Finnish native speaker whose bilinguality in English resulted in a higher acceptance of non-grammatical Finnish sentences.

Code-switching

In the research literature, the alternation of L1 and L2 in the classroom and elsewhere is referred to as code-switching. The nature of code-switching, can vary significantly according to context, which may be second language, for example the UK, Sri Lanka; or foreign language, for example Thailand, China. And while some elements of code-switching share impact across many contexts, there are clearly also a number of social factors which may vary. This study will focus only upon the literature relevant to Thailand and countries which have commonality with it; valuable work into code-switching in second language contexts which has been conducted by Martin-Jones (1995), Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) and others will thus not be pursued here.

The term *code-switching* itself is conventionally used to describe inter-sentential changes of language, with *code-mixing* referring to intra-sentential changes. While both terms are still current, they do date from a certain era, and speak a certain position on language. Are meanings (semantics) communicated by being encoded and decoded through language, as per some Communications theorists (e.g. McQuail, 1984)? Or are meanings and language mutually constitutive? In adopting the second perspective, we may find code-switching/mixing to be potentially misleading terms, implying that it is form alone which changes with the selection of one language and then another. For this reason, I propose to make use of the term *Language Alternation* as sometimes met in the literature (e.g. Jakobson, 2001), and additionally, to coin the term *Language Blending*. The latter is favoured because it serves to signify that *language* itself is being selected, rather than a surface *code*; and because the word *blending* avoids the senses of suddenness/randomness connotable by 'mixing'.

Part 4 Learning and culture

This final section of Chapter Two returns to the domain of culture and relates it to learning, with the aim of thereby anchoring the study's exploration of Thai EFL classrooms.

Culture

It is difficult to talk about any dimension of culture without essentialising or stereotyping. How accurately can we attempt to compare, say, Australian and Thai 'educational culture' without reducing a complex, shifting picture to a simplified, static one? As previously indicated, of value in this study will be the notion of discourses as ways of meaning which constitute and are constituted by language/action. Scollon and Scollon's *Ethnography of Speaking* draws upon Sapir, Vygotsky, Bakhtin, Hymes and Bourdieu, amongst others, to offer a means of intercultural analysis which connects principles of Interdiscursivity, Intertextuality and Dialogicality (1995/2001: 273). Here, *Interdiscursivity* refers to 'multiple, overlapping, and even conflicting discourses'; *Intertextuality* acknowledges that utterances 'borrow from other discourses and texts, and are, in turn, used in later discourses'; and *Dialogicality* (which we might also call 'Dialectic') asserts that 'all communications respond to prior communications and anticipate following communications'. This cultural framework is found to offer compatibility with functional approaches to language (Halliday, 1994) as well as with ecological approaches to language learning (Kramsch, 2002).

One approach to describing cultures is offered by Hofstede (1980), who attempts to broadly categorise national cultures in non-judgemental ways across four dimensions: Power Distance, Collectivism/Individuality, Uncertainty Avoidance and Masculinity/Femininity, with more recently a fifth category of Goal Orientation (long versus short term) having been introduced. Hofstede's findings are based on the study of 100,000 employees of IBM in forty countries over a period of six years, and his work has been subsequently updated on a regular basis (e.g. 1991, 2001). While his approach in many ways fails to meet the richness of texture offered by that of Scollon and Scollon above, and indeed has been charged with essentialism and reductionism (McSweeney, 2002),

Hofstede's framework is still popular, for example in faculties of business in many universities. It is noted here because a number of writers cited in this study draw upon his approach, both in the broad ELT field (de Jong, 1996), and in relatively rare studies of learning in Vietnam (Dyer, 2002), Laos (Keovilay, 2004) and Thailand (O'Sullivan & Tajaroensuk, 1997; Hallinger & Kantamara, 2001). Hofstede's work will thus be revisited in Chapter 5 of this study, which looks at Thai ways of learning.

From a different perspective, the work of Kubota (1999, 2003, 2004) and others has shown that when attempting to describe patterns of culture and learning, it may be difficult in the first place to 'notice' and make sense of what is happening without essentialising and stereotyping features noted. The lens offered by Scollon and Scollon as indicated above is of value because it can acknowledge that there do exist perceptibly different features of educational practices, as there do in other domains of Thai culture, but that these phenomena can be viewed in complex, polyphonic ways. The present study, informed by both emic and etic accounts (van Lier, 1988), attempts to maintain an awareness of the flexibility and multiplicity of such phenomena – how they are both social, individual, and contextual – and in so doing, will also attempt to problematise some of the existing descriptions of cultural learning patterns found in the research and professional literature.

When we turn to language learning in classroom settings, I would claim that any teacher who has worked with learners from different language and/or cultural backgrounds will have had occasion to observe in students certain patterns of behaviour when it comes to ways of learning, expectations of educational goals, interactions with other students, and with teachers. And this recognition is clearly of value, as far as it goes, for there do exist patterns of behaviour both formal and informal which vary across – and within – cultures. But there is more to culture than meets the eye, or 'gaze' of the 'nouveau arrivé'. Dimensions of a new culture may be missed or mis-read, particularly when, say, a Westerner goes to Thailand, where usually, s/he will be communicating with Thai students through English rather than through Thai; where many aspects of Thai culture will be unfamiliar; and where the expectation of students in Thai classrooms is

that they maintain considerable verbal reticence. And so, there may be benefit in not only gazing *upon*, but *around* what appears, as well as in *turning back* the gaze upon oneself and thereby offering a fourth, 'reflexive' level of vision to the three described earlier by Gibson (1979/1986).

Culture and learning: mainstream accounts

It may be noted that individual 'learning styles' have been described both at the psychological level, for example by Kolb (1984) and in Gardner's 'multiple intelligences', (1993), and at a broad cultural level, with the learning styles of international students from Asia who are studying in English-speaking countries having received increasing attention as the international commodification of higher education picks up pace. Core professional texts used in Australia for many years have been those of Ballard and Clanchy (1984, 1991, 1997), who draw upon earlier Australian research by Bradley & Bradley (1984) and Samuelowicz (1987). The term 'Asian' is not defined by Ballard and Clanchy, but appears to refer principally to students from East and South East Asian countries. Central to the advice offered to lecturers is a perspective of three kinds of learning, ranged from left to right along a continuum of 'conserving' to 'extending'. The first kind of learning, 'Reproductive', is concerned with memorising and imitating; the second, 'Analytical', includes critical thinking; the third, 'Speculative', refers to creating new knowledge through 'What if?' type questions (1991: 13, figure 2.1).

In brief, while they frequently qualify their assertions, Ballard and Clanchy present a picture of 'Asian' learning which does not generally attain the ways supposed of Western ones. They contend that:

Many Asian cultures place much greater emphasis than ours does on the conserving attitude to knowledge: scholarship is traditionally manifested by an extensive and accurate knowledge of the wisdom contained in authoritative texts or the sayings of earlier scholars and sages. (1991: 17).

Asian learners are said to have a "passivity" of learning style ... in which questioning, analysis and a critical approach ... were not encouraged' (ibid).

The view of Western knowledge as 'extending' is supported by a sourced comment by Einstein (p. 10), whereas that of Asian knowledge as 'conserving' is supported by an unsourced comment attributed to Confucius regarding the learning of 'what is ancient' (p. 15).

Other literature on comparative learning styles has similarly focussed on 'Western' (generally USA and UK) styles, and 'Eastern' or 'Asian' styles. The term *Confucian-Heritage Culture (CHC)* has become widely recognised to describe not only the Chinese speaking countries of China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, but also Japan and Korea (see Watkins & Biggs, 1999; Curro, 2003), and sometimes to include Vietnam and Malaysia. Confucian Heritage learners are said to be 'accustomed to simple transfer of information from their teacher and to retaining such data through rote learning' (Alptekin, 1993: 140; see also Samuelowicz, 1987), and they may be 'likely to lay greater store by Confucian sayings to support their views than they do by ... viable "evidence"' (Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996: 27). And as for classroom performance in Western contexts, there is a common claim of 'passivity' amongst Confucian-Heritage Culture students (critiqued in Ramsey, Barker & Jones, 1999).

Culture and learning: alternative accounts

In recent years, alternative views of approaching differences in learning patterns have emerged. First, there is a perspective which simply compares educational success at national levels. Biggs (1994) draws our attention to the *International Association for the Evaluation of Attainment* and its four-yearly global comparative tests of attainment in Maths and Science, which regularly place students from Japan, Korea and Singapore ahead of students from Australia and the USA. Not only is averaged student attainment higher for those Asian countries, but so is placement in the top 10% benchmark. For example, in 1999, in the case of Japan for mathematics, 33% of students were placed in the top 10% as compared with 9% of USA students; and for science, the comparative figures were Japan, 19%, and USA, 15%.

It can be seen that the arguments which commonly laud Western education at the expense of its Eastern counterparts are simply wrong. Descriptors issued by the IAEA for the top 10% scoring students are as follow:

The top 10 percent benchmark of mathematics achievement represents students who can organise information, make generalisations, and explain solutions strategies in *non-routine problem solving situations*. The top 10 percent benchmark of science achievement represents students who demonstrate a grasp of some *complex and abstract science concepts*.
(National Centre for Education Statistics, USA 2003; emphases added)

In the most recent comparative educational study of fifteen OECD countries, it is reported that while Australia performs well on all indices, it is outperformed by Hong Kong, Japan and South Korea on 'problem-solving', and by Hong Kong and South Korea on mathematics and scientific literacy. The current education director for the OECD offers the view that these three Asian countries are leading the way in innovative mathematics teaching: 'The moral is they teach problem-solving, they don't teach rote learning' (Doherty, 2004a).

Clearly, then the charge of 'rote' cannot be sustained, and Biggs (1994) makes a useful distinction between *rote* as in 'without thought or meaning', and *rote* requiring 'repetition as a means of ensuring accurate recall' (p. 47), pointing out that it is the latter which can in fact provide a positive learning strategy. Similarly, Bessell-Browne and King report on their experience with Lao EL teachers, who when asked 'Can you learn without understanding?', responded 'Can you learn without having a good memory?', with Lao teachers explaining that by first being able to remember what they had been taught, they were enabled to revisit new ideas and begin to understand them (1993: 8).

In an attempt to 'de-other' international students, Zamel objects to both 'a stance which anticipates that a student's cultural and linguistic background will be problematic and limiting', and to viewing students as 'fixed by their world views' (1997: 343). In resonance with Scollon and Scollon's ethnography as outlined above, Zamel asserts the need to recognise the multiple, shifting

nature of identity and its intersection with language(s), and proposes a model of 'transculturation' in the place of existing models of assimilation and acculturation. Others similarly view culture as 'dynamic, permeable' (Chen, 2003: 260); as happening in 'blurred' spaces (Rosaldo 1993: 209); and as multiplying out of 'discourse and desire' in the classroom and other contexts (Ellwood, 2004: 2).

Further critique of cultural assumptions is offered by Spack (1997), who demonstrates how a series of (Western) scholars' misattributions led to generalisations about what Confucian thought might mean for Chinese education. She makes the points that Confucianism is not monolithic, and that a long campaign was conducted against this philosophy by no less than Mao Zedong. Similarly, Bloch and Chi, taking a text perspective, analysed English and Chinese academic discourse and found Chinese rhetoric to be as complex and changing as is Western rhetoric, and clearly of a non-'reproductive' nature (1995: 271). Atkinson (1997) looks more broadly at the notion of critical thinking as conceived in the West, questions its appropriateness in current forms, and proposes that TESOL educators recreate their conception as 'cultural thinking', which then enables text- and discipline-approaches to be constructed using a Vygotskian pedagogy. Ellwood's (2004) study of international exchange students from Japan and Europe offers a way of viewing student identities which problematises the 'homogenising effect' of cultural categorisation, and which takes further Kramsch's (1993) view of language learning as a dialectic one. Thus it may be seen that more thoughtful approaches treat cultural comparisons with care, and acknowledge that however useful observation of classroom behaviour may be, it can represent only one part of the bigger picture of what learners and teachers bring to their interactions with each other and with language.

As for actual classroom performance, the term 'passivity' is gradually being replaced by 'reticence' (Liu & Littlewood, 1997; Jackson, 2002; Chen, 2003). The re-labelling, while attempting to remedy a negative term, is not unproblematic, for such terms still suffer from the ethnocentric view that 'what you see is what is happening'. Might we alternatively relabel the typical Western

learner as 'voluble', or perhaps 'garrulous'? In fact, Cortazzi and Jin (1996), for example, found that Chinese students whom they surveyed believed that they were 'active' in class, in the sense that at a mental level, they interacted intensively with the teaching. Phan (2004) similarly asserts the active but differently verbalised nature of Vietnamese university classrooms. And Ellwood (2004) found that the Japanese students in her multi-nationality classes were indeed more verbally reticent than their European peers, but that interview discussion revealed Japanese students to be focussed on, attentive to, and again, mentally interactive with teaching and learning.

It is also the case that Western classrooms have been demonstrated to be dominated by the teacher-fronted Initiation-Response-Feedback protocol (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979), or what Hess and Azuma (1991) called 'quick and snappy' public questioning. And Western teaching overall may be perceived as 'student-driven, hyperactive, supervoluble' (Canagarajah (1999b: 191). It seems that in order to achieve better intercultural education, we need to reappraise the role of talk in the classroom – by teachers and by students; to look at the kinds of learning valued in different contexts; and to see what kinds of learning are enabled by various interaction patterns.

In this study, notice will be taken of the patterns of Thai students' learning which are observed to occur in classes, as well as of the related views of Thai teachers. Just what is going on when students say little? Can we deconstruct this phenomenon in order to test some of the assertions made in the literature? And can we thereby contribute to a richer, more subtle account of the learning process?

Chapter 3

Practices of Language Teaching

Part 1 Global English

Part 2 ESL and EFL

Part 3 FLT

The previous Chapter 2 set out the study's theoretical base of language, culture and learning. The present Chapter 3 describes ELT as it is taught and learned internationally. Part 1 recognises the political dimension of ELT through an examination of the power of English in the world. This global perspective will be drawn upon in Chapter 10 of the study which deals with the ways in which ELT is channelled internationally through commercial textbooks. Parts 2 and 3 of the current chapter examine teaching/learning practices first in English Language Teaching and then in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) fields, seeking to connect these two domains in order to better describe the teaching of English in a context such as Thailand. This background will be drawn upon particularly in Chapter 11 of the study, which compares language teaching/learning world wide.

Part 1 Global English

The spread of English

The impact of the spread of English has been documented and analysed in a number of ways, from the 'neutral' stance of Crystal (1997, 2003), to the liberalism of de Swann (2001), and in the critical writings of Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994a), amongst others. It is the field of Critical Applied Linguistics which informs the present study, for a full account of ELT must be political: political in the sense of the power relations/effects/structures which exist at a multiplicity of levels, from personal through to global (Canagarajah, 1999a; Tollefson, 2000; Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

Just over twenty years ago, Kachru observed that 'If the spread of English continues at the current pace, by the year 2000, its non-native speakers will outnumber its native speakers ...' (1982: 3). This has of course proved to be true, with recent estimates reaching some 400 million native speakers, and more than double that number of non-native speakers (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1998: 419).

Kachru has usefully described three concentric, enlarging circles of English (1985: 12): an *Inner Circle* representing Western countries such as the USA, UK and Australia; an *Outer Circle*, representing English as a Second Language in countries such as Singapore, Malaysia and the Indian subcontinent; and an *Expanding Circle* representing English as a Foreign Language in the rest of the world. Kachru's classifications have been long regarded as, and remain of considerable value in the field, but as Bruthiaux notes (2003: 161), they suffer from seeking to address three linked but distinct factors: varieties of language use, multiplicity of speaker type, and geography. These are important distinctions, for in the present study, the value of the Kachruvian model lies not in distinguishing varieties of language use, but in identifying speaker types. Accordingly, this study will not examine the important work currently being conducted into institutionalised varieties of English (see the Vienna-Oxford EFL Corpus described by Seidlhofer [2001]).

As a corollary to the somewhat triumphal tone which may be associated with descriptions of the spread of English, it should be acknowledged that English is not spoken by the majority of people in the world. And with regard to Internet use, for example, it is notable that while in 1997, 84% of websites were in English (Graddol, 1997), by 1999, this had reduced to 54% (Warschauer, 2001); that is, while overall numbers of websites continue to expand, the overall percentage created in English continues to fall. This tendency is confirmed by Graddol's recent projection of significant increases in the numbers of first language speakers of other world languages such as Hindu/Urdu, Spanish and Arabic (2004). It may also be that the rate of English language expansion will diminish as China, with one quarter of the world's people, emerges as the world's largest economy, this being anticipated to occur by 2030. Western media outlets have started to refer to our time as 'The Asian century'; in his description of the current spread of English in China, Jiang tellingly refers to 'the two linguistic giants' of the English and Chinese languages (2003: 8); and at the time of writing, the Chinese government has announced plans to establish over one hundred 'Confucius Institutes' over the next four years, whose mission to teach Chinese as a Second Language is said to be similar to that of the British Council in relation to English (McDonald, 2005).

For the time being, however, it is clear that English occupies a pre-eminent position of use and power in the world. For decades, English has been the most widely studied second language in Europe; and it represents the lingua franca of the ten countries

which comprise the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Thailand is a member. It has been estimated that 200 million children in China are learning English, and 23 million university students (Jiang, 2003). In India, it has been estimated that 250 million people are speakers of English (McArthur, 2003). For at least the past decade, English has been perceived to be the language of science and technology, of trade and of international communications (Graddol, 1997; Crystal, 1997, 2003).

In practical terms, the global spread of English has been supported by national government agencies such as the British Council, and the US Information Agency, as well as by other organisations such as Overseas Development Assistance (UK), US Aid (USA), AusAID (Australia), along with those countries' roughly equivalent volunteer organisations: Voluntary Service Overseas, Peace Corps, and Australian Volunteers Abroad. Recent political events have seen a resurgence of monovocal power on the part of the USA, supported by the UK and Australia; and such neo-imperialism will also have its impact on the spread of and resistance to the English language.

The impact of English

There are broadly two differing perspectives on the impact of English in the world today. The first has been variously termed neutral, conservative, liberal positive or positivist. It may be said to be dominant, and as is the case with dominant ideologies, is largely naturalised. From this perspective, English plays a neutral or positive role as a world language. Antecedents for pro-English ideology may be found in British imperialist policies of the 19th Century and in those of the USA in the 20th Century, both of which are similar in assumption if not design to France's *mission civilisatrice*, and Spain's imperial plan for Castilian (Illich, 1981, in Phillipson, 1992: 31). Here, the European language was seen as a means through which enlightenment of various kinds – religious, social, educational and industrial – could be brought to other nations and races. The development of imperialist discourses associated with English has been documented and traced to its current neo-colonial forms by Pennycook (1994a), who also notes the powerful expression of such discourses through popular print and electronic media.

In contemporary discourses, the spread of English is often seen as a force for good and linked to the twin 'freedoms': freedom of speech, (represented by democracy), and trade (capitalism), the two positioned as complementary though in fact they are quite

separate. In this view, English as an unprecedentedly ubiquitous lingua franca affords international communication, allowing for intercultural understanding as well as access to (mainly Western) developments in science, technology and the arts. This view of English has been described as a 'diffusion paradigm' as opposed to an 'ecology paradigm' (Tsuda, 1994). It may appear to be relatively uncritical, as for example in the work of Crystal, who wrote that 'by the end of the 19th Century...English [was] the natural choice for progress' (1997, in Ricento 2000: 96), and whose work has been described by Phillipson as 'fundamentally Eurocentric and triumphalist' (1999: 265). It may also be naïve: Widdowson argues against a political notion of 'language spread', and against 'the conspiracy theory that the language itself has powers of suppression' (1997: 139). The promotion of English by bodies such as the British Council has similarly been viewed uncritically in some quarters, with one writer attributing to the Council the development of British EFL into 'one of the wonders of the language teaching world' (Davies, 1991: 60).

'Recipients' of ELT may share a belief in English as a means of 'progress'. Wu (1985: 307), writing of China, asserts that 'English is no longer considered a negatively value-laden language, associated with colonialism and imperialism, but it is regarded as a useful instrument associated with modern science and technology'. This is a perspective supported by Zhenhua's study (1999), which surveyed 2,000 Chinese lecturers of English and received majority assent to leading questions such as:

- 2.2 English is a major contributor to economic and social advancement in most countries. (73% agreement)
- 2.3 English is essential for progress, as it will provide the main means of access to the international community and information over the next 25 years. (98% agreement).

However, alternative views of the spread of English perceive that far from it being neutral, still less a 'force for progress' (which usually translates to economic development), English is 'squarely in the centre of the fundamental processes of imperialism, neo-colonialism and global economic restructuring ... the spread of English can never be neutral, but is always implicated in global inequality' (Tollefson, 2000: 13). Critical views of the spread of English vary in their theoretical orientations, but generally share a concern with social justice in the face of the legitimised power of dominant social groups, with examining who benefits and who loses in the spread of

English, and with a broader view of English as part of the ecology of the world's languages (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994).

Now, we may see direct links emerging between the promotion of English by UK and USA governments, and the furthering of capitalism (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989). There is recognition of the gate-keeping function of English, which often acts as a 'the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment or social practices' (Pennycook 2001: 80). As for the role of teachers of English, Alexander points out that through our practice, we 'contribute to the dissemination of the modes of meaning, the sociocultural texture and social practices associated with the language' (1999: 25).

These alternative, sceptical views of the roles of English draw upon two theoretical positions: neo-Marxism, and postmodern perspectives.

Phillipson (1992) examines from a neo-Marxist perspective the structural inequities of global Englishes, using the notion of *linguistic imperialism* as a subset of Galtung's *cultural imperialism* (1980) to compare political/economic power plays of the 19th and 20th Centuries with the expansion of the English language in the current age.

Associated with linguistic imperialism is the notion of *linguicism* – coined to parallel racism and sexism – whereby the languages of different groups are used as defining criteria and as the basis for hierarchisation (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994). Further associated notions are those of *linguistic genocide* – the death/killing of languages; and *language ecology*, initially referring to the interdependent existence of languages and cultures, a term coined by Haugen in 1972, and further developed, for example, by Mülhäusler (1996), van Lier (2002), Kramsch (2002), Leather and van Dam (2003).

Pennycook's work in *Critical Applied Linguistics* (2001a) shares many of the concerns of Phillipson, but offers a 'principled postmodern' interpretation of the unfolding of global events: of 'English in the world and the world in English'. Pennycook claims that, contrary to Phillipson's thesis, we 'cannot reduce language spread to an imperialism parallel to economic or military imperialism' (1994a: 22) and critiques Phillipson's view that issues arising from language spread can be addressed through language planning. Pennycook finds untenable the neo-Marxist position on socio-economic determinism and universality. He makes note of the rather static, and hence marginalising view of culture offered by such a perspective (1998: 188), and instead

proposes a notion of culture as a process through which people can exert agency, and develop capacities to resist and appropriate social roles (2000: 108). These views are developed by Brutt-Griffler (2002) in her perspective on the spread of English as 'macro-acquisition' of L2 by speech communities, as distinct from SLA by an individual. Brutt-Griffler too offers a critique of the notion of linguistic imperialism, preferring to see imperialism as an 'unwitting, even unwilling *instrument* of the spread of English' (2002: 111; emphasis in original).

By viewing the world as operating in sets of discourses – ways of meaning which constitute and are constituted by language and action – rather than seeing it as operating purely in terms of structural power relations amongst individuals and classes, we are offered a perspective which both elucidates the realities of personal experience, and further, opens up individual, lateral, social and political possibilities for change (Ricento, 2000). In Kramsch's (1993) phrase, 'third spaces' may be created; a notion also termed 'the third place' by Lo Bianco, Liddicoat & Crozet, (1999). Resistance to ELT hegemony is found, for example, in relation to India (Chatterjee, 1993) and Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, 2000); and other studies have explored how English is being appropriated into disparate contexts such as Nigeria (Bisong, 1993) and Singapore (Chew, 1999). It should be noted, however, that in the literature, resistance is visible nearly always from Inner or Outer Circle countries, rather than from the Expanding Circle which is the focus of the present study.

Development and globalisation

A considerable amount of ELT in developing countries is conducted through international aid/development projects, and Thailand has until recently been a recipient of such projects. The field of Development Studies provides a range of perspectives on the economic and human consequences of development, working with, and sometimes against Eurocentric, modernist discourses of capitalism, growth and globalisation.

Widespread critiques have pointed to the inequitable results of many development/aid projects (Galtung, 1971; Escobar, 1995; Sen, 1999), identifying fundamental ethical issues (Fox, 1994), as well as, more broadly, critiquing the notion of targeted economic growth set against shrinking global resources (Todaro, 1977; Hamilton, 2003).

At a global economic level, the 'deficit' model of countries which are 'lacking' development has been opposed by Johnston, Gostelow and Jones, who propose to reposition 'developed' countries as 'over-developed' (1999: 304). Now, we can view

over-consuming, over-producing, over-driven societies in the West/North as reflecting goals which are neither appropriate nor sustainable for a just and finite world.

A related field of research into *Language in development* has emerged (see Phillipson, 1992), and in 2002 formed the basis of a special issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* journal which aimed to define and explain the field to itself and to others (e.g., Markee; Williams & Cooke; Appleby, Copley, Sithirajvongsa & Pennycook). *Language in development* has additionally been the focus of a number of conferences in SE Asia over the past decade (see Crooks & Crewes, 1995; Kenny & Savage, 1997; Shaw, Lubelska & Noullet, 2000). The emergence of this field indicates a growing awareness of the socio-political dimension of language teaching, and has been particularly valuable for Expanding Circle countries of SE Asia such as Thailand, whose educational concerns are often quite different from Inner Circle countries of the region which have a substantial English language history deriving from colonial times.

Globalisation itself has been classically described by Robertson as ‘the compression of the world, and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole’ (1992: 8). Its effects upon education have been investigated in a volume edited by Burbules and Torres (2000), and its effects on ELT have been explored in a volume edited by Block and Cameron (2002). In the current study, it is suggested that productive connections may be made between critiques of globalisation and ecological views of language (Halliday, 1990/2003) and language learning (Kramsch, 2002; Leather & van Dam, 2003).

Part 2 ESL and EFL

Part 2 sets out the professional field which comprise global ELT. It notes some contentious issues relating to native speaking and non-native speaking EL teachers, and discusses the methodology of CLT and its relevance to countries of the Expanding Circle.

Global domains of ELT

Teaching English as a second or subsequent language is traditionally divided most simply into two kinds: English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). ESL is conventionally taken to refer to contexts where English is the (or a) dominant language of the country, and EFL where it is not. Given the spread of English and its colonial history, it is not surprising that the terms have been contested (Kachru, 1982; Pennycook, 1989; Phillipson, 1991; Nayar, 1997; Govardhan, Nayar & Sheorey, 1999). Indeed, in the face of the multiplicity of current contexts for ELT, the value of attempting to define and classify core types might appear to be debatable. Quirk opposes an ESL/EFL dichotomy 'partly because I doubt its validity and frequently fail to understand its meaning. There is no clear-cut distinction between ESL and EFL' (1991: 159). From a different angle, Crystal observes that 'the distinction between "second language" (L2) and "foreign language" use has less contemporary relevance than it formerly had', citing status and social proficiency in EFL situations such as Scandinavia and Holland (1997: 56). However, the outcome of this persisting looseness of terminology in ELT may serve to support Anglocentric views of English teaching, for by imperfectly naming practice, ambiguity arises, and so difference may be obscured or denied (Phillipson, 1991: 50; Nayar, 1997: 23).

As well as the ESL/EFL distinction itself, there are a number of other ways of describing varieties of ELT which have gained some currency. One useful distinction is that made between contexts where L2 is being used as a medium of instruction for the teaching of content – *language as medium*, and those where the L2 is being studied 'as a language' – *language as object* (or *language as subject*, as in 'school subject') (see also Richards, Platt & Weber, 1985). As indicated in Part 1 of this chapter, a geopolitical classification has also been provided by Kachru's description of three concentric, enlarging circles of English: *Inner Circle*, *Outer Circle*, and *Expanding Circle* (1985). A broader political distinction between *Centre* and *Periphery* countries was made by Galtung (1980), and has been taken up in ELT by Phillipson (1992: 17-37), Canagarajah (1999, 2003) and others.

It should be noted that within the category of 'Inner Circle' there are two rather different groups: *immigrants*, whose tuition is usually provided by state institutions or government funding (in Australia, generally through the Adult Migrant Education Program or the Technical and Further Education sector), and a group often known as *overseas students*, that is, students enrolled in educational programs who are neither resident in nor immigrant to an English speaking country. In Australia, the latter are

usually served by private English colleges, known as the ELICOS industry (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students). However, in the UK, the term EFL is extended to cover this group, and is used in distinction to ESL, the latter which is confined to immigrant learners.

Another framework has been offered by Holliday (1994: 12-13), who identifies two contexts of ELT: that taking place in universities and private language schools in BANA (British, Australasian, North American) countries, and that of state education ELT in other countries TESEP (Tertiary, SEcondary, Primary). This distinction usefully recognises the major differences which often exist not only socio-politically but also in the different degree of privilege existing in private and public sectors. As for the term ESL, Nayar (1997) has consistently argued for its reclassifying into two, whereby the term ESL is confined to the teaching of immigrants in Inner Circle contexts such as Australia; and the term *English as an Associate Language* (EAL) is proposed to refer to the kind of status and use of English in Outer Circle countries such as India and Malaysia.

All of the above descriptions are found to be of some value in attempting to portray a complex picture of global Englishes. In particular, those of Centre-Periphery, and The Three Circles will be drawn upon in the present study. However, the core terms of ESL and EFL will be progressively problematised in this research, and will form a central part of the discussion of Chapter 11.

In global terms, it must be said that ELT curricula, methodology and teacher training are dominated by Inner Circle, rather than Outer Circle or Expanding Circle concerns, even though the latter two categories are bigger, both demographically and geographically. It is a sign of the uncritical, self-referential nature of much ELT writing that the assimilation of EFL into ESL has been rarely questioned, with early exceptions being Phillipson (1992) and Nayar (1994). And as was asserted in Chapter 2, the SLA theory with which ELT is associated has been seen to be particularly Anglocentric and oriented towards the ESL, as opposed to EFL learner.

In sum, the focus of the present study is (i) the teaching/learning of English as a foreign language in the Expanding Circle country of Thailand, viewed from (ii) the perspective of an EL professional working in the Inner Circle country of Australia. I do not explore here Outer Circle (EAL) education in countries where

English is widely spoken, is often a medium of education, and where the domains and discourses of English language teaching differ from both (i) and (ii) above.

Native and non-native teachers of English

It was noted by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens in 1964 that native English speakers could no longer claim 'ownership' of the language; and Smith could report in 1976 that English was taking on a role of an 'international auxiliary language'. The work of Kachru (1982, 1985) was then pivotal in creating new perspectives on global varieties of English, and the inception of the journal *World Englishes* in 1985 (formerly *World Language English*, 1981) may be regarded as marking a turning point in perceptions. Nayar (1994: 1) has strongly argued against the hegemony of 'old varieties' and native speakers in ELT, and for the acceptance of new varieties through which the native speaker concept 'becomes irrelevant ... as everyone is a native speaker of his particular variety of English and a non-native of all other varieties'. Kachru observes that in 'local' contexts (*Outer* and *Expanding* circles), attitudes towards new varieties of English have generally been negative (1992). And the perception of new Englishes, as Widdowson suggests (1994), may have been further discoloured by a methodological push for 'authentic' L2 use, a goal which in practice usually serves to privilege both native speakers and 'old' varieties.

The linking of authenticity with native speakers is undermined at one level purely by the greater existing numbers of native speakers (NS) compared to non-native speakers (NNS) of English, as was noted earlier. Nevertheless, it is relatively recently that the hegemony of native-speaking teachers has been problematised (Canagarajah, 1993; Widdowson, 1994; Braine's edited volume, 1999; McKay, 2003), and Brutt-Griffler has recently re-asserted the need to 'reclaim the role and contributions of non-mother-tongue teachers of English in the international history of English' (2002: xii).

There is no doubt that widespread in the ELT profession are perceptions which serve to privilege NS teachers, and to disempower NNS teachers of English to a serious degree (Paikeday, 1985; Kramsch, 1993; Byram & Fleming, 1998). These power inequities are clearly expressed through differential income and status, as well as in the desire of many employers and students to secure native speaking teaching staff (see also Liu, 1999; Oda, 1999).

There are indeed grounds for moving beyond a native and non-native speaker paradigm, and towards a bilingual 'expert speaker' status which disregards language

background (Rampton, 1990; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999). There are also grounds for reasserting the importance of pedagogical expertise alongside that of linguistic: Seidlhofer warns of ‘the dangers of an automatic extrapolation from *competent speaker* to *competent teacher*’ (1999: 237; emphases in original).

I will now consider some perceptions of the different competencies offered by the two types of EL teacher.

Medgyes discusses native and non-native teachers of English (1994, 1996), and summarises NNS teachers as having competencies to:

- i. provide a good learner model for imitation
- ii. teach language learning strategies effectively
- iii. supply learners with more information about the English language
- iv. anticipate and prevent learning difficulties better
- v. be more empathic to the needs and problems of learners
- vi. make use of the learners’ mother tongue (1994: 51).

In accord with Medgyes’ positive view of the NNS teacher as a role model for students, O’Neill (1991: 304) has declared the major strength of NNS teachers of English to be their ‘*direct insight into experience of the processes involved for other non-native speakers*’ (emphases in original), a point also made by Widdowson (1992, 1994). However, while Medgyes considers that NNS and NS are equally valuable teachers in their own right, he also believes that ‘the discrepancy in [the two types of teachers’] language proficiency accounts for most of the differences found in their teaching behaviour’ (p. 27). This would suggest that Medgyes views the ‘discrepancy’ as resting only in the NNS’s expertise in L2; but it might equally be the case that a NS teacher is discrepant in her/his grasp of students’ L1. Thus an analysis of difference rather than of deficit could acknowledge the linguistic strengths and limitations which differently characterise each kind of speaker - native monolingual, and bilingual non-native.

Another view of the relative merits of NS and NNS EFL teachers is provided by Tang (1997) in her survey of forty-seven Hong Kong teachers. Tang reports that participants believed that NS EL teachers could communicate more effectively in all areas of English, but particularly in speaking and pronunciation. On the other hand, NNS teachers who shared the L1 of their students were considered to be more capable of

assisting lower level students, to more effectively determine learning needs, and to exercise empathy with students' learning styles and situations.

In the very different Inner Circle USA context, Auerbach (1993), notes that use of the students' L1 by bilingual NNS teachers can reduce affective barriers, engender empathy amongst students and teacher, and thereby facilitate more rapid progress in L2. In Australia, L. Ellis (2002) explores the distinctive contribution offered by three bilingual teachers, noting major strengths to be empathy, reflection upon their own learning as 'outsiders' to the L2, and metalinguistic awareness.

The possible limitations experienced by the usual monolinguality of native-speaking teachers of English appear to have been generally overlooked, with the following notable exceptions. Phillipson remarks upon the general failure of local expatriate personnel to learn the language of their students (and this in general has also been my experience in various South East Asian contexts). He asks:

How can anyone be an expert in the language learning needs, steps and strategies of a set of learners without in-depth knowledge of the culture and language that the learners bring to the classroom?
(1997: 245)

Similar views are expressed by Singh and Singh (1999). Skutnabb-Kangas makes the point more strongly:

To me, monolingual ESL teachers are per definition incompetent to teach ESL: they simply lack several of the capacities or proficiencies that a learner needs and can reasonably expect from the teacher. (2000: 37)

Nayar, speaking of Anglophone 'foreign experts' suggests that they have generally themselves been 'very poor learners of a Second Language or Foreign Language' (1997: 23). And as Palmer noted in 1932 (cited in Kelly 1976: 281):

The least competent person to teach English is an Englishman who does not possess the students' language.

E. Ellis (formerly L. Ellis) surveyed ESL teacher competency documents in five countries: the USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (2003: 15-21). She found

that in only one case – that of New Zealand – was there reference to the desirability of the teacher herself having learned another language. As Ellis points out, echoing Seidlhofer's earlier comments (1999), there is a need to re-create a balance between the two dimensions of ELT: expertise in *English language* and expertise in *language teaching*; and that the latter expertise can be significantly developed through the teacher's own bilingual experience.

There is a profound repositioning offered by Kramsch's projection of *teacher bilinguality*, when she argues that language teachers:

... have to respond to the foreign words with the sensibility of both a native speaker and a non-native speaker ... They have to remember what it felt like to learn a new language, the linguistic and cultural shocks experienced, the challenges and rewards encountered along the way. (2004: 256)

The implications of this repositioning will form a part of later discussion in this study on the professional development needs of native and non-native EL teachers.

Methodology: CLT and relevance to EFL

Curriculum is taken here to refer to the selection and sequencing of texts, and *methodology*, how to teach them, with the latter, as Larsen-Freeman (1999) notes, often being conceptualised by teachers in terms of *activity*, i.e. what will happen at various stages of lessons. The concept of 'method' has often been honoured more in theory than in practice. It is a term often used generically to refer simply to 'the ways I teach', for eclecticism is a feature of many ESL classrooms. In the following section, attention will be paid to the model of language teaching which has been most influential in Western contexts over the past thirty years: Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). I will attempt to describe here the practices of CLT as they have evolved in the West, and have been exported to Outer and Expanding Circle countries. While the term is broad, and its applications various, there is no doubt that CLT currently forms the basis for the great majority of teaching materials, textbooks, teacher training and other professional development for both ELT and FLT teachers.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) evolved in the 1970s in Europe (e.g. Wilkins, 1976). Its discourses vary, but broadly focus on learner need in terms of participation, individualism, choice, autonomy, and sometimes humanism (Stevick, 1980). CLT methodology is focussed on the use of pair and group activities, draws

upon authentic, text-based materials, and is fundamentally concerned with language in use. CLT's development in the 1960s and 1970s drew upon various approaches to linguistics and education. First, speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) had provided a functional description of spoken interaction. Second, the field of Contrastive Rhetoric allowed the structure of written texts to be identified and compared with other languages (Kaplan, 1966). Third, functional models of linguistics accessible to educators became available through, for example Halliday's contribution to *Language In Use*, (Doughty, Pearce & Thornton, 1971), and Canale and Swain's (1980) extension of Hymes's notion of communicative competence (1972).

Early CLT, with its lists of language functions and notions was, however, naïve in its concept of communicative language, for such contexts as it provided were often minimal, with 'skeleton' grammar now replaced by 'skeleton' functions. Later CLT, which often drew upon authentic texts, seemed unperturbed by an assumption of native speaker expertise as a guide to appropriacy, or by questions of the cultural validity/relevance of texts selected. Moreover, CLT often understood the nature of communication to be 'information exchange', and thereby failed to attend to broader sociocultural contexts of language and learning (Block, 2003; Corbett, 2003).

The position of CLT today may be identified by comparing two editions of Richards and Rogers' *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*, the first which was published in 1986, and the second in 2001. In the later edition, we find that along with various 'minor' approaches having been dropped (such as Total Physical Response, and Community Language Learning), and others introduced (such as Neuro-Linguistic Programming, and Competency-Based Training), CLT is now asserted to have been 'adopted almost universally and [has] achieved the status of methodological orthodoxy' (2001: viii). Another significant change is that while the first edition queried whether CLT was equally suited to ESL and EFL, and indeed its suitability for non-native speakers (1986: 8), the second edition no longer does. 'Orthodoxy', or hegemony?

Overall, there is no doubt that the materials and learning activities associated with CLT have changed the experience of L2 learning in a great many positive ways. However, CLT's appropriacy for various differing contexts is questionable. Objections to the transferability/export of Western methodologies into developing countries have been outlined by Phillipson (1992), Holliday (1994), Canagarajah (2003) and Toh (2003), amongst others. Problems in adapting CLT for non-native contexts have been

discussed with specific regard to China (Hird, 1995), Laos (Forman, 1999a), South Korea (Li, 1998), Taiwan (Lo, 2001) and Vietnam (Lewis & McCook 2002).

A key feature of CLT is the maximum, if not exclusive use of the target language in the classroom. Both this and other features associated with communicative methodology will be explored in this study, with lessons observed and Thai teachers' commentaries being seen to hybridise a range of teaching practices. Tensions between global and local will be shown to be sometimes creative, sometimes limiting, but the result is a 'local product' which is quite far removed from CLT as 'methodological orthodoxy'.

Part 3 Foreign Language Teaching (FLT)

There are normally few connections made between the classroom practices of ELT and Foreign Language Teaching (FLT). However, as will be argued throughout this study, and particularly in the penultimate Chapter 11, because of similar conditions of target language status, teacher bilinguality, and student participation, there may be many advantages to be gained by reapproaching EFL as though it is a part of the FLT domain.

Theoretical base

The field of language teaching is split into English (ELT) and 'the rest' (FLT). In the West, a generation ago, FLT was principally of the French and German languages; in more recent years, in Australia at least, study has extended to Japanese, Indonesian, and to a lesser extent, Chinese.

At the level of research, while conventionally SLA is viewed as covering all second languages in all contexts, that is, both FLT and ELT, it has been asserted that the FLT field is inadequately represented. In their edited volume dealing with the relationship between SLA and FLT, VanPatten and Lee (1990) argue that that the focus of SLA is on English, and specifically in ESL or immersion contexts; that it neglects 'classroom language learners, [who are] without access to a second language speech community'; and that the relationship between the two disciplines, is 'at best only weakly connected' (p. ix). Other contributors to this volume agree that 'there is little emphasis on separating out the two [ESL/FLT] contexts in which learning takes place' (Gass, 1990:

34); that the different nature of FLT needs to be recognised, 'characterized as it is by limited L2 exposure and interaction primarily with other non-native L2 speakers' (Savignon, 1990: 197); and moreover – and this is a charge similarly laid by ELT critics of the SLA field – that SLA has not approached in FLT 'phenomena observed in the light of their social context' (Kramsch, 1990: 28). These are key observations, of course, for any view of language learning which is socially situated cannot fail to acknowledge the major contextual differences between learning a second and a foreign language (see also Seidlhofer, 1999; Block, 2003). Ten years on from VanPatten and Lee's edited volume, Kramsch (2000b) documents that the divide between the interests of mainstream SLA and FLT remains strong, and argues that the overarching field of Applied Linguistics, which includes SLA amongst other sub-fields, can be valuably reconceived as the theoretical base of FLT. This is a view supported by Belz (2000b), and one which resonates with the present study's adoption of a Hallidayan model of language and learning.

When we turn to fields of practice, it seems that similarly few connections have been made across the domains of ELT and FLT, with the pioneering work of Corbett (2003) being published only during the writing of this thesis. In some ways, the lack of connections across the two fields is unremarkable, given that in professional terms, FLT is located apart from ELT in its training, professional associations, textbooks, largely separate professional conferences and publications, and that FLT is represented by a multiplicity of languages which often leads to a teacher's primary identification being with that particular language. But in other ways, it may be that parts of each field have thereby missed opportunities for professional development.

Because FLT represents 'other' to the 'known' ELT, it will be outlined here in some detail in terms of its Curriculum and Methodology, Teachers, and Students.

Overview

The field of foreign language learning in Australia has been alternatively known as 'Community Languages', 'Languages Other Than English' (LOTEs) and more recently, simply 'Languages'. These Australian terms are, however, not used in North America and Europe, and for the purposes of this research, the term of 'Foreign Language Teaching' (FLT) will be used. This term FLT is itself less commonly used than FLL (Foreign Language Learning), but FLT is preferred because it allows for more direct comparisons with ELT, and because the focus of this study, while incorporating learning, is upon teaching.

Australia is a country which has had proportionately the largest immigration program in the world after Israel, with this leading to some thirty-eight languages being available for formal study to High School matriculation level. There has nevertheless been ongoing disquiet as to the success of school FL programs (Morgan, 2003), with Liddicoat (2002) pointing out that FL learning is the only school subject which is repeatedly called upon to justify its existence.

The purpose and goals of FLT in Australia are complex, and enmeshed with three critical social dimensions. These are first, as noted above, the highly multicultural nature of Australia, with 20.1% of its population speaking a language other than English in the home according to the 2001 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002); second, there is Australia's common view of itself as a nation which is English-speaking; and third, the geography and politics associated with an island continent which is large in size, small in population, and located between Asia and Antarctica. Given these potentially conflicting factors, foreign language study in Australia has been the subject of a significant number of government enquiries and policies. Moreover, in the school context, FL subjects, as with all school subjects, have syllabuses and assessments prescribed by various state education authorities, and thus must be directly accountable for outcomes.

There have been two recent major studies into FLT pedagogy in Australia. First, Crawford (1999) surveyed 581 FL school teachers by means of large-scale survey and focus group discussion. Although this data is confined to the state of Queensland, educational conditions do not vary significantly between it and other Australian states, except that Queensland offers 12 rather than 13 years' total schooling. The provision of FLT in that state is similar to that of other states, but its core time allocation is more generous, currently totalling 420 hours over Years 6-8, (with Electives offered at Years 9-10, and 11-12). Crawford's data is particularly relevant to the current study, and will be drawn on extensively in later chapters of this thesis. Second, Morgan's (2003) longitudinal study of five secondary school teachers in the state of New South Wales provides valuable insights into some of the issues associated with target language use in FLT classrooms.

Curriculum and methodology

Goals

Traditionally in Australia, as in other Western countries, FLT was reserved for academically able students. Until the mid 1960s, a FL pass was required for university entrance in Australia, which resulted in an HSC candidature in 1967 of 40% for languages (Ozolins, 1993: 132). The traditional approach to teaching 'Modern' languages such as French and German was strongly influenced by the teaching of classical Latin and Greek inasmuch as language learning was seen to offer both an intellectual training, and a means of entering the high literature of another culture; methodology consequently focussed on translation and upon the written grammar of the target language. It was only with the advent of Audio-Lingualism from the 1960s onwards that the spoken dimension of language was addressed, and even then, many of those who studied during that era will recall that actual communication in the target language – as distinct from drill and practice – was rare in most learning contexts.

A comprehensive history of language policy and planning is provided by Ozolins (1993), who notes the ways in which the size, diversity and recency of Australia's migrant intake has influenced policy and practice, and describes various government responses as being of a 'very calm but often imaginative' kind (1993: xii). From this source, as well as from various government syllabuses and reports, the goals of FL education in Australia may be identified as being fourfold.

First, there is a desire to foster social cohesion. This entails recognising and valuing the home languages of Australian students, and providing opportunities to maintain L1s through programs offered within mainstream schooling and through associated 'Saturday Schools' (Lo Bianco, 1992). Second, FL education is perceived to offer both cognitive and affective benefits to learners, with research by, for example, Bialystok (1991, 1999), Mohanty (1994), and Cummins (1996) effectively countering earlier studies which had portrayed bilingualism in a negative light. Third, entry to a foreign language is seen as developing cross-cultural understanding (Ingram, 1991; Kirkpatrick, 1995) or critical cultural awareness (Byram & Fleming, 1998). Fourth, FL programs aim to develop in students a communicative proficiency which will have vocational application (Rudd, 1994: *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future*).

But there are competing discourses in play here. On the one hand, Vocational Proficiency has been viewed as a major goal of FLT by economic and political

stakeholders (see Lo Bianco, 1992; J. Gibbons, 1994). However, the Rudd Report (1994) found that few school-based programs claimed to have L2 proficiency as a targeted outcome; and for the FL teachers in Crawford's study, it was not *Vocational Proficiency*, but *General Education* and *Cultural Understanding* which strongly dominated teacher goals for learning (1999: 195).

Implementation

As well as noting curriculum goals for FLT, it is important to consider their implementation, and this will now be done in respect of several factors.

The issue of degree of exposure to the TL is crucial for FLT, and one germane to the study of English in the Thai EFL context. FLT programs in Australia have been characterised as going either for depth, or more commonly, for breadth (J. Gibbons, 1994). The latter is certainly the case in NSW, for example, where students initially receive a 'taste' of 2, 3 or 4 languages within the 100 hours mandated for Years 7 and 8 of High School. But the issue of length of study is a crucial one in this context. Ingram and Wylie (1991: 51) note the 'unintensive and therefore inefficient' nature of FLT programs, a view strongly supported by Kirkpatrick (1997: 45) who believes that FLT programs generally fail to achieve 'other than the most cursory proficiency'. A report by the National Board of Employment, Education and Training found that the hours allocated to FLT were 'ludicrously inadequate' (1996: xii). Glisan and Foltz (1998: 1) similarly found that in the USA, a typical four year sequence of FLT 'for many students, is not sufficient time to attain Intermediate-Low oral proficiency'.

An associated point relates to the comparative difficulty of various foreign languages, and the consequently differing lengths of time required to achieve various proficiency levels. This is an issue rarely noted, with the exception of Corder (1981, 1992), and in the Australian school context, Davies and Elder (1997). It will be examined in some detail here in order to ground the later discussion in Chapter 11 of this study.

The USA's Foreign Service Institute (FSI), the largest language teaching centre in the world, gauges languages' relative learning ease/difficulty, and provides recommended timescales for achieving equivalent proficiency levels across the range of languages which it offers. FSI programs and approaches have been largely adopted by the similar Australian Defence Force School of Languages (ADFSL) (Cavanagh & Watkins, 1995). It is of course the case that in both these contexts, learners are mature and motivated, in a learning situation which is highly intensive (normally six hours per day plus self-

study) and residential, all of which provide an environment which cannot apply to the usual FLT school or university contexts. Even given such favourable conditions for FLT, however, the following numbers of face to face teaching hours are allocated with the intention that students will achieve a Level 2 proficiency (Minimum Professional Proficiency) on the ADF's rating scale:

German, Indonesian, Spanish	1,400 hours over 35 weeks
Greek, Thai, Vietnamese	1,800 hours over 45 weeks
Japanese, Korean, Mandarin	2,000 hours over 50 weeks.

Thus, for example, an English-speaking learner of Mandarin would be expected to need 40% longer study time to reach the same level of proficiency as a learner of German.

One figure of particular significance to a later discussion is the number of hours allocated to the study of Thai.

In ESL, while contrastive studies of language have sought to predict and explain different learning challenges by comparing L1 and L2, the issue of languages' relative distance from one another, and hence differing levels of challenge for students of various language backgrounds, has been rarely examined, with the exception of the area of pronunciation. However, FLT research is clear on this point: Crawford (1999), for example, found that all teachers in her study clearly distinguished between student learning outcomes for Roman and non-Roman script languages. But even the 40% increase in study time allocated by ADFSL programs to languages more distant from English has been regarded as inadequate. Cavanagh and Watkins, who teach on such programs, suggest that the relative difficulty of 'exotic' Asian languages requires a study period of 'ten times as long' as that needed for cognate European languages (1995: 18). More modestly, NBEET (1996: xii) asserts that languages such as Japanese and Chinese require 'something like three times as much study as European languages'. Kirkpatrick (1995) similarly proposes a figure of 2,400-2,760 hours study in order for school students to achieve basic proficiency in Korean, Japanese or Chinese (and in fact argues that school study of such languages be confined to 'background', i.e. L1 speakers of those languages, with Indonesian to represent the only relevant Asian language which could be accessible to English background speakers in the school context (1995, 1997). Brown, Hill and Iwashita (2000) conducted a major study into the relative L2 attainment of students of four foreign languages, and indeed found

that levels of achievement were lower on all four language skills of Japanese compared to French, Italian and Indonesian.

With regard to the FLT curriculum itself, Morgan (2003) has described it as aiming to provide both cognitive challenge and cultural information, but notes that these are goals not often achieved. Others have criticised FLT programs for their superficiality of content (Hamilton, 1994); teacher-centredness (Mangubhai, Dashwood, Berthold, Flores & Dale, 1998); rare provision of opportunities for student pair-work (Ingram & Wylie, 1991); and failure to provide real communication amongst students (Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999). The Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) procedure has been found to be no less prevalent in FL classes than it is in non-language classes (Cazden, 1986: 436).

Moreover, the achievement of inter-cultural goals has been disputed by Lo Bianco, Liddicoat and Crozet (1999: 10), who note the 'prolonged discussion' about how to teach culture in FLT. In particular, programs have been criticised for failure to focus on the goal of communication amongst NNS learners and NS learners (Lo Bianco, Liddicoat & Crozet, 1999: 113); that is, to construct the role of 'intercultural speaker' who can mediate the differences between cultures (Byram, 1998: 8; Kramsch, 1998: 31).

Students

Djité (1994) and Morgan (2003) confirm a decline in FL programs in NSW at High School Certificate (matriculation) level. The matriculation candidature for languages was 12.5% in 2004, a marginal increase over the 10.5% 2002 figure, (but which nevertheless prompted claims of a 'renaissance' in a recent newspaper article (Doherty, 2004b). There have been various government attempts to restore participation rates, but a target of 25% appears to be unachievable. Similar declines have been recorded in other English-speaking countries: in the USA by Martin (1999), and in the UK by Graham (2004); indeed, Graham notes that the mandatory study of a foreign language to the age of 16 in UK schools would drop to 14 from September 2004.

Students have been consistently reported as finding FL study more difficult than the study of other school subjects (Fisher, 2001; Graham, 2002; Morgan, 2003). Student expectations of progress in FLT may contribute to their later disenchantment. Horwitz (1988) found that over a third of beginning university students thought that a foreign

language could be learned in two years of university study through tuition of around one hour per day. Mantle-Bromley similarly found that 69% of ninety-four subjects believed that within two years of study, they would be able to speak the target language well, and notes that over time, many students accordingly became 'not *more*, but *less* positive about other languages and cultures' (1995: 381; emphases added). Crawford, too, notes that many FLT students experience 'demotivatingly low progress' and that such students may conclude that 'other languages/cultures are unlearnable' (1999: 6; see also Kirkpatrick, 1995).

Teachers

There is also the matter of FL teachers' own proficiency in the target language, which for ESL is rarely an issue, but for FLT may well be so.

Crawford found that 80% of her participating FLT teachers were non-native rather than native speakers of the target language (1999: 158). The level of proficiency recommended for FLT teachers in Queensland is ISLPR (International Speaking and Listening Proficiency Rating) Level 3, which is described as *Basic Vocational Proficiency* (Ingram & Wylie, 2002). Crawford found that although 63% of teachers had not achieved this level, 95% of teachers nevertheless believed that their command of the target language was at least reasonable, which suggests that teachers may feel that the bar is set too high. On the other hand, one third of teachers reported that they felt unable to give a 'reasonably accurate model of their target language, or deal with other than fairly predictable authentic use' (1999: 374), which suggests that possibilities for communicative interaction in a significant number of language classrooms were limited. In other states, such as NSW, while a similar proficiency target for FLT teachers has been discussed, it has yet to be implemented. Most Australian states and territories require teachers to have undertaken foreign language study comprising 3/9^{ths} of a bachelor's degree, estimated to be a total of 360 hours study; although in at least one jurisdiction, 1/9th is acceptable (Norris, 1999).

In this section, a fairly detailed picture of FLT has been drawn because it is a matter of enquiry in the current study the extent to which teachers of English in the Thai context may possess commonalities with FLT in a Western context. In later chapters, this point will be explored in terms of curriculum, methodology, student attitudes, access to/contact with target language and its culture, and teacher bilinguality. It is to this central issue of bilinguality that I will turn to in the following chapter, for central to both

EFL and FLT classroom aims and practices are the roles which can be played in the learning process by both the mother tongue and the target language itself.

Chapter 4

Use of L1 and L2 in the Classroom

- Part 1 Overview of L1 and L2 use
- Part 2 L2 use: pros and cons
- Part 3 L1 use: pros and cons
- Part 4 Balancing L1 and L2 in the classroom

The study now moves to describe what others have said about using the first and second languages when teaching a second.

Part 1 Overview of L1 and L2 use

Historically, Kelly points out that language teaching has been dominated by the use of translation as a teaching tool, although the term ‘translation’ may be used in the literature to mean either or both translation by the teacher in order to convey meaning, and re-creation by students of written texts from one language to another (1976: 171).

In the Post-Renaissance West, the teaching of ‘modern’ foreign languages such as French, English and German, was based on ways of teaching the ‘dead’ tongues of Latin and Classical Greek. Thus, according to Kelly, in the 19th Century, translation was viewed by teachers as the optimum method for conveying meaning from one language to the other. On the other hand in the 20th Century, ‘the avant-garde of language teachers refused to consider translation as a valid procedure in teaching meaning’ (1976: 29); indeed, Howatt refers to the monolingual principle as ‘the unique contribution’ of the 20th Century’s language pedagogy (1984: 289). By 2001, V. Cook could note that avoidance of L1 ‘is so obvious that no classroom [L1] use ... is ever mentioned’ in discussions of methodology (p. 404). Most recently, E. Ellis describes the current model of an ESL teacher as being either monolingual, or one ‘who is encouraged to behave

as if he or she is monolingual' (2003: ii); and records that even for the bilingual ESL teachers in her study, 'disapproval of L1 had become a naturalised discourse' (p. 313).

Changes in approaches to foreign language teaching have been observed by Kelly to have been circular over time. During the 20th Century, pressure to find 'new' ways of teaching which would succeed where earlier ones had been perceived to fail were impelled by new contact with – and conflict amongst – users of various languages; and supported by developments in linguistics and psychology. Of particular significance was the Reform Movement of the late 19th Century which had opposed prevalent Grammar-Translation methods, and from which emerged the Direct Method in the early 20th Century. The Direct Method held that second language learning should imitate first language learning in being primarily oral, embedded in context, and learned where possible from a native speaker of that language. Elements of the latter remain in approaches such as the Total Physical Response (Asher, 1982), in Krashen and Terrell's Natural Approach (1983), and indeed in many features of later communicative methodology. The exclusion of the first language from the classroom was a key tenet of the Direct Method (Stern, 1992); and associated later methods were similarly prohibitive.

A quite different approach to language learning emerged during and after WW2 in the USA, in the form of the Audio Lingual Method (ALM). Based on structural linguistics and behaviourist psychology, the ALM had a major impact on language teaching for thirty years, and retains some influence in current methodology through the provision of drill and practice activities, pattern dialogues, and more recently, in some forms of 'programmed learning' revived through computer software. ALM too opposed the use of L1 in the L2 classroom, but through the belief that as language was a series of behavioural habits, the new behaviour (L2) must override the old (L1), the latter which was seen as a barrier to learning.

The emergence of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in the 1970s has been described in the previous Chapter 3. CLT maintained the principle of excluding students' L1, but for different reasons. Now, L1 was excluded in favour of the use of 'authentic' communication which drew upon real or realistic L2 texts when possible, and which aimed to develop students' listening and speaking skills through extensive pair and group interaction. As with the earlier Direct Method, the first language was seen as an impediment to learning the second: learners were to be 'stretched' into communicating in L2 by drawing upon whatever resources they could muster (see, for example, Littlewood, 1981; Howatt, 1984). CLT, then, became associated internationally with monolingual teaching and learning practices; and indeed has remained so associated (Weschler, 1997).

The objections to the use of L1 in all three major methods of language teaching as described above were, while methodologically framed, of course ideologically based/constructed. However, this dimension was only sporadically examined in the ELT literature before Pennycook (1989), and in Philipson's (1992) critique of Linguistic Imperialism and its associated 'fallacies', the latter which included the reification of the native speaking teacher and of monolingual teaching approaches.

To return to the current global context, it must be said that while these ELT methodologies are centrally powerful, they nevertheless represent in global terms only a minority of EL teachers and students, the latter whose educational needs appear to be rarely understood or acknowledged by 'mainstream' practitioners and theorists. For in the majority of EFL contexts, the teacher shares a first language with her/his students, and does make use of it in the classroom. In those contexts, only a minority of advanced students, usually at tertiary level or in the private sector, are in a position to receive some tuition by a foreigner who does not usually share, and in fact would be discouraged from speaking the students' native tongue.

Part 2 Use of L2

Supporting L2 use

Whether one regards language learning as the development of skill, competence, knowledge and/or self, there must always be learner *participation in* the language: one needs to see others' competence, try out one's own, and receive feedback. In the mainstream SLA literature, the terms used to describe this participation, and those which retain the greatest currency, are *input* and *output*. As indicated in Chapter 2, while there are moves to devise alternate conceptions and descriptors of language development, and while this study will attempt to contribute to that process, at this point, it will be practical to retain the terms as they are used by the majority of researchers. I will now examine these two key constructs in relation to the use of L2 in EL and FL classrooms.

L2 input

First, it is generally perceived in SLA that a learner has to 'process input' of second language 'data', so that s/he can experience how the second language sounds, looks and works. The input needs to be roughly comprehensible to the learner (Krashen 1982), and it needs to appear in different forms, from authentic to simplified to constructed, all of these providing different means of access to the target language. The pre-eminence of the teacher's role in providing input at point of student need has been championed by Krashen (1982), and supported by Ellis (1984), Wong-Fillmore (1985) and Chaudron (1988). In second language classrooms, the richest source of input is most commonly the teacher; and in EFL and FLT contexts, s/he may be the only live source (Turnbull, 2001). Print or audio-visual recording represents a second source of input, and synchronous or asynchronous electronic communication via telephone or Internet a third.

Students also need to experience the L2 in 'chunks' – written and spoken – which have some approximation to real life language use. An absence of

extended L2 discourse will limit access to genres of speech and writing, denying students the experience of extended texts, with their flow of cohesion and coherence. Moreover, spoken input in an L2 needs to endure for varying lengths of time in order to extend students' capacity for aural comprehension.

L2 output

Although Krashen claimed that L2 input is necessary and sufficient for SLA, this notion has not found favour, for L2 input from the teacher does not in fact guarantee L2 output from students. Pennington reports that in the Hong Kong EFL classroom which she studied, in no case did a student output an L2 utterance greater than one clause in length, regardless of the quantity of teacher L2 input (1995: 97), and this finding has been echoed by Butzkamm (1997) and Morgan (2003) for FL classrooms. The role of output is clear. First, there is the commonsense view that learners need to be guided to spend 'time on task' in L2, (Clyne, Jenkins, Chen, Rogerson & Tsokalidou, 1992: 73), and that speaking the target language is a part of this. Moreover, when learners are supported to create L2 'comprehensible output' (Swain, 1985, 1993, 1995), they will be able to personally construct meaning in L2, develop communicative competence, receive feedback on performance, and invest the learning process with their own interest and desire. It is through interaction that we talk our way into meaning (Halliday, 1975): this is how we become part of a language, and how it becomes a part of us.

The case for the presence of L2 in the L2 learning process is, then, unanswerable: without exception, writers who are reconsidering the role of L1 have been at pains to stress that L2 must dominate classroom discourse (Stern, 1992; Atkinson, 1993; Schmidt, 1995; Macaro, 2001; Cook, 2001, Butzkamm, 2003). A predominant/exclusive role for L2 has been also been defined in a number of curriculum documents. In the UK, for example, where school curricula are centralised, implemented and evaluated by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), it is stated that 'Teachers should insist on the use of the Target Language for all

aspects of a lesson' (1993, in Macaro, 2001: 532). This guideline reinforces an earlier UK Department of Education and Science (DES) report which indicated that 'The natural use of the target language for virtually all communication is a sure sign of a good modern language course (1990, in Macaro, *ibid.*).

Opposing L2 use

But are there no negative dimensions related to use of L2 in the language classroom? It is surprising to review the ELT literature and find that although, in my experience, Target language (TL) use is often problematic in contexts such as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, it has rarely been a subject of investigation. Why is this so? Perhaps because for the Centre, TL use is hardly perceived to be an issue. That is, because a majority of researchers and practitioners are monolingual NNS, their interests and focii are generally removed from bilingual pedagogy.

In the FLT literature, however, issues relating to the role of L1 have long been prominent. A survey of key papers suggests that there are four main concerns for FLT teachers in their attempts to use L2 as a main medium of instruction:

- the question of efficient use of limited classroom time
- effective behaviour management
- the potential to disadvantage less able students who, once having lost the thread of L2 discourse, may become discouraged;
- a restriction in capacity to explore cultural issues in depth through the medium of the L2.

(See Franklin, 1990; Stern, 1992; Hamilton, 1994; Dickson, 1996; McShane, 1997; Mangubhai, Howard & Dashwood, 1999; Crawford, 1999.)

The last-named factor above is considered to be highly significant, for as noted in Chapter 2, FLT and EFL teachers may have limited opportunities for experiencing the target language, and for maintaining and developing

personal language proficiency. TL proficiency is important not only because it influences what language teachers can do, but also what they believe they can do (Medgyes, 1986: 111; Morgan, 2003: 42), and in the Australian context, teachers' TL proficiency has been a matter of concern in a number of government reports (e.g. Norris, 1999).

Part 3 Use of L1

While, as indicated in Part 1 above, all three 20th Century methods of language teaching have sought to exclude L1 from the classroom, teachers have continue to discuss the roles of L1 and L2 in learning. Pica (1994: 51), in her list of the 'ten most wanted' questions posed by ESL teachers, places first: 'In what ways does knowing one language help or hinder the learning of a second?' The issue also appears frequently in various Internet discussion boards, and the TESL E-Journal in 2002 reproduced a series of such postings.

This section will look first in more detail at views which oppose L1 use. Although in fact it is not necessary to complement a positive view of L2 use with a negative view of L1 use, it is found that this duality has informed majority opinion as described below.

Opposing L1 use

Cook (2001: 403 ff), describes L1 use as 'a door that has been firmly shut in language teaching for over 100 years', and notes that the majority of current language teaching methodology texts either fail to mention the use of L1 as a teaching strategy (citing Nunan, 1989; Crookes & Gass, 1993; Skehan, 1998) or actively discourage its use (citing Scrivener, 1994; Wills, 1996). E. Ellis (2002: 11-12) further notes an absence of bilinguality in Richards and Nunan (1990), Burns, Joyce and Gollin (1996), Nunan (1999), and Richards and Renandya (2002). My examination of other texts revealed similar exclusion or discouragement of L1 use (Gower, Phillips &

Walters, 1995; McShane, 1997; Richards & Rogers, 2001); and Johnson's *Understanding Communication in Second Language Classrooms* (1995) contains no reference to communication in L1.

Three central arguments against the use of L1 in the L2 classroom have been identified by Cook (ibid.). The first is based on attempts to reproduce the perceived conditions of L1 learning, and as such formed part of the rationale for the *Direct Method*, *Audio-Lingualism*, and elements of *CLT*, in particular the minor communicative methods of *Total Physical Response*, and *The Natural Approach*. The second argument, Cook refers to as 'language compartmentalisation', and here we meet again the notion that languages must be kept separate in order to develop ease and competence in the L2. The third is probably that most commonly held by language teachers: the need to minimise the use of L1 in order to achieve maximum exposure to L2. This is the view taken, for example, by Harbord, who opposes Atkinson's 1987 support for some minimal L1 use on the grounds that 'use of the mother-tongue generally, is not a device to be used to save time for "more useful" activities' (1992: 355).

Briefly taking each argument in turn, we may note first that L2 learning is qualitatively and quantitatively different from L1 learning in terms of the learners and their environments, and attempts to replicate mother-tongue learning conditions are at best simplistic, and at worst linguistically impoverishing. Once we have learned to construe reality through one language, there is no prelapsarian return when faced with learning another language. Second, the notion that L1 and L2 are separately coded, stored and produced in the brain, while still a complex issue, appears to have been superseded by advances in cognitive science and neurolinguistics (Kecskes & Papp, 2000; edited volume by Cook, 2002; Thibault, 2004). Thirdly, exposure is clearly a *sine qua non* of language learning. However, as previously indicated, it has been generally accepted that exposure alone does not guarantee engagement, and that even when exposure is *comprehensible*, this does not guarantee its quality, utility, nor that learning will take place (Turnbull, 2001).

Supporting L1 use

Overview

Although the status quo is overwhelmingly in favour of maximum, if not exclusive L2 use in ELT, there has been over the past twenty years, some evidence of changes in perception of the role played by the L1 in learning an L2.

In 1985, R. Ellis acknowledged that L1 is 'one of the inputs into the process of hypothesis generation' (p. 37), and in 1994 viewed the L1 as a 'resource which the learner actively draws on in interlanguage development (p. 243). Cook pointed out in 1991 and 1992 that it is more accurate to view an ESL student as a potential bilingual rather than a native speaker *manqué*. In 1992, Stern noted the complementarity of L1 and L2 in learning, and the need to balance their use depending upon the 'characteristics and stages' of the learning process (p. 285). In 1995, van Lier spoke of how the use of L1 can serve to assist in accessing L2 input and thereby enhance learning.

In 1999, Cook puts in strong terms the case for recognition of L1:

L2 users have L1 permanently present in their minds. Every activity the student carries out visibly in the L2 also involves the invisible L1 ... From a multi-competence perspective, all teaching activities are cross-lingual ... *the difference among activities is whether the L1 is visible or invisible, not whether it is present or altogether absent.*

(p. 202; emphases added)

Swain and Lapkin (2000) observe that language transfer theory (Odlin, 1989; Kellerman, 1995) still dominates perceptions of the role of L1 in L2 learning, even though transfer theory does not attempt to account for the role of language in cognition. A cognitive view of L1 function is supported by Macaro (2001: 532), who draws upon Campbell (1997) and Butzkamm (1998) to argue that by making explicit the similarities between L1 and L2,

'storage, processing and retrieval of language is facilitated'. Swain (2000) offers a broadening of the concept of learner output from *target language only* to 'bilingual collaborative dialogue'.

L1 can be seen as *mediating* L2 learning, and therefore as an educational tool (Swain & Lapkin, 2000). This view resonates with Weschler's claim for the 'scaffolding' value of L1 (1997: 89), with a similarly positive view of L1 taken by Wells (1998), and in van Lier's (1996) interpretation of scaffolding in a German-English foreign language classroom. There are several other reports of positive use of L1 by students during collaborative group work (Brooks & Donato, 1994; Brooks, Donato & McGlone, 1997; Antón & DiCamilla, 1998.)

Additional reasons which have been put forward for the positive use of L1 in the classroom include the effective use of limited lesson time (Weschler, 1997); its 'catalysing' effect on the intake process (Turnbull & Arnett, 2001); and the enabling of lower-achieving students to participate equitably (Klassen, 1991; Sparks, Ganschow, Pohlman, Skinner & Artzer, 1992).

A number of writers have also drawn attention to the socio-affective impact of L1 use: Katchen (1990) notes the use of L1 for creating rapport amongst students and teacher; Harbord (1992) acknowledges 'humanistic' reasons for its use; and Canagarajah (1999b: 142) notes that L1 is a resource through which teachers may heighten/reduce their authority/solidarity with students. A recent issue of the online journal *Humanising Language Teaching* (2003) published three articles by Bradley, Clanfield and Foord, and Owen, all of which support the use of L1 in EFL classrooms. Owen asks: 'Why is there still that lingering sense of having done *something wrong* when ... we make use of translation?' (emphases in original); and the journal's editor affirms 'the linguistic joy of comparing L1 and L2 and of working back and forwards between them' (Rinvolutri, 2003).

ESL context

In the ESL (immigrant) context, the use of students' L1 is often difficult to achieve because of the multilingual nature of the majority of classes. There have nevertheless been some attempts to recognise and build upon students' L1 in the organisation of bilingual classes.

In the UK in the late 1980s, several teachers in the Inner London Education Authority describe strategies for affirmative employment of bilingual teachers and for the use of L1 in adult ESL classes. Piasecka (1988: 97), for example, acknowledges that a bilingual teacher 'can monitor the process of referring back to mother-tongue equivalents which goes on in learners' minds', and supports translation used communicatively, as, for example, in bilingual role-play. Spiegel (1988: 188) similarly supports the recruitment of teachers from 'local black and linguistic minority groups'. Collingham sees bilingual teaching as moving away from a deficit model of education, and 'towards an affirmative and anti-racist focus' (1988: 82), proposing the use of L1 for the negotiation of the syllabus as well as for contrastive form/function purposes.

Similar classes and rationales are presented in the American Hispanic context by Uram (1992), who favoured 'blending' ESL and bilingual education classes; Biley (1995), a majority of whose 21 community college ESL teachers were strongly in favour of some L1 (Spanish) knowledge and use; and Huang, de Felix and Waxman (1997), who found that Spanish was an important resource for the English learning of high school students.

In Australia, the 1993 edition of *Interchange*, the journal of the New South Wales Adult Migrant Education Program (NSW AMEP) focussed on bilingual teaching and counselling programs which had been introduced to date and examined their rationales. The editorial spoke of 'the positive value of using adult learners' first language to support their English language learning' (Er, 1993: 3). A paper by Tung (1993) referred to an earlier study of the AMEP by O'Grady and Kang (1985), which had found

that 82% of the 202 teachers surveyed considered some L1 support to be desirable, and Tung described her current bilingual classes of older Chinese students with limited formal education. In recent years, bilingual adult migrant classes have reappeared in the AMEP in response to the needs of African students with limited formal education. In this context, Wigglesworth (2003: 244), while cautious about L1 use, found that by drawing upon bilingual teaching aides, L1 was found to be a ‘tool through which they [the learners] can communicate their innermost desires, their needs, and their thoughts and their hopes for the future’ (see also Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003).

In the multilingual ESL context, there are often organisational difficulties in forming and maintaining monolingual classes: the cases identified above are unusual. However, even within multilingual classes where the teacher does not share her students’ various first languages, it is still possible to achieve some building upon students’ L1 through the use of bilingual resources, group work and translation activities. Again it is notable that ELT methodology in general pays little attention to this dimension of teaching ESL multilingual classes, with the recent exception of Deller and Rinvolutri (2002). But as Collingham notes (1988: 85): ‘to treat adult learners as if they know nothing of language is to accept the imbalance of power and so ultimately to collude with institutional racism.’

EFL context

Generally, although not always, in an EFL context, the students will have a common L1, and share this with their teacher. Here the issues are quite different from those faced in an ESL context. Very often, a problem lies in reducing the amount of L1 spoken in order to increase the time available for L2 use. And so, the central issue is one of balance: the extent to which judicious use of L1 can support – even catalyse – L2 learning, rather than limit or undermine its use.

In Puerto Rico, Schweers (1999) surveyed 19 high school teachers and their students regarding the role of L1 in EFL classes. One hundred per

cent of teachers and 88% of students believed that Spanish should be made use of. Schweers' study was expanded by Tang (2002) in the Chinese context, where 72% of 20 teachers and 70% of 100 Year 1 undergraduate students agreed that L1 should be used in their EFL reading program. The author concludes that without teacher translation, learners would be likely to make their own 'unguided and often incorrect translations' (p. 41), and proposes that while of value, no more than 10% of class time be spent using Chinese. Similar findings were reported by Savignon and Wang (2003) in their study of Taiwanese learners, the latter who expressed both a preference for a number of 'new' communicative classroom practices, while at the same time favouring the teacher's of L1 as the main medium of instruction.

The work of Paul Nation is particularly well grounded in classroom practice. As do other writers, Nation supports maximising the use of L2, but asserts that L1:

provides a familiar and effective way of quickly getting to grips with the meaning and content of what needs to be used in the L2. It is foolish to arbitrarily exclude this proven and efficient means of communicating meaning. (2003: 3)

Looking at the broader educational picture, just as there can be value in drawing upon L1 in L2 lessons, there may also be value in drawing upon different L2s in native language (mother tongue) lessons. Van Lier points out that in both types of lessons, discussion of other languages' concepts and means of expression is rarely explored, whereas in both 'there is an enormous potential for cross-fertilisation between native language and foreign language' (1996: 18-19).

FLT context

The use of L1 and L2 in FLT classrooms in Western contexts offers an interesting comparison with EFL; Butzkamm, for example, has consistently argued against the appropriacy of 'pure' Direct Method and in favour of

considered L1 use for FLT (1997, 1998, 2000, 2003). Crawford's recent study into FLT teaching in Queensland, Australia asserts that 'the dominance [of L1] is undeniable' (2004: 59), a finding corroborated by Morgan in NSW (2003). In the UK, Turnbull has noted that teachers almost universally made some use of L1 (2001); and this is confirmed for the USA by Guthrie (1987), and by Duff and Polio (1990), with the latter finding that TL use by students and teachers ranged from 10-100% of lessons surveyed.

In an extension of their earlier (1990) study, Polio and Duff (1994) examined the quality as well as quantity of TL used, and report that FL teachers were often lacking in awareness of when and how they used L1. The authors refer, for example, to one teacher whose self-reported TL use was 45%, but whose actual recorded use was 10%. Another study by Turnbull (2000) found that classes ranged from 24-72% French TL use as a proportion of teacher talk. A study of trainee teachers of French in UK secondary schools found average L2 use to comprise 95% of total lesson time, and 92% of total teacher talk (Macaro, 2001).

It may be noted from these studies how strongly the picture of L2 use in FLT differs from that of L2 use in ELT. It is also notable that above data is confined to major European languages which have 'areal affinity' with English. Clearly, a greater degree of difficulty is posed in the learning of a linguaculture which is more rather than less distant from one's own. An interesting study conducted by Schultz (2002) into FL classrooms at University College, Berkeley, California, examined the teaching of French, German, Italian, Korean and Russian. It was found that the single most important determinant of TL use was that language's closeness to or distance from English; and so, teachers in that study used very little English in classes of French, German and Italian, but considerably more in the classes of Korean. (Notwithstanding the teachers' stated preference to maximise L2 use, all made note of the value of some L1 support.)

Part 4 Balancing L1 and L2

The final section of this chapter reports upon the ways in which the balance of L1 and L2 use has been described to operate in both ELT and FLT classrooms. Teaching methods and principles are examined here in order to better understand how teachers in different contexts respond to different learning needs.

Teaching methods

Although as indicated earlier, bilingual techniques are practised widely – indeed, in EFL and FLT classrooms, we might claim are often the norm – there is little available for teachers in the way of professional guidance through textbooks or in the research literature. Nevertheless, there have been located some designed approaches to bilingual teaching, although these appear to be uncommon and sometimes rather idiosyncratic.

Dodson's *Bilingual Method* has been identified as one of the earliest to support the use of L1 in L2 teaching (1963, 1967, 1985), and has been described as a combination of the Direct Method and translation (Kelly, 1976: 176). Dodson's method has recently been championed by Butzkamm (2000, 2003), who reports on a small but diverse number of applications in FL classrooms of Germany, Poland, and Japan; and in the Chinese EFL context, the method has additionally been supported in an amended form by Zhou (2003).

Curran's 1976 *Community Language Learning*, later known as *Counselling-Learning*, applied humanist principles to language learning in the USA adult ESL context through the technique of interpreting students' spoken L1 into L2. Schmidt (1995: 26) reports that Shamash (1990) extended CLL into the realm of written rather than spoken texts.

The *New Concurrent Approach* (Faltis, 1989; Jacobson & Faltis, 1990) aimed to draw upon existing bilingual discourses within Spanish-speaking

communities in the USA. Code-switching (this being the term used) was to be planned, judicious, and consciously employed. Both L1 and L2 were to have equal time; code-switching was only to be inter-sentential and initiated by the teacher. Although strong claims were made for the New Concurrent Approach, the method seems to have received relatively little attention, some of which includes criticism of the 'mechanistic' kinds of code-switching proposed (Martin, 2003: 84).

Cook (1991) has supported an early strategy developed by Hawkins known as *Reciprocal Language Teaching* (1987), whereby a pair of students become a teacher of their own and a learner of the other's language. Following a similar approach, Morley and Truscott (2000) describe the 'Tandem' learning scheme in which European undergraduate students successfully participated.

In recent years, and for those with easy access, the Internet has offered great potential for collaborative learning of many kinds, including foreign languages. However, such developments will not be explored here for two reasons. First, the conditions for reciprocity between Thai learners of English and English learners of Thai are very limited in global terms, and to my knowledge, there are no studies which report on this kind of exchange; and secondly, although web-based communications are starting to be used in some Thai universities, no such access was available for students in the present study (and in fact, Internet access was only intermittently available to lecturers).

Principles of using L1 and L2

As noted above, there has been little published material to guide teachers in their attempts to achieve the optimum use of L1 and L2. But while this is still, as Jacobson notes, largely uncharted territory (2001: 17), some suggestions have been offered in the literature as follows. Legaretta has observed that if students know that an L1 translation will be provided, they may attend less well, or not at all, to L2 input (1979). Swain (1986) makes an additional point that continuous interpreting may be burdensome for the

teacher. Wong-Fillmore (1982) proposed separating the two languages in chunks, with the intention that learners are obliged to engage with the L2 and thus to communicate effectively, a recommendation echoed by Edelsky (1994), and by Gibbons, White and Gibbons (1994). A number of writers make the related point that once the principle for inclusion of L1 is accepted, it is essential to restrict possible overuse of L1 which could follow. In particular, as Macaro notes, we need to be clear about when L1 serves as a valuable pedagogic tool, and when it might be simply 'an easy option' (2001: 545).

Several writers have discussed principles for language alternation in the bilingual classroom. Butzkamm offers checklists for teachers' own observation of their L1 and L2 use (1997). Cook (2001: 418) gives the following rationale for the use of the L1:

- to provide a short-cut for giving instructions and explanation where the cost of L2 is too great
- to build up interlinked L1 and L2 knowledge in the students' minds
- to carry out learning tasks through collaborative dialogues with fellow students
- to develop L2 activities such as code-switching for later real-life use.

Widdowson suggests that classroom practice could include contrastive analysis in the form of translation activities (2001: 16). Macaro argues for a 'theory of optimality for the use of code-switching' which would be informed by an understanding of the functions and consequences of both L1 and L2 use (2001: 545).

The use of translation itself has been reasserted by Heltai (1989) as a device for focussing on transfer problems from L1 to L2. Duff (1989) extends the use of translation to a range of classroom activities including contrastive language work and role-play. Both Seidlhofer (1999) and Eadie (1999) still find a gap in literature relating to the methodology of translation, and the latter proposes a range of techniques. Bradley (2003), drawing upon Blair (1991) and Burling (1982) has created a process called

a 'diglot weave', whereby the teacher hybridises a written text by incorporating words from another language, such interpolations being grammatical, or in Bradley's case lexical. Butzkamm (2003) also draws attention to children's books by O'Sullivan and Rösler whose teenage characters alternate the use of German and English for reasons of fluency and pragmatics. Clanfield and Foord (2003) propose a number of teaching strategies, including code-switching and reverse translation (also known as back-translation). Belz (2000b) describes the metalinguistic awareness and creativity which emerged when she asked students to produce written texts in a blend of German and English.

In the past few years, changed perceptions have started to enter into the commercial ELT field, in particular with the publication of *Using the mother tongue: Making the most of the learner's language* by Deller and Rinvolutri (2002), for which Curran's *Counselling Learning* is acknowledged as a source. The book has received positive reviews from two online ELT sources. *DevelopingTeachers.com* compares prior lack of recognition of the mother tongue to the Emperor's New Clothes, and welcomes this book with 'Another taboo hits the dust!' (Simon, 2003). And Macmillan's online *One-Stop Magazine* (2001) offers positive guidelines for some L1 use in the L2 classroom.

In sum, global ELT is dominated by applied research, textbooks and teaching practices created by the ESL profession in North America, the UK and Australasia. Most ESL classrooms in these contexts consist of a monolingual English-speaking teacher together with students from a number of different language backgrounds; the medium of instruction is almost always the target language. On the other hand, EFL classes in the Expanding Circle are in the majority taught by local bilingual teachers who share an L1 with their students. Canagarajah (1999b: 130) while noting that in most cases 'English Only is the desired norm', points out that the vernacularisation of Periphery classrooms is nothing new: 'We have simply started discovering what has always been true of language learning situations' in such contexts (p. 110). What are missing, however, are

accounts of bilingual learning which attempt to document how and why teachers make use of such techniques. Such accounts, along with theorisation of the rationale for bilingual pedagogy are part of what this study is seeking to offer.

Chapter 5

Thailand and ELT

- Part 1 Thai culture
- Part 2 Ways of learning
- Part 3 History of English contact
- Part 4 ELT policies
- Part 5 ELT practices

Chapter 2 presented the *theoretical framework* of the thesis. Chapter 3 set out *teaching practices* of ELT and FLT fields. Chapter 4 documented literature relating to the *use of L1 and L2* in language classrooms. Chapter 5 now locates the study in its *cultural and pedagogic context* of a Thai university during 2002-2004 (Buddhist Era 2535-2537).

Part 1 Thai culture

The complexities involved in talking about cultures were referred to in Chapter 2. With the provisos outlined there, the study will nevertheless attempt to provide an outline of some of the social factors which surround education in Thailand. This is done not with a view to reduce what is changing and polyphonic to something static and monophonic, but with the aim of recognising and understanding some of the discourses and practices which are embedded in the classrooms of this study.

In this section, key features of Thai culture will be outlined, followed by an outline of Thai psychology, modernism, discourses of change, literacy, the Thai language, and finally, the place of Thailand in the SE Asian region.

Key Features

In representing Thailand to foreigners, Thai writers commonly refer to Buddhism, the monarchy, and the land as foundations of Thai culture. All are

acknowledged and celebrated by Thai people through practices and rituals of regular or occasional frequency. My own experience in Thailand has been that all three factors do indeed appear to be central to Thai people's image of themselves and their culture. And to these I would add a fourth which, while less acknowledged to outsiders, is nevertheless of prime importance to daily life: the practice of animism. Each will now be briefly described.

Buddhism

The Buddhist way, which is variously termed a religion and philosophy, occupies a significant visible and invisible part of the social fabric, with 93.6% of a large-scale survey self-reporting religion to be an important part of their lives (Komin, 1990: 208). It has been estimated that there exist some 30,000 temples both public and private in Thailand, (Parkay, Potisook, Chantharasakul & Chunsakorn, 1999), with at least one in almost every village (Komin, 1990). It is still Thai custom that young men spend at least one rainy season retreat (three months in duration) in a monastery, in order to accrue merit for themselves and their families. The Thai community has been reported to donate around 7% of its total income annually to the Sangha (Heinze 1977: 118).

The form of Buddhism followed in Thailand, along with Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam is the *Theravada* School. In China, Taiwan and Japan, on the other hand, the *Mahayana* School is followed. Buddhism reached Siam in the 12th Century, and had become dominant by the 15th Century. Key Buddhist beliefs include those of *kharma* (the accrual of deeds and misdeeds in this life and previous ones) and spiritual *merit*, which may be gained through devotions and good works. It also provides rules for daily conduct which are similar in principle to those of Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

Komin (1990) confirms the pre-eminence of Buddhism in daily life, in particular noting its support of harmony in Thai social relations, and associated preferences for avoiding conflict and preserving face.

Animism

Co-existing with Buddhism is animism, a pre-Buddhist practice which invests inanimate objects with spiritual dimensions. Animism is similar in some ways to pre-Christian beliefs in the West which have retained some currency through perceptions of the 'supernatural'.

Animism offers, amongst other things, an alternative explanation for human suffering, where it is caused not by Karma (past misdeeds carried within the self) but by malevolent spirits which reside outside the self (Tanabe, 2002). And so, Animism and Buddhism co-exist in Thailand, and many Thai dwellings have a space in the home for a Buddha image at a small altar, but at the same time, reserve a corner of the garden for a spirit house, whose inhabitants need to be propitiated with offerings of food and flowers (O'Sullivan & Tajaroensuk, 1997).

The monarchy

The role of the monarchy is central to Thais' view of themselves as unique in the region, and plays a central role in preserving historical continuity. The present King Bhumipol (Rama IX) is universally admired for many positive contributions to national life, not least being for the attention he and Queen Sirikit have given to the underprivileged rural areas of Thailand. Moreover, he is said to have used his constitutional role to the hilt of its 'warn, encourage and advise' ambit in several occasions of national crisis (Commonwealth of Australia, DFAT, 2003). In fairness, it should be acknowledged that there are some Thais who see the institution of the monarchy as having been appropriated by military and economic interests to legitimise various forms of power (noted by Jackson, 1988: 43).

The land

The land is celebrated through various ceremonies and rituals (for example, *Loy Krathong*, or *Songkran*) which demonstrate the reality that although Thailand is in the process of becoming a Newly Industrialised Country, the great majority of its people are still living in rural areas. The dry and wet seasons of the tropics create extremes of deprivation and plenty, and the coming of water is a symbol

of renewal in Thai festivals in ways similar to the coming of spring in the Western tradition.

Psychology

An important Thai work published in English is Komin's *Psychology of the Thai People*, in which are surveyed a total of 4,618 Thai people during 1978 and 1981 to arrive at a picture of Thai value systems (1990). The study itself is a fascinating intercultural document, especially as it attempts to compare Thai people's responses with those of Americans in earlier studies. And so, deeply Thai discourses of *self*, *social harmony*, and *sanuk* (fun/merriment) are compared to what are actually incommensurable American discourses of *individualism*, *intellectual questioning*, and *work ethic*.

Each of the three principal Thai discourses will be briefly outlined here. First, in terms of *self*, Komin's findings that the concept can be barely even connected to 'individualism' are confirmed by Kepner (1996: 30), who asserts that:

From the traditional Thai Buddhist point of view, *there is no situation in which concentration on the self may be interpreted as positive*. (emphases in original)

Second, *social harmony* is supported by the traditional Thai value of preserving face, a concept first explored in Western sociology by Goffman (1959). Related to face is the Thai concept of *kraeng cai*, (lit: constricted heart). This is a term acknowledged to have no everyday English equivalent: the closest meaning is 'deference', or 'not wishing to impose oneself', although these phrases do not capture the two-way social rights and obligations involved. (In Western sociology, however, *kraeng cai* can be seen as directly constitutive of the awkwardly-worded 'negative face'.)

Third, the concept of *sanuk* is one which will reappear in the discussion of some of the classes in this study. Schmidt and Savage (1992: 23) echo Komin's finding in this respect, asserting that 'the lofty place occupied by work in the mental priority list of Americans would be substituted by most Thais with *sanuk*'.

Discourses of modernism

In attempting to understand Thailand through Western eyes, of particular importance is an appraisal of the constructs of 'modern', 'pre-modern' and 'post-modern'; for in many respects, Thailand comprises elements of all three in ways quite different from those which pertain in the West. From a Western perspective, modernity is associated with *urbanisation*, *industrialisation* and *secularism*. But in Thailand, 75% of the population is still rural; industry accounts for only 15% of the workforce; and Thai society is 95% Buddhist in belief with a strong adherence to Animism. In this case, it may be, then, that the best an outsider can do when investigating Thailand is, as Byrne puts it, to understand that 'the veneer of modernity acts as a mirror, confirming the expectation that the familiar discourse is universal' (1993: 94).

Modernity and Thailand will now be examined more closely through a central Western discourse of *change*. A discourse central to the enlightenment is that change is necessary for progress to occur; that it is a force for achieving the 'development' of human potential, both personal and social. *Change* in Western discourses is associated with 'growth', part of a trajectory which will 'liberate' human beings from disadvantage. However, slippage between a 'growth' metaphor and the notion of 'change' is worth exploring. Growth is a physical process in which all living things participate; and equally, so is death; both are reflected in the cycle of the seasons. But modernist discourses focus on the former and ignore the latter; that is, change is only about 'acquiring', without equally 'losing'.

In non-modern cultures such as Thailand, there is evidence of a more holistic ecology based on the Buddhist notion of karma, whereby every action has an effect. Karma offers a view of the constancy which underlies the flux of everyday attachments to desires of various types – from secular to spiritual – and which exhorts the development of 'detachment' from such desires. Change happens, but it is a product rather than a goal. Associated with this is what has been called the 'conserving' dimension of rural cultures, where known patterns are established over extended periods of times and based on the cycle of

nature. It is important to note, however, that ‘conserving’ does not mean opposition to change. Byrne views Thai culture as seeking ‘to *remind* of the old rather than to *reproduce* the old’ (emphases added); and cites Griswold’s observation that notes that every Buddha image is a copy of an older one (1993: 175). But a ‘copy’ is not a reproduction: a copy seeks to preserve the spirit of the original and in so doing backgrounds the creator’s identity or ‘self’.

There is a danger for Western eyes to view ‘other’ cultures as fragile, as having pre-modern belief systems which may not survive contact with Western science and technology. Thais’ views towards the West from the 19th Century onwards, while mindful of Western imperialism, are reported to have been nevertheless open to learning about different forms of knowledge, as will be seen in the brief history outlined in the following section. And as Luke and Luke (2000: 286) note, Asian cultures generally do not represent themselves as ‘contaminated’ or ‘disrupted’ by the West in the senses offered by Robertson and Khondker (1998).

Literacy

It is also clear that the role of literacy is key in the development of certain cultural patterns. Within conventional measures of literacy as the ability to read and write, Thailand’s literacy rate is nominally high, with the Asian Development Bank reporting 92% female and 96% male literacy in 1995 (ADB, 2000). However, the roles of reading and writing are relatively small within contemporary Thai culture; public lending libraries are rare; and books are few in number and expensive to buy. Moreover, reading as a pastime is followed less widely and has a shorter history in Thailand than in either Western or CHC cultures; Tanabe and Keyes note that ‘until well after World War II, printed materials were read only by a small elite’ (2002: 14). In Thailand, ‘oracy’ in many domains dominates discourse, and oracy by its nature is more socially constituted and constituting. This leads to literacy – the texts as well as being able to access and produce them – being accorded even greater respect, as will be demonstrated in the classes observed in this study.

The Thai Language

A brief reference will be made to the Thai language itself, and in particular the salience of three features of affect: address systems, gesture, and metaphors of emotion.

The Thai language has a rich system of role relations realised through pronominal systems as well as by grammatical particles indicating status (Khanittanon, 1988). For example, the address of the second person 'you' varies according to age, status, and solidarity/distance; alternatively, the pronoun itself may be replaced by a third person referent, which may include the addressee's name; or there may be neither nominal nor pronominal referent. Another affective dimension is enacted by the body language of the *wai*, a greeting which takes the physical form of palms joined at chest level and raised, accompanied by bowing of the head and upper body, with both depth of gesture and order of initiation construing tenor relations. This explicating of participant roles serves both to enable hierarchy to be clearly acknowledged and also to provide a degree of security in knowing 'one's place' in relation to the interlocutor as well as in more broad social terms.

The term *cai* in Thai refers to heart, mind or disposition. It serves as the root word for some three hundred, mainly high frequency, lexical items; and as Diller and Juntanamalaga note (1990: 242), when approaching Thai as an English speaker, one may feel 'amazement that informal Thai conversation so frequently refers to feelings and mental attitudes'. Such metaphor of affect permeates Thai culture, where awareness and acknowledgement of emotions support the key social value of calmness of spirit, *cai yen* (literally *heart/mind cool*) described as 'a highly desirable characteristic that all Thais aspire to' (O'Sullivan & Tajarosensuk, 1997: 5). The antithesis of *cai yen* is *cai ron*, literally *heart/mind hot*, or as we might say, hot-headedness or impetuosity, a trait, as Klausner points out (1993: 380), often associated by Thais with '*farang*' (Caucasians or Westerners).

Thailand and the region

Given the difficulties in making broad generalisations about cultures, it may seem impractical to attempt to further compare Thai culture with other cultures of the region. But this will be briefly done for two reasons. First, while there are significant cultural differences amongst the countries of East and South East Asia, there are still features of histories, religions, values and mores which can be seen by insiders of those cultures as well as by outsiders to them as having certain commonalities. In similar ways, the countries of Europe may be perceived to have commonalities which are perceived to distinguished those cultures from others in the world. (Of course, in any context, various discourses of nationalism may be seen to act in the interests of powerful groups, and it is the case that these have been largely naturalised in the SE Asian region as they have been in Europe and elsewhere in the world.)

Because CHCs are dominant in the region, and because Thailand has an ethnic Chinese population of 12%, the Thailand-CHC connection will be briefly explored here. Ethnic Chinese people in Thailand are concentrated in Bangkok, and as with other parts of the diaspora, are traditionally associated with business. Due to an assimilationist policy in education, virtually all Chinese-Thais have attended Thai-speaking schools; moreover, this group is perceived to be no less Buddhist than ethnic Thais. Chinese-Thais' integration into Thai society is said to have been accomplished more smoothly here than anywhere else in the region (Klausner, 1993: 380). Nevertheless, one will frequently hear Thais and Chinese-Thais refer to cultural differences between the two groups, and it may be seen that in least two of the three Thai discourses identified above – *social harmony* and '*sanuk*' – Thai culture may be seen to differ significantly from the Confucian-Heritage Cultures with which it is sometimes associated. While the concept of face may be said to be commonly held across Thai and CHC cultures, practices of *social harmony* manifest in quite different ways, with Thai culture placing high value upon smoothness, flow, concord amongst all parties in exchanges, and with these values being embodied in practices of the *wai* and the ubiquitous smile (Komin, 1990). In a discussion of the ways in which Thai universities contribute to the teaching of values such as social harmony, Bovonsiri, Uampuang and Fry (1996: 65) note in passing that

such socialisation is ‘particularly pertinent for Thais of Chinese ethnic background whose parents may lack the social graces demanded in elite Thai society’. Lastly, in terms of *sanuk*, ethnic Thais will often refer deprecatingly to their fun-loving predilection and compare this unfavourably with what is perceived to be the industriousness of ethnic Chinese. There is one other glimpse into Thai perceptions of Chinese culture offered by Kepner (1996) which may assist Western understanding of the differences between the two, and which offers an appealing intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Kepner records that in a production by students at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, of Tennessee Williams’ *A Streetcar Named Desire* in the 1980s:

... Stanley is a lower-class Chinese, Stella and Blanche are impoverished Thai gentry, *phuu dii kaw* ..., and the action takes place in a tenement on Yaowarat Road, a commercial section of Bangkok largely populated by ethnic Chinese. (p. 202n).

The cultural features which have been identified in the section above can only be pointers, sketches, suggestions of what is a rich and intensely complex picture. Nevertheless, it was felt that without some cultural ‘grounding’ about Thailand, the meanings of various practices and discourses described in this study would be diminished.

Part 2 Ways of learning

In Chapter 2 were set out some perceptions of Asian and Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) learners. Thailand is not usually considered to be a CHC, for as described earlier, it is Buddhist religion/philosophy which permeates Thai life. It is also of interest that the Theravada school of Buddhism, of which Thai Buddhism is a part, is said to show lower adherence to filial piety and ancestor wisdom than do both the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and Confucian thinking (Fieg, 1989, cited in Adamson, 2003: 4).

Hofstede's cultural comparison categories were also outlined earlier in Chapter 2, partly to background the following two important Thai studies into learning. First, O'Sullivan and Tajaroensuk (1997) in their work on intercultural communication in Thailand, support Hofstede's finding of Thailand as high in Power Distance, low in Individualism, mid-range for Uncertainty Avoidance and high in Femininity (the latter indicating a preference for nurturing over assertiveness). Second, Hallinger and Kantamara (2001), support Hofstede's findings in some detail, linking Thai cultural characteristics to strategies for educational change. They find, for example, that high Power Distance is constituted in the Thai concept of *kraeng cai*. Hallinger and Kantamara also say of Individualism: 'Thai people seldom think in terms of "I"; rather their primary point of reference in any social or work-related venture is "we"' (p. 394). And in terms of Uncertainty Avoidance, the authors comment that educational innovation 'is neither encouraged, nor highly valued, and may even be regarded as disruptive' (p. 397).

Ballard and Clanchy's (1991) distinction between conserving and extending educational traditions, while problematised here earlier, has found some favour with Thai academics, (e.g. NaChiangmai, 1998; Kongpetch, 2004).

In terms of the International Educational Achievement scales referred to earlier, Thailand itself does not rate highly on either Mathematics or Science. It is nevertheless ranked similarly with Indonesia, and ahead of the Philippines, both countries with which it may fairly be compared in terms of 'developing' status.

There have been few studies published in English which examine EFL learning in Thailand. Two such studies discussed here will be seen to perpetuate and develop some of the negative stereotypes about 'Asian' students which were described in Chapter 2. In his contribution to a recent Thai TESOL Conference (Stark, 2002: 30) refers to two of Piaget's stages of learning: Stage 3, characterised by 'rules, black and white reality, some intuitive reasoning', and Stage 4, 'formulating and testing hypotheses, logic, sequence, conceptualisation and theory'. The writer claims that in many Asian countries, students do not reach Stage 4, and suggests that a remedy may lie in teaching

through the technique of Socratic dialogues as recorded by Plato. This view is of course entirely inaccurate, as a genuine dialogue with Thai students would reveal in a matter of minutes. As such, it demonstrates the danger of entering into a new culture positioned as an 'expert' (often simply by virtue of English monolinguality); and then, limited by one's own perceptions, to proclaim surface *difference as deficit*.

Similarly misrepresented is Thailand by Luke and Luke (2000), who, drawing upon their limited experience of working with Thai tertiary institutions, refer to problems inherent in an:

attempt to teach Thai students to 'be critical', in the contexts of an emergent but at times tenuous move towards an 'open' public sphere for debate and dissention, and in the face of long-standing Confucian and Buddhist traditions of reverence of pedagogic authority. (p. 294)

In the first place, while there is *respect* for education in Thailand, this does not equate with 'reverence', which in my view would be reserved for the monkhood; secondly, in nominating Thailand as 'Confucian', the authors have picked the wrong country. And thirdly, this paper does not appear to recognise the subtle ways in which Thai people tend to deal with 'debate', which result from differing Thai discourses of 'public' and 'private'.

Both these studies have positioned elements of Thai educational culture in superficial, unreflexive ways, and have also – explicitly or implicitly – aggrandised Western educational culture. Critiques of such approaches to 'Eastern' education were presented in Chapter 2, in the work of Briggs, Kubota, Spack, Zamel, and others; but the spirit of Orientalism (Saïd, 1978) remains strong.

On the other hand, several other studies have been found to approach the learning of Thai students with an aim of seeking to understand rather than to judge. Knee (1999) reports that what to his Western understanding was clearly 'plagiarism', to his Thai students resulted from a desire to honour what the

lecturer had taught them, coupled with a responsibility to aid their peers. Knee also notes the assiduousness with which his students approached their L2 written texts, where deep and detailed commentary on every line was apparent. This enabled him to challenge prevailing views of surface and deep learning (echoing the critique offered by Biggs, 1994) and to see that in the Thai educational context, a text represented 'a holistic source to be examined and studied in close detail (perhaps) with some memorisation, so that knowledge may be acquired' (p. 33). Similarly, Davison (2001) was able to look at the study patterns of his Thai students, and see strengths in their capacity to collaborate during group activities, an observation corroborated by Boronsiri, Uampuang and Fry, who comment that 'Perhaps the most concrete visible influence of Thai culture on contemporary campus life is the prominence of students studying in groups', and note that one can rarely find a student studying alone (1996: 60).

Adamson (2003) interviewed twenty Thai students at an English-medium vocational college in Thailand with the intention of establishing the ways in which students learned, and of disseminating this information amongst their teachers. However, he found that the more valuable data which emerged was that showing the significance of Buddhism in approaches to learning in Thailand. In particular, Adamson investigates notions of Karma, which he believes can provide Thai students with an alternative and longer-term kind of 'motivation'; with the valued wisdom of 'detachment' as in cool-headedness; with deference to authority based on status which may or may not be material; and with ideals of compassionate living which place high value on interpersonal relations. A similarly respectful and inclusive view of learning in the Thai contexts is provided by Brown (2004), who takes up a call by Kirtikara (2003) to explore the reinstatement into the Thai education system of traditional Buddhist philosophies of learning as currently taught only to the monkhood. The present and possible links between Buddhism and Thai students' learning are not necessarily convincingly made in these studies, but such explorations are nevertheless of value in reminding the Western reader of the complex discourses which are in play, and which outsiders may need to approach with sensitivity and reflexivity. We may not know what we may not know.

Part 3 History of English contact

At the turn of the 19th Century, Thailand occupied a pivotal position between, to its east, French-dominated Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and to its west and south, British-dominated Burma, Malaya, and Singapore. Thailand was able to use this axis to remain a buffer between both empires, and it alone of SE Asian countries was not colonised by European powers (although obliged to cede to France part of its territory in what is now Laos). While imperialist trade and politics did impact upon Thailand in its contacts with both Britain and France, the role played by those powers and by the English language in Thailand was quite different from the roles played by English, French, Portuguese and Dutch in other countries of the region.

In the reign of King Rama II [r. 1809-1824] no Western language was known in Thailand, and nor were Europeans familiar with the Thai language; Sukamolson (1998) describes communication as being achieved through the third language of Malay.

In the reign of King Rama III [r. 1824-1851] contacts were fostered by the presence in Thailand of Christian missionaries. Sometimes allowed to preach as well as teach, missionaries were valued by Thais for first, their knowledge of Western science and technology, and second their native-speakerdom. Early in King Rama III's reign, the first Anglo-Siamese trade treaty was signed (1825) known as the 'Burney Treaty'; the first American-Siamese treaty followed in 1832.

King Mongkut (Rama IV) [r. 1851-1868] sent fifteen of his children, including the future King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) to study at Raffles School in Singapore (Kongpetch, 2004). English teachers were also engaged at court, including an American missionary, Dr Chandler, and Anna Leonowens from England. Mrs Leonowens was the widow of a British Army sergeant; her fanciful recollections entitled *The English Governess at the Siamese Court* (1870) were further romanticised via the novel *Anna and the King* (Landon, 1944), and again in that

flawless piece of imperialism, the film *The King and I* (1956). The disrespect shown to Thailand and its monarch in the latter has caused it to be banned from general release to this day (although it can be obtained on video).

At his accession to the throne, King Mongkut had spent twenty-seven years as a monk, during which time he developed a deep knowledge of Buddhist scriptures written in the 'dead' language of Pali. It is recorded that as well as his mastery of English, King Mongkut learned Latin from the French bishop Jean-Baptiste Pallegoix, and in turn taught the latter Pali (Royal Thai Government, 1991: 22; Chulalongkorn University, 1993: 13). The selective internationalisation of Thailand continued to develop throughout King Mongkut's reign. Kepler suggests that today in Thailand the Victorian Era is recalled as:

an exciting time during which Siamese aristocrats travelled to Europe, met the members of European royal families as equals, studied in universities, and brought back things that appealed to them. (1996: 3-4)

And in 1855, an English politician visiting Thailand was able to write that 'It is amazing to find that the Siamese who live so far away from us can speak English so well' (Bowring, 1856, cited in Masavisut, Sukwiwat & Wongmongtha, 1986: 198).

While Thailand's contact with the West during the 19th Century has been well documented, accounts of the era rarely acknowledge the twin giants which had long dominated the countries of Indo-China: the 'near west' of the Indian subcontinent, birthplace of the Buddha, source of philosophy and of writings in the Pali and Sanskrit languages; and to the east, China, 'the greatest nation known to the Siamese' (Snidvongs, 1959), with a long imperial history, as well as a rich literature and scholarship established in part by Confucius and his followers. The attack, then, by Britain on China in the Opium Wars of 1842, and China's subsequent loss of face had a great impact on Thailand's national security. It became clear that Europe represented the new power base, not least because of its early industrialisation – the *Guns, Germs and Steel* described by Diamond (1997) – and Thailand, in order to secure its political

independence, was obliged to make further economic concessions to Britain through the Bowring Treaty of 1855 (Morris, 2002), which granted trade privileges equal to those already enjoyed by China.

For the next hundred years, English (and to a lesser extent, French) continued to play a small but significant role in Thailand's political life and in education, with members of the elite commonly receiving part of their education in Europe or the USA. In the 1960s, the impact of English in Thailand received a significant stimulus to expansion when the USA commenced a major and ongoing program of development assistance to Thailand (Kotkam, 2000). During this period, although secondary education in Thailand expanded, tertiary education did not do so commensurately (Sukamolson, 1998), and significant number of Thais undertook scholarships in the USA, funded both internally and externally. The United States also began what came to be a significant in-country presence in Thailand as a result of the perceived threat of communism in the region. By the time of Thai and American involvement in the Vietnam wars, some 50,000 US troops were stationed throughout Thailand; the cultural changes which eventuated during this time are reported as having been 'quite appalling' (Masavisut, Sukiwiwat & Wongmongtha 1986: 200). A significant impact of the American in-country presence was that Thai-American contact, and therefore the English language, was no longer confined to an elite, but was now experienced by Thais of all classes and occupations (Wyatt, 1984).

From the 1950s in Thailand, English had been a compulsory subject in lower secondary schools and at university. But in 1978, it became elective again, a move which has been attributed both to a reaction against aspects of the US presence as well as to the syllabuses of the era, which were 'mainly foreign made, aimed too high, took no consideration of cultural difference' (Sukamolson, 1998: 79).

Since the 1980s, English has played an increasingly prominent role in Thailand, first through the tourism industry, and more recently through the demand for English in globalised workplaces, for accessing the Internet, and for the purposes of higher education. In the business arena, English is exploited by

marketers for its cultural associations with modernity, affluence and quality, as well as for its 'novelty value' (Masavisut, Sukiwiwat & Wongmongtha, 1986). All this has led to a great increase in demand for EL tuition on the part of students and parents.

The next section will briefly outline the system of state education in Thailand before describing current policies and practices regarding the teaching of English. It should also be noted that alongside public education, there have also been a large number of private providers, some local, and some international such as the British Council and the American University Alumni (AUA) Language Centre. Native speakers of English – who may or may not be trained teachers – are also employed, sometimes on short working visas, and sometimes through voluntary associations such as the Peace Corps (USA), Volunteer Service Overseas (UK) and Australian Volunteers Abroad (Australia).

Part 4 ELT policies

Education system

The education system in Thailand has four tiers: preschool, elementary (Prathom 1-6), lower secondary (Matthayom 1-3), upper secondary (Matthayom 4-6), and tertiary. According to Kakwami and Pothong (1999), gross enrolments (not completions) in the 1990s were as follows:

<i>Level</i>	1992	1997
Junior secondary	59%	92%
Senior secondary	20%	36%
Tertiary	11%	21%

Table 5.1 Gross enrolments at three levels of Thai education, 1992 and 1997

Perhaps equally surprising here are the low base figures for educational enrolment rates, and the major increases during this period, of 50% at Junior Secondary and nearly 100% at Tertiary level.

Because of its highly ruralised population, Thailand's educational participation rates have often been lower than those of neighbouring countries. In rural areas, the secondary-level attainment at junior level is reported by Parkay, Potisoorn, Chantharasakul and Chunsakorn (1999) to be only 10-15%; Wongsothorn specifies a figure of 9.82% in 1996 (2000: 308).

Foreign language study

The twin goals of foreign language study in Thailand have been described by Chayanuvat as 'learning about foreign countries, and learning from them, especially through further study and technology' (1997: 1, emphases added). Officially, English is a foreign language equal to French, German, Italian, Chinese and Japanese. However, English is clearly accorded the highest status and value (Boonkit, 2002); and has been described as 'the essence of being an educated and cultured Thai (Wongsothorn, 2000: 314). The economic crisis of the late 1990s is said to have further stimulated demand for English as a means of international business communication (McMurray, 1998). The enhanced role of English in recent years has led some to observe that it is in the process of moving away from the role/domain of a foreign language and becoming 'closer to ESL' in usage (Boonkit 2002: 7); and that it should be accorded the status of Thailand's official second language (Srisa-An, 1998: 2), although Wiriyachitra questions the possible colonial implication of such a move (2002: 4).

While the demand is high, however, the standard of English teaching and learning at primary and secondary school has been criticised by, for example, Biyaem (1997), Wiriyachitra (2002), and in various Ministry of Education reports (1999a, 1999b, in Wongsothorn, Hiranburana & Chinnawongs, 2003: 447-448), which found poor outcomes when assessing student achievement in English at Prathom 6, Matthayom 3, and Matthayom 6.

The amount of English language instruction provided in the former educational plan was 5 x 20 minute lessons per week at primary school and 4-8 lessons of 50 minutes at high school (Wongsothorn et al, 2003). In the new (1996) curriculum, provision is increased to 800-1,000 lessons of 20-30 minutes at primary level (Prathom 1-6), and 1,200 lessons of 50 minutes at Junior Secondary (Matthayom 1-3). It may be noted that although primary level ELT is mandated, in fact its implementation remains variable.

Educational reforms

The educational reforms which are currently taking place in Thailand have been described as 'the most radical ... in Thai history' (Wiriyachitra, 2002: 5). As they apply to university teaching of English, the reforms have appeared in four major documents (Kongpetch, 2004).

- 1996-2001: *Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan*
- 1999: *National Education Act*

The key initiatives of these policies in regard to education were the extension of compulsory education from six to nine years; devolution of what had formerly been a highly centralised system of administration and curriculum to school level; and a move away from teacher-centred and towards student-centred education (Thamraksa, 2003). Amongst its goals, the new curriculum also placed an emphasis on 'knowledge integrated with ethics' (Wongsothorn et al, 2003: 446). The eighth plan was devised by the Office of the Prime Minister, but not officially implemented for two reasons: first, as a result of the economic crisis of 1997, and second, because it was generally seen as having failed to consult with stakeholders, and to be removed from feasible implementation (Kongpetch 2004). However, it did provide the basis for the formulation of the National Education Commission's *Educational Reform program: 1996-2007*.

- 1996-2005: *Language Education in Higher Education* and
- 2000: *The Policy on English Instruction of Liberal Education*

The former policy has an aim to double the number of foreign language major and minor students within ten years. By virtue of the latter policy, 'English is

now placed at the forefront of national intellectual development, together with IT skills' (Wongsothorn et al, 2003: 445).

As a result of these various new policies, mandatory study of English for all students has doubled from six to twelve credit points. New students will be streamed according to a Ministry of University Affairs proficiency test. There will be an exit test for all students, which will not, however, appear on students' academic transcripts. The curriculum itself is directed to cover both academic and social uses of English.

The actual nature of examinations is not directed to change under the new policies. Currently, Thai university entrance exams include an English component for all candidates which focusses on reading and on knowledge of grammar. Wongsothorn (2001: 230) urges that all four skills be subject to examination, but in fact, productive language skills 'are never tested in high stakes examinations' (Wongsothorn et al, 2003: 446); and curricula tend to focus on examinable requirements.

Educational reform in Thailand has been influenced by both internal and external developments. Advice is frequently sought from Western institutions, either at individual or at systemic levels. One such case is reported by Luke and Luke (2000), who outline their Australian university's involvement with Rajabhat Institutes. The latter are tertiary providers whose function was originally similar to Teacher Training Colleges and Polytechnic institutions in the West, but which have recently expanded their role to offer postgraduate degrees. Luke and Luke were engaged to assist a group of Institutes in upgrading their academic staff to doctoral level, and in implementing and researching new government policies with particular reference to devolution. Such Thai government measures largely follow those which have been implemented particularly in the UK and to a lesser extent in Australia over the past ten years, namely, a greater focus on assessment, comparative analysis of educational outcomes by institution, commodification of education, and partial privatisation of higher education providers. Luke and Luke discuss the hybridising of Western models in the Thai context and correctly note the longstanding nature of Thailand's appropriation of

elements from elsewhere (as described in the previous section of this chapter). However, their paper may be said to illustrate discourses which are far removed from their stated view of educational development as ‘two-way, mutually constitutive dynamics of local-global flows of knowledge, power and capital’ (p. 270).

Luke and Luke’s paper presents no Thai voices – neither from participants in the reform process at Rajabhat Institutes, nor from the widespread discussion of globalisation in the Thai media. The language of communication between West and East is not stated; assuredly it was English, with the power implications which this conveys. While Luke and Luke note that their consultancy was contracted to support precisely the kind of ‘reform’ which had in their view ‘exacerbated inequality’ in Australia (p. 292), the appropriateness of its then ‘export’ to Thailand is inadequately addressed. A more valuable approach to the Thai context might have been similar to that of Hallinger and Leithwood (1996), who question the cultural validity of Western ‘change strategies’; or that of Parkay et al (1999) who in their discussion of the Thai context point out that the USA has not succeeded in solving the problems of its own education system.

Part 5 ELT practices

Curriculum and Methodology

There are differing accounts of current ELT methodology in Thailand, and differing interpretation of what CLT means, with the term sometimes being used interchangeably with ‘learner-centred’ and/or ‘whole language’.

On the one hand, it is claimed that CLT ‘with an eclectic orientation’ is favoured by EL teachers in Thailand (Wongsothorn, Sukamolson, Chinthammit, Noparumpa & Rattanotayanonth, 1996), a view supported by Chayanuvat (1997: 10), who reports that Thai teachers are ‘heading towards’ a learner-centred approach. On the other hand, Kirtikara (2003: 2) claims that the

curriculum 'emphasized grammar, readings, and comprehension, and Markmee and Taylor (2001: 13) note that students' and teachers' learning goals are guided by grammar-based exams, although employers are seeking graduates with spoken communication skills. Kongpetch (2004: x [sic]) asserts that 'structural-based approaches have been the influential ones on both teachers and bureaucrats', and this would accord with my own experience.

The research on the use and appropriacy of CLT in Thailand is mixed: one gets a sense that there is an interest in and openness towards developing methodology, but also that there are strong doubts about the export of CLT unmediated into Thai educational culture. Sukanake, Heaton, Chantrupanth and Rorex (2003) report that CLT has been implemented at tertiary level, but point out that most Thai students are not confident in either speaking or listening to the target language. Stroup, Shaw, Clayton and Conley (1998) describe communicative teaching strategies which they claim to have introduced successfully into pilot primary programs. At the same time they note without irony that participating Thai trainers expressed doubt that their own teacher trainees would be prepared to embrace the new techniques. Wongsothorn et al (2003: 446) observe of the former 1996 EL curriculum that a majority of students failed to reach the prescribed learning goals 'due to the current learning situation which does not encourage communicative language teaching'. Nachiengmai (1998: 29) attributes a lack of reform of EL teaching practices to 'conserving' rather than 'extending' approaches to education in the Thai context (but does not refer directly to Ballard and Clanchy's use of these terms, which suggests that this discourse may have become naturalised in the Thai context, or at least the English speaking part of it). A Japan-based teacher who visited Thai tertiary classes reported that EL lessons consisted of teacher lecturing, interspersed with short periods of teacher questioning of nominated students (Nakamura, 1998). And as McMurray (1998: 6) points out, many EFL students have developed EL proficiency 'without the benefit of communicative methodology, travel abroad, or high levels of face to face exposure with native speakers'.

A recent innovation by the Thai Ministry of Education has been the piloting of 'Mini English Programs' in fourteen High Schools, through which students receive 50% of total instruction in the medium of English (Thai MOE, 2003). No progress reports on the program have been published to date, but this experiment in partial immersion is highly significant in the Thai EFL context.

There are a few Thai-based studies which have questioned the applicability of CLT to ELT in Thailand. Kajornboon (2001) asks 'Can the communicative approach be appropriate to language teaching?' and queries the various meanings of communicative language teaching. She rejects a part of communicative teaching which encourages 'free conversation' amongst groups of students on the grounds that without guidance or correction, such activities would not benefit students outside the classroom. On the other hand, Kajornboon supports the development of all four competencies and a focus on texts as discourse. Opposition to pair and group work was also found by McDonough on the part of both teachers and students, in her study conducted at a provincial Thai university (2004).

Roengrudee (1997) encourages the transfer of 'whole language' approaches to the Thai L2 classroom. In the West, whole language is fundamentally an L1 reading/writing process which assumes students' spoken proficiency in L1, as well as assuming certain cultural conditions including access to books which are available in mass quantities at schools and at public libraries, and which are relatively cheap to purchase. Clearly, the situation of the Thai learner is quite different in all such respects, but the paper does not acknowledge this. Roengrudee also presents a view that 'if the students have fun at school, using role plays, they tend to seek help from private tutors for English grammar-based instruction' (p. 115), a view which is similar to that reported by Canagarajah (1993b) and others.

McKnight and Turner (1995) surveyed 23 EFL teachers undertaking postgraduate TESOL programs at an Australian university, of whom 13 were Thai, and found that nearly all teachers foresaw difficulty in adapting what had been learnt to their own context. It is notable that the Australian researchers

code such adaptation on the part of their overseas teachers as ‘flexibility’. McKnight and Turner then position such flexibility as positive, with the implication that lack of flexibility could represent a deficiency on the Thai teachers’ part. But another perspective might see that, on the contrary, it was a responsibility of the course providers to have responded ‘flexibly’ to participating teachers’ needs. Most recently, Jarvis and Atsilarat (2004) report on a large-scale survey conducted at a Bangkok university into student and teachers’ attitudes towards CLT. Although, as the researchers acknowledge, the methodology was flawed in parts, there are nevertheless valuable insights which may be gained. In particular, it was found that while all 37 participating teachers were in favour of CLT techniques such as fluency work, student-centred techniques, and pair/group activities, in practice, all reported problems of various kinds, with a majority nominating as problematic students ‘ low EL proficiency, large class sizes and limited time. Of the 655 learners surveyed, 74% were found to favour accuracy over fluency, and 93% preferred a deductive teaching style.

EL teachers

Teachers in Thailand are held in high respect by students, parents and by society, with Simon describing the teacher’s role as that of ‘friend and helper of pupils in a master-disciple relationship’ (2001: 340). However, within the state system, Wongsothorn et al (2003) report that teachers are often overloaded with duties, and are often inadequately prepared for class. The quality of EL teaching has been reported as variable by Kongpetch (2004). Class sizes are still large, often comprising 45-60 students according to Biyaem (1997). Moreover, teachers are poorly paid, and in the case of English teachers, there is the problem of supply in the public sector being depleted by the more lucrative salaries offered in the private sector (Wongsothorn et al, 1996: 99). A study into 150 university ELT teachers’ use of IT found that more than half the sample had no experience in using computers in their teaching, although the majority was favourably disposed to the prospect (Banpho, 2001)

Promsiri, Prapphal and Vijchulata (1996) surveyed 208 Upper Secondary teachers in Region 12 (Cholburi, Eastern Seaboard – co-incidentally, the region

of the current study) to discover teachers' attitudes towards the English language curriculum. Significant problems were reported, the most important being: applying in practice the objectives set out in the curriculum, in particular enabling all learners to reach those objectives; understanding CLT; and creating student-centred techniques. Only half of the teachers surveyed had received training in the hitherto most recent 1990 Upper Secondary English curriculum. Bailey (2002) surveyed 35 EL teachers, mainly employed at tertiary institutions, in the Bangkok area to discover how they sought to improve their own teaching, and what might impede such improvement. Time was the impediment to improvement nominated by 50% of teachers, followed by student attitude (39%) and the exam-driven curriculum (39%).

Native speaking teachers of English are employed at all tertiary institutions in Thailand, both at Rajabhat Institutes and at Universities, and recently, in some high schools, in order to give students and staff access to native speakers. Salaries offered to foreign staff are over double those available to local staff, although still low by Western standards. While this rate is probably necessary in order to attract foreign staff, it may nevertheless irk Thai teachers who are undertaking the same work. Indeed, one Western teacher at a provincial university voluntarily reduced her salary to local rates in order to reduce conflict/build bridges with her Thai colleagues (pers. comm.).

There has been interesting discussion in the Thai press of the relative merits of native speaking and non-native speaking teachers of English (Todd, 2002), with native speaking teachers often defending the qualities of non-native, bilingual teachers. Clark (2001: 72) points to the complementary qualities offered by NS and NNS teachers of English. He also suggests, however, that Thai teachers may lack confidence to make classes 'interesting and exciting', and that English native speakers 'are not encumbered by the social baggage which may weigh heavily on Thai teachers'. This is a perspective which has naturalised education as being 'interesting and exciting', and positioned cultural background as 'heavy social baggage'. An alternative reading might see that education can generate interest and excitement at some times, and at others, a need for perseverance;

and that if indeed social baggage is heavy, then it is no less so for an English speaker than for a Thai.

At Thai universities, as is still the case in the West, no teaching qualification is required in order to become a lecturer. For those who train to become school teachers, the curriculum is largely Western (American) based, consisting of educational psychology, teaching methods, measurement and research methods. However, Buddhism is also drawn upon in order to develop teachers' morality and spirituality. Parkay et al (1999: 65) refer to Payutto's (1995) description of the character of the ideal teacher:

- 'endearing', or approachable
- worthy of respect in character and actions
- inspiring; and exemplifies what s/he teaches
- can speak wisely, appropriately and caringly
- is patient
- can explain and guide students clearly
- does not lead students into areas lacking in worth or morality.

It is my experience that such a description would be regarded as appropriate by Thai teachers, students and the community.

Toh (2003: 552) has written of current discourses of ELT in Thailand and other SE Asian countries which position English as 'but a language to encode scientific or technological assistance', and has called for a more critical orientation towards ELT in the region. To my knowledge, there is as yet no published work which takes up this call; and again, it is hoped that the current study may offer a contribution in this respect.

Use of L1 and L2

There is very little published literature on the use of L1 and L2 in Thai EL classrooms. Ministry policy is to allow teachers discretion in the use of both languages as appropriate to the needs of their students. McMurray (1998) reports that in general, Thai is the main medium of instruction for ELT in

Thailand. In recent years, a major media success has been enjoyed by *Khru Kate* (Teacher Kate), an untrained Thai teacher whose experience of being immersed in English when relocated in the USA led her to believe in exclusive L2 use for the Thai context. She commented in an interview with *The Nation* newspaper (Pusaksrikit, 2002) that: 'At present, most English teachers, especially at state schools, still speak Thai when they teach That is not the way to help students develop their verbal skills'. Dismissed by professionals, *Khru Kate's* monolingualist methods and publications have nevertheless been very popular in Thailand.

At the university level, Boonkit (2002) makes an important distinction, and one found central to the current study, with regard to the two different types of English tuition offered. First, there are *Foundation English* classes, which are compulsory for students in all faculties. These classes are held in lecture mode, with large numbers of students, and are usually taught by Thai teachers using Thai as the medium of instruction. Second, there are *English-Major* classes, which are usually taught to small numbers of students in tutorial mode, with either Thai or native speaking teachers of English who use both Thai and English as the media of instruction.

Tubtimtong reported on a postgraduate EL subject which in 1993 was considered innovative in its use of English as a major medium of instruction. She notes that that 'when the students occasionally face difficulties in understanding, the mother tongue can be exploited to summarise and clarify certain points.' She adds that the mother tongue is particularly valuable at initial stages but that 'when students feel competent ... the mother tongue should be phased out' (1993: 6). Another perspective is provided by Simon's 2001 study of not English but French foreign language classrooms in Thailand, where she found that the FL 'remains a fairly culturally and affectively neutral code' and that the use of Thai 'carries all the Thai cultural values and meanings common to the participants in the interaction and reflects teacher-learner relationships in Thai society' (p. 327). The use of L1 in the English class has been supported by Mallikamas (1997), who points to its value in explaining grammar and culture, as well as to the contrastive study offered by written translation activities.

When I first started teaching at a Thai university in 1988, no Thai lecturer communicated with students through the medium of English. Fifteen years later, at the same institution, I observed that English was used, along with Thai in varying proportions, by every teacher.

To conclude this section, I would like to bring out several points.

As indicated earlier, any cultural description will be partial, saying perhaps as much about the author as the text. But in attempting to set up key features of Thai culture, I have aimed to appraise and integrate at least four views. These are my own experiences; what Thai people and *farang* living in Thailand have said to me about various cultural phenomena; the ways in which Thai writers position their culture(s); and the ways in which Western teachers and academics have written of their experiences of Thai education.

Something which often comes out when talking to Thai people is their pride in the fact that Thailand alone of SE Asian countries maintained independence in the face of 19th Century Western expansion. Clearly there were many factors contributing to this independence, but Thai history claims the greatest asset to have been the Thai monarchy. One effect of political independence was the different kind of foreign relationships thereby afforded, which, because not founded on victor-vanquished, were often regarded as beneficial in the gaining of knowledge and technology. Thus, long before globalisation, Thai culture, or at least elite parts of it, may be said to have been a part of an 'Occidentalism' as powerful as the Orientalism of the West, and with the range of effects which this creates. In the 20th Century, fuller contacts with the West have often been problematic: both the stationing of American troops in Thailand during the Vietnam war, as well as the later massive development of tourism (from West and East) have contributed to both economic development and social damage.

The demand for ELT in Thailand cannot currently be met, although the government has, as indicated, recently greatly extended the provision of ELT within tertiary, secondary, and down to primary education. The ways in which

Thai ELT is embedded within local language and culture will be a central theme of this study; and broader issues concerning optimal provision of ELT in this Expanding Circle context will be examined in detail in Chapter 11.

I would now like to conclude these four research chapters of the study. Chapter 2 set out views of language and learning as constituted in culture, and as realised in performance. All four dimensions of language, learning, culture and performance were found to be integratable within a systemic-functional view of language as social semiotic. These theories were linked to practices of language teaching in Chapter 3, where the socio-political context of 'English in the world' was seen as being vital in understanding curriculum and participants in it. Chapter 4 focussed in upon the thesis's central point: the use of L1 and L2 in language classrooms; and Chapter 5 has provided a background to the Thai context of this study.

Chapter 6

Research Approach

Part 1	Research questions
Part 2	Research design
Part 3	Researcher's roles
Part 4	Data collection and analysis

Part 1 Research questions

The purpose of this research is 'to make a difference'. It arose from wanting to address some of the inequities which I had seen resulting from the export of Western methodology in various forms to ELT contexts of SE Asia. It seemed to me that the biggest single question for EFL teachers, and the biggest single issue which distinguished them from their expatriate native speaking colleagues was associated with bilingual teaching. It seemed to be this which could be arguably the greatest strength and greatest potential weakness of Thai ELT teachers, depending, critically, upon how and why the two languages were used in the classroom. It also seemed that by problematising this dimension of Thai ELT, it might be possible to contribute to a repositioning of the professional domain of EFL: to release it from ESL, as it were, and to suggest a more appropriate liaison with the FLT domain.

As previously indicated, research questions explored in this study were clustered as follows.

Describing bilingual classrooms

- (1) In what ways do Thai EL teachers make use of two languages – English and Thai – in their classes with university students?
- (2) What do these teachers perceive to be the purposes and effects of the use of L1 and L2 in this context?

- (3) To what extent does the curriculum, as represented by the textbook, support the learning of a second language and culture?

Exploring semiotic development

- (4) How does the use of both languages contribute to students' potential development of meaning?
- (5) How does performing L2 in the classroom impact upon Thai teachers' and students' self-expression and senses of identity?

Relating pedagogy to professional context

- (6) How does the professional domain of Thai EFL relate to ESL and to FLT?

As noted earlier, questions (3) and (5) emerged in the course of the study, as enabled by the ethnographic approach pursued.

Part 2 Research Design

Overview: approach, orientation, paradigm

Research design has been described in a variety of overlapping and sometimes ambiguous ways. Here, the research design will be described in terms of *approach*, *orientation*, and *paradigm*. First, Chaudron (1988), following Long, Allwood and others, describes four principal SLA *approaches*: Psychometric, Discourse Analysis, Interaction Analysis and Ethnography. Nunan (1992) further distinguishes Case Study, Classroom Observation and Introspection. The present study may be described as principally but not wholly *Ethnographic* in approach (Wolcott, 1988), drawing as it does upon elements of *Case Study* in its bounded nature, and upon *Introspection* in its use of some personal data (Schultze, 2000). The study's primary setting is a natural one, that of Thai EL classrooms, but it does not seek to record exhaustively the events which happen in these classes, nor related events beyond them. And while the study seeks to interpret cultural patterns, and is comparative in nature, it does not aim to be holistic, nor to follow participants over an extended period of time. Further, it is true to say that I set out with some broad notions which I wished to explore,

while at the same time endeavouring to remain attentive to those which could – and did – emerge from the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Hammersley, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 1995.) In all, then, the study may be said to follow an ethnographic approach, rather than to be an ethnography (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999).

Beyond approach, it is necessary to also consider the differing *orientations* of research, which have been summarised by Cumming (1994) as Descriptive, Interpretive and Ideological, each of which could be composed of a number of approaches or techniques. So, for example, a Psychometric approach could nevertheless form a part of an ideologically-oriented research aim/project. The current project is clearly *interpretive*, and is also *ideological* in that it seeks to address ‘questions of social and cultural inequality in education’ (Pennycook, 1994b: 691). The study’s ideological questions relate to the impact of the Centre’s export of ELT curriculum and methodology to Periphery countries such as Thailand; the effects upon Thai teachers; and how a more just and inclusive curriculum, methodology and teacher training for EFL may be developed.

Beyond *orientation*, there are the two classical *paradigms* of positivist/scientific enquiry, often represented through quantitative methods, and naturalistic enquiry, often represented through qualitative methods. It may be said that there is no longer a need to justify the use of naturalistic research methodology (Wolcott, 1990; Silverman, 1997), although within the SLA field, a number of socioculturally-oriented writers still do defend the paradigm in the face of continued dominance there of positivist methodology (Edge & Richards, 1998; Gibbons, 1999; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Most recently, Johnson has commented that SLA researchers still ‘typically favour quantitative and experimental types of methodologies’ (2004: 164-165). There is certainly a dearth of socially-situated, ‘real’ classroom studies in this field (Gibbons, 2003; Morgan, 2003); and, to my knowledge, no published studies which have investigated Thai ELT practices in a naturalistic manner.

Naturalistic enquiry

The present study is clearly naturalistic, and this approach was chosen as one which could most clearly represent what was seen to happen in Thai EFL classrooms, and what Thai teachers think about what happens (the 'phenomenology' of the classroom; Marton, 1981). Specifically, the techniques employed in the study are *observation* of classes in action, and *interview* of teachers. Observation – 'being there' – offers dynamic 'slices' of classroom life; and Interview can allow the researcher to pursue his/her own interests as well as enabling the discourse to develop in unforeseen directions. One can always 'go for' depth or breadth, and in this kind of research, depth of examination naturally reduces the scale, in the present study to the classes of nine teachers. E. Ellis (2003: 160) summarises the number of teachers investigated in similar studies as follows: one (Borg, 1998); four (Tsui, 2003; Gutierrez Almarza, 1996); five (Borg, 1999); six (Burns, 1992); seven (Bailey et al, 1996); eight (Woods, 1996); nine (Binnie-Smith, 1996); ten (Årva & Medgyes, 2000); fourteen (Andrews, 1997), and seventeen (Andrews, 1999).

It is in the character of naturalistic enquiry that procedures designed to support rigour differ from those available in positivist approaches. The intent of qualitative research is not to provide generalisability or replicability (van Lier, 1988; Creswell, 1994), for part of the power of each study lies in its uniqueness. However, instead of generalisability, it may offer *transferability*, where elements of the current enquiry may be applied in contexts which are similar geographically, socially and/or pedagogically (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Moreover, in place of replicability, it may offer *dependability*, referring to the degree in which the research 'would produce similar or consistent findings if carried out as described' (Devers, 1999: 10), (although as Goetz and LeCompte [1984] point out, uniqueness of situation and relationship amongst participants may make this trait somewhat problematic).

Further, while it may be no longer possible or desirable to claim 'objectivity' or 'truth' in presenting what is seen or said in such a research context, there is nevertheless value pursuing a process which is appropriately complex, sensitive and reflexive, and which at the same time recognises that any product will be

partial and contingent. In part, such an approach is shaped in the very structuring of a research project, by attending to who is perceived to gain, and how, from the intervention; in part, it is played out in the roles ascribed to/taken by researcher and participants during the research process and after its formal conclusion. And finally, this approach is supported by the development of ‘thick’ data (Geertz, 1973) through the process of ‘triangulation’ (Denzin, 1978) or its recent reconceptualisation as ‘intertextual reflexivity’ (Marcus, 1998).

Triangulation of data

In the current study, triangulation is achieved in three ways: through data collection, data analysis, and in the theoretical framework employed.

First, there is triangulation of *data collection*, both through establishing multiple sources of data, and in selecting multiple participants. Data was collected through the technique of observing lessons in action and following these observations with interviews where teachers and researcher exchanged perceptions of classroom events, their purpose, outcomes and significance. At interview, both general and specific recall of lessons was prompted by researcher or teacher in order to clarify teaching points (‘What were you thinking about at that point? ...’); compare understandings (‘It seemed like the students were...’); and to illustrate various notions of pedagogy and culture (‘This is why I use L2 for that level ...’; ‘Thai students learned this way all through their schooling ...’). Additionally, richness of data was provided by multiple participants, in this case consisting of nine teachers, located at one site, and teaching the same student body.

Secondly, triangulation was achieved in *data analysis* when the researcher fed back his emerging findings to all participating teachers. This process was undertaken in order both to benefit from participants’ feedback, that is, to check and develop understandings, as well as to acknowledge teachers’ legitimacy as stakeholders in the research process (Lather, 1991), that is, to affirm desire for a respectful, reciprocal relationship. In fact, both aims appeared to have been positively met, with participating teachers able to clarify and strengthen points of enquiry at such stages. A number of teachers commented favourably upon

having had the opportunity to review both their words and mine. Several also showed interest in this process of naturalistic research, which differed significantly from their own almost exclusively positivist research experiences to date.

Thirdly, associated with the broader research process is the triangulation achieved through a drawing upon a range of *theoretical frameworks*. Here are blended a number of approaches to language and learning which together come from primarily systemic-functional linguistics, and then critical applied linguistics, SLA, bilingualism, social constructionism in education, psychology, sociology, and some transdisciplinary post-modern perspectives. An interesting connection is also noted in the reappearance of Malinowski's work ('the ethnographer's ethnographer', according to Geertz, 1988: 4) in two dimensions of the study: first, in the study's ethnographic approach to data gathering, which is part of a tradition which emanates from Malinowski (Creswell, 1994), and second in drawing upon Hallidayan linguistics, which Halliday himself traces back via Firth to Malinowski.

A broad approach is supported here because, as Edwards and Westgate put it, whereas enquiry which adopts a single perspective 'is more likely to gain from its consistency the appearance of rigour; a more eclectic approach may be more realistic where the phenomena being studied are highly complex and many-faceted' (1994: 59).

Part 3 Researcher's roles

Co-construction and positioning

In qualitative research of this nature, the researcher is the primary source of data-gathering. The personal nature of ethnography has long been acknowledged. As Malinowski writes: 'We cannot speak of objectively existing facts: theory creates facts' (1967: 114). Moreover, it is clear that knowledge gained from qualitative research is jointly constructed through the intersection of

participants' actions/words with those of the researcher. Brodkey suggests accordingly that the researcher is 'not so much an eye-witness of the classroom, but rather the creator of its story' (1987: 112). However, a notion of 'data co-creation' or co-construction may be preferable, as the latter acknowledges the socially-mediated nature of knowledge, and also moves away from a sense that data 'waits to be uncovered'. (But by co-construction is not implied collaboration, for resistance, opposition and avoidance are all equally co-constructions.) Data is regarded here as providing one of many possible such constructions, in the awareness that 'each telling [of a life] is created for the specific occasion for that telling' (Weiler, 1992: 41), a notion which accords with the Hallidayan approach to language adopted in this study, where every piece of natural language constructs and is constructed by not only 'experience' but interpersonal relations.

A duality which is sometimes a dilemma occurs in ethnographic accounts when the researcher needs 'to make the strange familiar', that is, to enter into and understand the situation under study, but also 'to make the familiar strange', that is, to suspend expectation and judgment as much as possible. As Spradley puts it: 'The more you know about a situation as an ordinary participant, the more difficult it is to study it as an ethnographer' (1980: 61-62). And so, in this study, the researcher attempted to perform a kind of 'reverse dramatic irony', that is, where instead of the 'audience' being privy to information denied the 'players', the observer positioned himself as unaware of information privy to the players, and so attempted to 'reserve judgment' on what was happening in favour of a stance of disingenuousness. It has been noted by Edwards and Westgate that 'teachers and students will hear and produce what is said against an extensive background of accumulated meanings' (1994: 103). For a researcher coming to these classes then, with his own 'accumulated meanings', it was important to keep eyes and ears open; to attempt to 'other' the new experience. In these ways, I attempted to avoid what Geertz identifies as the dangers both of '... treating people as objects, of hearing the words but not the music' as well as of '...treating people as puppets, of hearing music that doesn't exist' (1988: 10).

Participation/observation

In any such collaborative approach, there are degrees of intended and actual researcher involvement in the research process (Hornberger, 1994). In determining the researcher's role here, an optimum middle ground of distance/proximity to the data was sought. It was intended that the researcher might enter the focus culture to a great enough extent to allow for better understanding of the ways of the culture, but not to the extent that he could be perceived to be 'claiming' participant status. And so the researcher's role of *lesson observer* was selected in order to obtain different outcomes from those available to a participant-observer or an action researcher. However, it may be noted that because my observation was overt rather than covert, it could nevertheless not fail to visibly 'participate' in what was performed in the classroom, and this has long been noted as part of the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972: 209).

Overall in the study, a position was sought which would enable a balance of the voices of researcher and participants, with the intent that participants' voices may 'be heard the way they [participants] wish them to be heard' (Roberts, 1997: 169), or as Sherman and Webb put it, so that experience can be understood 'as nearly as possible as its participants feel it or live it' (1998: 7).

Insider/outsider

Hymes' (1982) analysis of researcher role in terms of insider and outsider status contributes another perspective to the research process. Whatever present, prior, or anticipated future relationships a researcher has with participants and to the institutional memory of the site will of course impact upon the research process. Getting close enough, but not too close; retaining independence, but not hauteur; these are amongst the qualities which enable a positive relationship to develop amongst researcher and participants. At Isara, I held (at least) two roles of 'former insider', and 'current outsider'; moreover, I was 'known by' key members of the institution, and 'known of' by other participants: it certainly felt like this research role was a relatively privileged one.

My role in this research may be seen as having benefited from an association which could be described as high on longevity and low on intimacy. An interesting space is thereby constructed, for longevity can facilitate the development of trust, and intimacy can facilitate vulnerability, though neither of course predicates the other. That is, within the research process, if researcher and participants know each other intimately, each party will by definition have shared 'private' views and feelings. But because research is designed to be made 'public', possible tensions can thereby be created between what is shared in the private sphere, and what can be made public.

In sum, this study aimed to draw upon both emic and etic perspectives (van Lier, 1988); to gain an account of how both the Thai teachers and I saw my/our/their worlds and my/our/their languages in it. The crossing between these perspectives, and concomitant alignment of researcher and participants has been called 'the analysts' paradox' (Sarangi, 2002, in Sarangi & Candlin, 2003: 274).

Reflexivity

Reflexivity has been described as 'ways of seeing which act back on and reflect existing ways of seeing' (Clegg & Hardy, 1996: 4); it was also referred to earlier in this study as a fourth kind of vision. Here it serves to render visible and problematise the researcher's own role in the research process. A reflexive stance is fundamentally at odds with one of authorial distance. A notion that the researcher should remain 'hidden' may be considered to itself result in 'hiding' important parts of the picture, as a lack of information about a writer's background cannot fail to diminish a reader's capacity to critically evaluate what the writer has to say. A text may speak, but so then may the context of its writing. And in research of this nature which involves producers and recipients across cultures and languages, I would consider that explicating where the writer stands, or where s/he positions himself as standing, is vital. Reflexive writing has been criticised for presenting 'apparently open, but actually highly managed accounts of events, in the sense that the author remains the arbiter of what they reveal and what they do not' (Vincent, 1998: 257); and Pillow suggests that it may constitute a 'modernist seduction' (2003: 186). However, I

have taken this stance here not in a claim for 'greater truth', but in order to build 'finer texture'.

The researcher's own background will now be briefly disclosed.

As a native speaker of English who has spent half his life in Wales and the other half in Australia, I have been immersed in English-speaking cultures for most of my life. My first contact with Thailand, and first travel to the Asian continent, was as an English teacher at a provincial Thai university, where I stayed for a year 1988-1989, and which subsequently became the site for this project. I had been teaching ESL principally to Indochinese refugees in Australia for five years until that point, and found Thai ELT conditions and approaches bewilderingly different from what I had known. Secondly, back in Australia in 1994, my university was approached to conduct a postgraduate program for Thai EFL teachers. We were able to engage a Thai-Australian lecturer on this program, from whom I was to gain unimagined intercultural and professional insights. Thirdly, during the 1990s, I spent the equivalent of another two years working on short-term ELT projects in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam. In nearly all cases, my fellow Australian lecturing staff and I struggled to come to terms with appropriate pedagogy for contexts quite different from our own, and at times proved to be unequal to the challenge.

In terms of language learning, my own experiences will be briefly outlined in respect of Welsh, French and Thai. I was born and bred in Wales, into a family where home language use of the Welsh language had died out three generations ago. In the largely English-speaking environment of Glamorgan, few young people spoke Welsh, although nearly all our teachers did. The language was mandated for study at primary school, and I elected to follow it at secondary school. The basic competence I developed in Welsh has since been lost, although I can still 'sound like' a native speaker in that language. French was also studied on an elective basis through high school and for two years at university, which brought a high level of accuracy, and some fluency. Taught with a focus upon grammar, and later upon the canon of French Literature, this was truly an 'intellectual' training which, while intrinsically stimulating, was found

to be of little utility in my summer job at a French factory. After formal study, I did not use that language again for twenty years until working in Cambodia and Laos, where French had retained currency amongst parts of the older generation. It was in that context of French as a lingua franca that I could observe the clarity with which non-expert speakers could communicate in L2, and the differing roles thereby enabled. Although coming to live in Thailand for a year, I was to gain only a basic oral proficiency in the Thai language, finding its linguistic and cultural distance from my mother tongue to provide significantly greater challenge than had the study of European languages.

In my study of these diverse languages and contexts, there were two commonalities: formal learning was almost without exception conducted through the mother tongue of English by grammar-translation methods; and this formal learning was variously supplemented by experience *in situ*. I should also note that nothing in my prior life in the West, or my study of European languages, had prepared me for the shock of the Thai language and culture, the experience of which profoundly changed my world view in ways both delightful and desponding.

Part 4 Data collection and analysis

Setting

Isara University is a medium size provincial university with a student population of around 12,000. It has over 500 academic and 300 general staff. The university is comprised of fifteen faculties and schools. The English program is run through the Department of Western Languages, which is the biggest of thirteen departments located within the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, (the other twelve including Oriental Languages, Thai, and Communication Arts).

Entering the site

As indicated previously, I taught in the English Department at Isara University for one year in 1988-1989 (and after that at a university in Bangkok for two months). After leaving Thailand, I kept in touch with two former colleagues at Isara who had become friends, and whom I visited from time to time. One such former colleague and another member of the English Department also undertook postgraduate training at my university in Australia. Thus in the study, three of the nine teachers were well known to me. Of the remaining six, I was acquainted with two, and four I had not previously met.

In setting up this project, I relied extensively upon Ajarn Rajavadee, my former Head of Department and subsequent friend. Ajarn Rajavadee is a pivotal presence in the English Department, and to have had her personal support was influential in my research presence being readily accepted by staff. In the current research, staff without exception made me welcome, and on both visits, all accommodation was made to my research needs, including the provision of office space, recording equipment, and assistance in constructing schedules for lesson observations and interviews. I believe that I was exceptionally fortunate in the quality of support received.

In my initial request, I had sought the participation of between four and eight teachers, and because a number of staff expressed interest in the project, the higher number was achieved. The English Department at that time had some twenty-one full time teachers, of whom seven were Western teachers. Because my project was concerned with the use of Thai in the classroom, Western teachers had been excluded from the study. However, when I made my first visit, I met one foreign teacher whose lessons were conducted using both Thai and English, and he agreed to become the ninth teacher in the study.

Three other people were involved in the research process in the role of transcriber/translator. These were final year English-Major students selected by Ajarn Rajavadee as amongst the best in their year, and were paid by me to undertake this task. Assistance was necessary because I am not able to read or write Thai, and was thus not able to notate the Thai audio-recorded components

of lessons. The three translators worked as a team, and provided first, transcription in Thai script, second, transliteration into Roman script (which I could then read), and third, translation into English.

Data sources

The two main sources of data in this study, lesson observation and teacher interview, were gathered as follows:

Stage of data gathering	Date	Data gathered
<i>Visit (1) to Thailand</i>	Jan 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lesson observation • Interview (1): all 9 teachers
<i>Prior to Visit (2)</i>	My analysis of c. 5,000 words per teacher forwarded to each teacher in question (together with new questions).	
<i>Visit (2) to Thailand</i>	Mar 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview (2): 8 of the 9 teachers
<i>Post Visit (2)</i>	Aug 2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview of 9th teacher (in Sydney)
	Jan-Feb 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow up clarification sought from Ajarn Rajavadee (email & phone)

Table 6.1 Stages of data gathering

Lesson observation

In January 2002 (BE 2545), I observed classes of nine teachers in the English Department of Isara University. In each class visited, I was identified as a guest engaged in research, and as someone who had formerly worked at the University. All but one class was in the form of a ‘double period’ of just under two hours in length. For each teacher I observed one class, and in four cases, two classes were observed. In the later process of analysis I found that there was a plethora of data, and discarded three of the ‘second’ classes. In the case of one teacher, however, two classes of a similar level had been taught the same lesson on the same day, and both these classes were retained for analysis in the interest of comparability. Accordingly, in total, ten classes are analysed in this study, taught by nine teachers, totalling some nineteen hours’ lesson time.

All classes were audio-recorded but in the case of two lessons, the recording proved to be ineffective due to technical problems. For the purpose of recording, a personal microphone was placed on each teacher's lapel, and recording was activated for the whole lesson. Classes were conducted in a new building where classrooms were furnished with ceiling fans but, with one exception, without air-conditioning. Lessons were scheduled from 8am to 6pm, with noticeable variation of room temperature, which ranged from the mid 20s Celsius in the morning to the mid 30's by late afternoon.

In constructing observation data, I did not rely upon predetermined categories offered by schemes such as the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching, COLT (Allen, Fröhlich & Spada, 1984), nor did I design a protocol for the purpose of this study. Lessons were attended to with two focii. The first was the central thesis of the study: the ways in which the teachers used L1 and L2 in each lesson, their apparent functions and effects. The second was an attempt to capture something of the diversity of the EFL classrooms witnessed in order to present a more ecological picture. In creating this broader view, it was found valuable to document both the more common classroom activities, and also to draw attention to unusual events or moments of pedagogy. Field notes were made alongside observing classes, and these were found to be comprised of description, reflection and demographic information, as predicted by Bogdan and Biklen (1998).

Teacher interview

In January 2002 (BE 2545) at the time of the first visit, each of the nine teachers was also interviewed on one or two occasions subsequent to their lesson having been observed. Interviews were conducted face-to-face on site, and audio-recorded, with the researcher concurrently making written notes. Interviews were semi-structured in nature, with the aim of guiding but not constraining discussion. Key questions had been mailed to participants before the visit took place in order to allow time for reflection; a copy is reproduced in Appendix I. In March 2004 (BE 2547), a second visit was made to Isara for the purpose both of seeking participants' feedback upon the analysis conducted to

date, and to explore various issues which had emerged in the data. As a prelude to the second visit, teachers were sent three documents: my analysis of their own 2002 lesson and interview, each of which ran to some 5,000 words, some questions directly related to that teacher, and a set of key questions applicable to all participants (copied in Appendix II). On this follow-up visit, I interviewed eight of the nine teachers, again on one or two occasions. The ninth teacher had returned to Australia to undertake postgraduate study, and I was able to interview him in Sydney in October 2004.

At the point of writing up the final interpretation of data, there were a number of issues related to the site or to Thai EFL about which I felt unsure: in these cases, I was able to contact Ajarn Rajavadee in Thailand by phone and email, and obtain clarification.

Issues of concern in collecting data

Impact upon teachers' practices

I was concerned to disrupt teachers' usual classes as little as possible, in my own interests as well as in theirs. This appears to have been satisfactorily avoided in part by the relatively limited time spent with each teacher – two lessons of two hours, and two or three interviews of one hour each. Moreover, my own role and the nature of teachers' participation were negotiated. In fact, as a result of participating teachers' concerns, two components of the original plan were dropped. These were the video-taping of lessons, and the forming of focus groups for discussion. First, teachers were unanimously opposed to their classes being videoed, indicating that it would be a source of embarrassment both to them and their students, and that it would render the lesson quite different from its usual state. I accepted their views rather reluctantly at the time, but in retrospect, I see that indeed much would have been lost, and perhaps little gained, although access to the visual would have assisted my recall of tenor. Second, as had been flagged in my initial proposal to teachers, I began on my first visit to suggest how focus groups might be formed for discussion purposes, but received no positive response to this notion. I discussed the matter with Ajarn Rajavadee who advised that teachers were less likely to speak frankly or deeply in such a context in consideration of face and seniority.

Because I believed that the most important factor in the success of the research process was my relationship of trust with participating teachers, their views were acceded to, and I relied instead of teacher focus groups upon individual interviews.

Face

I was particularly alert to potential loss of face for teachers, as I was aware not only of the ubiquity of this risk for any teacher, but its particular salience in Thailand (Komin, 1990; Klausner, 1993). There were two pedagogic issues here. First, there was the possible perception of me as a Western 'expert', associated with Western methodologies such as are represented in EFL textbooks and in the current push for Communicative Language Teaching in Thailand. In this respect I was fortunate in that my research topic was concerned principally with the teacher's role and her use of Thai and English in the classroom. While the teacher's role is of course shaped by and towards students, the latter were not a focus of my study, and consequently, communicative methodologies involving learner choice, pair/group work, games, or authentic texts were not explored. Indeed, I had explained to teachers in outlining the project that my desire was to affirm that both English and Thai can be valuably used in the second language classroom, and to investigate how such variation operated in the present context. A second element in face-work concerned my existing relationship with 'powerful' figures within the site of the research, and the potential for discussing teachers' performance. In this regard, I declared my respect for teachers' privacy, and indeed kept my word.

Intercultural communication

Another area of potential difficulty was that of miscommunication due to cross cultural and language differences. My role as 'informed outsider' meant that I needed to exercise maximum care in my assumptions, and that I needed to maintain awareness of issues of power, hierarchy and courtesy in Thai culture. I was conscious of several layers of positioning with this study. I am a Westerner, and therefore perceived as privileged economically, as well as a lecturer, a position highly esteemed in Thailand. Moreover, I was investigating the teaching

of 'my' native language, English, by speakers of a language 'other' than English, and was communicating with participants through the medium of English. Clearly, then, I was in a powerful position – however much I might wish this otherwise – and with power go both responsibility and social distance. In terms of responsibility, I aimed to remain alert and responsive to teachers' concerns as they arose. In terms of social distance, I showed my genuine interest in not only the immediate research context, but in broader dimensions of Thai culture such as language, music and religion; and I aimed to maintain interactions with participants which were respectful in ways learned previously in such contexts.

Language of interview

In planning my interviews with teachers, I was highly conscious of the communicative and symbolic meanings afforded by the language selected. There were three options: the use of Thai only, English only, or both Thai and English with the support of an interpreter. Unfortunately, the first option, which would in my view be the ideal, was not available because my spoken Thai is inadequate to engage in academic discussion of this nature. When considering the remaining two options, I was confident that the Thai teachers in the study were all expert speakers of English. Nevertheless, their second language could not, by its nature, be as effortlessly performed as their first. In the intensely intellectual, and sometimes intensely affective ambience of the interview, I felt that it would be useful at some moments to have the support of a translator. However, because of the teachers' very high proficiency, and moreover, their status as *ajarn*, I also perceived that the support of an interpreter could result in loss of face. Moreover, it was difficult to see where I might find an interpreter whose proficiency was in fact significantly higher than that of the teachers in this study. In the end I decided that the possible benefit of interpreter support were outweighed by the possible danger of loss of face. My decision to go without interpretation was affirmed at one point of the project establishment phase, where I had provided participant consent forms which were translated into Thai (at the reasonable request of my own university's Ethics Clearance Committee). When I presented these translated forms to the head of the English Department, he proposed that English documents would be more appropriate,

as Thai translation implied that the staff's EL proficiency was not adequate, a request to which I acceded. As indicated earlier with regard to some planned research techniques which had to be abandoned, my decision here was made on the basis that interpersonal relations are greater importance than material outcomes. From what I know of Thai culture, I believe this to have been the most appropriate way to proceed.

Having set out the reasons for the use of English at teacher interviews, however, I am well aware of the socio-affective and intellectual 'advantages' accruing to the interviewer in such a situation. Moreover, although both interviewees and to some extent interviewer are bi-cultural, there is no doubt that cultural patterns influenced the ways in which the discourse was constructed, interpreted, and manoeuvred around. But this is in a sense not unexpected: all perspectives of knowledge are partial, and the understandings constructed in this study are a shared product, created in that place, at that time.

Data analysis

Data analysis has been described by Miles and Huberman (1994) as consisting of three processes of reduction, display, and the drawing of conclusions, with the latter requiring classification and transformation. In this study, these various processes did not occur in a linear fashion, but rather, took place recursively and spirally throughout data collection and analysis. Moreover, these were processes which were noted to happen unconsciously as well as consciously, acknowledgement of which is sometimes under-represented.

Data was analysed in the following ways.

Lesson observation

All Thai language spoken by teachers was transcribed and translated into English. Selected parts of lessons where teachers spoke in English were transcribed, and selected parts summarised. Audio-tapes for each teacher were played several times in conjunction with the researcher's field notes and both

English and Thai transcriptions, in order to build an overview of pedagogy and the ways in which L1 and L2 functioned in the lesson as a whole.

The first analysis of lesson observation data was done through categorising teacher behaviour by pedagogic function according to L1 and L2 use. Various attempts were then made to see whether the patterns thus identified could be related to existing patterns and descriptors such as Christie's (following Bernstein's) pedagogic and regulatory registers (1994); the COLT scheme; the IRF sequence, and so on. However, existing classroom descriptions were found to be lacking in one or more of the following features: a functional approach to language, a bilingual dimension, or focus at an appropriate scale of teaching. With regard to the IRF, for example, it was found that while Step 1 (Initiate) seemed familiar in this context, Step 2 (Respond) was sometimes absent, and Step 3 (Feedback) could either be absent, or more commonly was of a different (bilingual) nature and (non-evaluative) function.

By testing common patterns found in one lesson against others of this study, it became possible to identify distinct four major pedagogic functions: these were called *moves*. It further became possible to describe four major sequences of such moves, which were called *protocols*. This was a long and challenging process which evolved from initially finer gradations of category, but in the end, a balance was sought between the differing value offered by broad and narrow scale.

It also emerged that in every class, there were various features of pedagogy which, although unanticipated as a focus of analysis, were related to overall L1/L2 use, and which brought out a dimension of it particular to that lesson. The most interesting of these was selected for each teacher's class, and this formed a secondary analysis which was individual to each lesson but which contributed to building up a bigger picture by showing something of the range and diversity of pedagogy encountered in the study as a whole.

For each lesson, between one and three episodes were selected for micro-analysis. 'Episode' here does not refer to a teacher-delineated part of a lesson

(Lemke, 1990), but to an extract chosen by the researcher for its analytical value. Thus an episode has no demarked pedagogic or rhetorical function per se. These are brief 'moments' of a lesson, with no single micro-analysis exceeding three minutes in time. Selection of episodes for the purpose of micro-analysis was made on the basis of either their *typicality* or their *atypicality*. That is, sometimes it was found valuable to establish what was a frequent or salient pattern of pedagogy or language use, and at other times, the point of interest was a departure from the norm.

Presentation of micro-analysis was arranged in four columns, consisting of, from left to right, Teacher's speech in either English or Thai, and Students' speech in either English or Thai. This tabulation of data was found to be more effective than the conventional linear approach to representing classroom discourse. The symbolic importance of placing Teacher first, and therefore more importantly than Students, aimed to reflect what appeared to be classroom dynamics; and similarly, English was placed before Thai because it was positioned as the subject of teaching.

Teacher interview

Series 1: January 2002

Teacher interviews had been recorded onto audio-tape, totalling some 12 hours in duration, and were later transcribed in full. Each teacher's transcribed speech was then searched for themes. The first search resulted in a total of fifty-nine themes, which naturally formed five thematic categories or macro-themes. In terms of spread, five of these fifty-nine themes were found to be common to all nine teachers; four were common to eight teachers; five were common to six teachers; and remaining themes had been discussed by between one and six teachers. This research procedure was found of limited value in getting to the meaning of the data, but did provide a useful grappling process at an early stage.

The results of this first round of teacher interview were originally aimed to be presented in as unmediated fashion as possible in the study, but clearly, selection had to be made from such a broad field of data, and decisions on what

to select were made on the basis of interest and relevance to the central thesis. Data from this first round of interviews, together with data from lesson observations, formed the basis of the topics brought to the second round of interviews.

Series 2: March 2004

At this stage, preliminary analysis of lesson and interview data had been completed, and I had formed fairly clear ideas of the specific lines of enquiry I wished to pursue. Topics for the second round of interview were thus focused on these issues, and this stage was indeed found to be timely for the research process. A further twelve hours of data was recorded and transcribed from this second round of interviews. It was integrated into the research findings to date, and contributed to shaping the five discussion chapters of the thesis which now follow.

Chapter 7

The Nine Teachers

Chapter 7 is in four parts as follows:

Background

Part 1	Teachers 1–4	Lower level students
Part 2	Teachers 5–7	Mid level students
Part 3	Teachers 8 & 9	Higher level students

Background

Chapter 7 is the first of five discussion chapters in this study. Here, lessons are analysed class by class in order to capture something of the individuality and range of the nine teachers and their students. It should be noted that while relevant data from teacher interviews has been incorporated into this chapter's discussion, such data is not at this stage the subject of analysis. That is, at this stage, each teacher's voice as heard at interview has been represented in as unmediated fashion as possible.

In the present Chapter 7, the first two research questions of the study are addressed:

In what ways do Thai EL teachers make use of two languages – English and Thai – in their classes with university students?

What do these teachers perceive to be the purposes and effects of the use of L1 and L2 in this context?

Framework of Chapter 7

Following this introductory section, Parts 1, 2 and 3 will present lesson and interview data according to each of the nine teachers and in the following framework:

1. Background
2. Lesson Episodes
3. Themes
 - Associated theme
 - Central theme: L1 and L2

Component 1, *Background*, is brief, including only basic information about class, subject and teacher, together with any material features of note.

Component 2, *Lesson Episodes*, both records some general features of lessons, and provides a micro-analysis of between 1 and 3 specific episodes per class.

Component 3, *Themes*, draws upon the researcher's observation of lessons together with teachers' views recorded at interview. My initial analysis of what was happening in each teacher's lesson had been shown to that teacher at the follow-up round of interviews conducted in Thailand, March 2004, and relevant feedback from participating teachers was then incorporated into the present analysis.

There are two parts of Component 3, which aim to generate complementary outcomes. The first part, *associated theme*, aims to be responsive to points of interest which emerged from the data, and deals with one issue individual to each of the nine teachers' classes. These *associated themes* were contingent upon the lessons observed. Sometimes they relate directly to one another, and at other times indirectly, but always they serve to build up the broad picture. The second part is the *central theme*, which follows the central research focus upon the roles and functions of L1 and L2 across all classes. Individual lessons are analysed in the order of *associated theme* followed by *central theme*, rather than vice versa, so that discussion related to the associated theme can then be folded into the broader L1-L2 discussion.

The associated themes were as follows, by teacher:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| 1. | Lesson protocols: lower level classes | Ajarn Laksana |
| 2. | Student group work | Dr Chai |
| 3. | Student group work | Ajarn Nuteau |
| 4. | Intercultural semantics | Ajarn Murray |
| 5. | Teacher questioning | Dr Patcharin |
| 6. | Teacher questioning | Ajarn Rajavadee |
| 7. | Language and culture | Dr Bua |
| 8. | Lesson protocols: higher level classes | Ajarn Somchay |
| 9. | Contingency of pedagogy | Ajarn Nanda |

Lesson moves and protocols

In analysing the lessons observed in this study, attention was paid to patterns which emerged within teacher talk: patterns of language blending, of teaching function, and the ways in which these intersected. These patterns were classified in order to capture salient linguistic/pedagogic features and to enable comparisons to be made across lessons. It emerged that there were four predominant *moves* of teaching; and that these *moves* formed four identifiable sequences, which have been called *protocols*. The two terms are defined as follows: *move* signifies an initiative on the part of the teacher to perform a particular pedagogic function, with the term being chosen in preference to 'stage' in order to avoid a sense of progressive development or long duration. 'Protocol' is adapted from the conventional psycholinguistic term to signify here a commonly-observed sequence of teaching moves. The term is favoured over 'sequence' in order to bring out its etic framing; that is, Protocols were identified by the researcher rather than having been planned or verbalised as such by teachers.

It is important to clarify that these *moves* and the *protocols* may be regarded as 'micro-moves and 'micro-protocols', for in the majority of lessons, which were devoted to explicating English written text, each protocol was found to occur multiple times, often related to each line or phrase of the text under study. It will

be seen, therefore, that rather than a two hour class consisting of, say, the first 20-30 minutes in Move 1 of a protocol, followed by a similar time in Move 2, and so on, many hundreds of instances of a protocol and its component moves would commonly occur.

It should also be noted that the protocols are focussed upon *teacher talk*. While students' public interaction with teachers is necessarily drawn into the analysis, *student talk* is not the primary focus of this study.

The four teaching moves are as follows.

Moves

Move (1): Animating English Text (AET)

'Animating' refers to the teacher's oral rendering of written English, which represents for students an opportunity to hear how written L2 actually sounds. The term is borrowed from Goffman (1974), although used more narrowly here. This move is crucial for most Thai EFL students, given the limited availability of oral L2 input, as well as a general focus in Thai ELT upon written texts. (It was notable that in this move, teachers would commonly repeat an English word/phrase between two and four times.)

Move (2): Creating English Text (CET)

Move (2) is similar to pedagogy which has been associated with the delivery of 'comprehensible input' (Krashen, 1985). Here, however, the term 'Creating English Text' (CET) has been coined for a number of reasons. First, while the application of Input theory to the methodology of the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) has been useful one in distinguishing meaning-based teacher talk and form-based instruction, it may suggest a necessary correspondence between what the teacher does – 'gives input' – and what the student does – 'comprehends'; in other words, that a *desire* to create comprehensibility of itself assures success. Secondly, the new term seeks to capture something of the richness of 'message abundance' (Gibbons, 2003), which in this study is taken to include a teacher's use of strategies such as paraphrase, exemplification, personalisation and localisation, the creative

dimensions of which are sometimes underestimated. This process of creating English text takes a different complexion when a Thai teacher produces English to be understood by Thai students, for although the teacher may not have as expert or immediate a fluency in L2 as a native speaker, s/he has the bilingual resource of being able to fairly accurately predict the relative ease/difficulty of various dimensions of the target language and culture from a Thai learner's perspective, having already travelled this road her/himself.

These two moves provide experiences for students as follows. Move (1) enables the processes of *reading* and *listening* to support each other. The teacher provides re-channelling of written to spoken English, through which students experience symbol-sound correspondence without meeting additional new language. In Move (2), where listening is no longer supported by reading, the teacher moves on to provide new language which is created with the aim of being accessible to learners' current range of competence.

Move (3): Scaffolded Interaction (SI)

This move consists of the teacher's 'public dialogue' with students, which has been formerly described in much of the literature in terms of the IRF structure of *Initiation, Response, Feedback* (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979; Gibbons, 1999). The term *scaffolded interaction* has been applied here to signify that teacher-student public interaction was composed of a greater range of discourse than is normally associated with the IRF, with this greater potential arising in part from the bilingual communication option which is available to Thai teachers of EFL. In fact, this move could happen in English only, Thai only, or a blend of the two languages. The term *scaffolding* has in recent years been used in a range of ways. In this study, it will be used to refer to teacher talk designed to help students create L2 which they could not manage alone, with the teacher's aim being consciously to teach, and which is thus contingent upon an understanding of student needs both broad and immediate to that moment of learning. Further discussion of this concept will be presented in the following Chapter 8.

Move (4): Explaining in Thai (ET)

This fourth move, (ET), was utilised when teachers used Thai to translate or to give additional information about the grammar, meaning or usage of the L2 under focus. It represents a move uniquely available to a bilingual teacher who shares a language with her/his students. The use of L1 here opens up a range of strategies for building upon students' existing competence and knowledge, for checking of understanding and accurate meaning, as well as for enabling socio-affective solidarity.

Protocols

The four moves described above were seen to combine in four distinct ways, and these were identified as *lesson protocols*. For each lesson, a predominant protocol was identifiable, and in many though not all cases, a subsidiary protocol was also visible. It was also found that while no lesson was exclusively in Thai, and none exclusively in English, it was possible to clearly distinguish between four types in terms of the languages used.

In the first two types, English was the main medium of instruction, and these have been called *English-Dominant*. When deciding what proportion of L2 use actually constitutes the main medium of instruction, levels seem to be arbitrarily set. Crawford's (1999) major study of Australian FL teachers, for example, used a minimum of 60% target language use as a distinguishing mark; and Dickson's (1996) similarly large-scale UK study of FL teachers regarded significant use of L2 as constituting more than 50% of teacher talk, and predominant use as 75%. In the present study, there were two protocols which were clearly predominant in English, and which used the TL for 80% or more of the time, and accordingly the qualifying marker here was set at 80%.

In the third type of protocol, the two languages were fairly evenly distributed, and this type has been called *Bilingual Blend*.

In a fourth type, English constituted 20% or less of classroom discourse, and Thai 80% or more: this was called *Thai-Dominant*.

The following table sets out the moves and protocols which comprised these four lesson types.

	English	English	Eng	Eng & Thai	Thai	Thai
Move	AET	CET	SI			ET
Protocol			mono	bi	mono	
English Dominant						
E1	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
E2	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓
Bilingual Blend						
B1	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓
Thai Dominant						
T1	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓

Table 7.1 Analysis of moves and languages of four protocols

English-dominant protocol: Type 1

In the most common English-dominant protocol, the following sequence would occur:

- Move 1** Teacher AET: **animates** English text
Move 2 Teacher CET: **creates** English text
Move 3 Teacher SI: **scaffolds** interaction (in English)

English-dominant protocol: Type 2

A subsidiary type where English also dominated was identified as follows:

- Move 1** Teacher AET: **animates** English text
Move 2 Teacher CET: **creates** English text
Move 4 Teacher ET: **explains** in Thai

Type 2 differs from Type 1 in that there is little to no SI move, and the CET expands to constitute the major part of the protocol.

Bilingual blend protocol

- Move 1** Teacher AET: **animates** English text
- Move 2** Teacher CET: **creates** English text
- Move 3** Teacher SI: **scaffolds** interaction (English/Thai)
- Move 4** Teacher ET: **explains** in Thai

Thai-dominant protocol

- Move 1** Teacher AET: **animates** English text
- Move 3** Teacher SI: **scaffolds** interaction (Thai & English, or Thai)
- Move 4** Teacher ET: **explains** in Thai

In sum, there emerged during the course of data analysis the four teaching moves and four protocols which have been identified above. These were found to be most succinctly described on the two axes indicated: L1/L2 use, and teaching functions of *animating*, *creating*, *scaffolding* and *explaining*. In the process of developing this analysis, it was necessary to reconsider some existing descriptions of the second language classroom, including Comprehensible Input, Scaffolding, and IRF. Further theoretical discussion of these areas will be pursued in Chapter 8.

Profile of teachers

There were nine teachers in the study; their ages were distributed as follows:

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
1	3	1	4

Table 7.2 Profile of teachers

Five of the teachers were female; four male. Eight of the nine were native Thais, and one was Anglo-Australian.

All teachers were qualified at Master's level; and three possessed doctorates. Their teaching experience ranged from 3 to 38 years. Teachers reported that they maintained their own L2 proficiency by means of contact with native speakers and by accessing English media both print and electronic. All but one teacher were members of the national association of EFL teachers in Thailand, Thai TESL. All the teachers in this study had undertaken postgraduate study overseas: mainly in the USA, but also in Australia and Singapore. In this way, teachers were typical of Thai university lecturers, the majority of whom are reported by Bovonsiri, Uampuang and Fry to have undertaken study abroad (1996: 60-61), and who have thereby gained opportunities to develop not only English language proficiency, but also intercultural knowledge. (The experiences of Thai secondary ELT teachers, however, would be entirely different in this respect.)

Profile of classes observed

A fundamentally important distinction between classes at Isara, as at other Thai universities, is between *English Major* and *non-English Major* students. Admission to university is obtained competitively as judged by GPA and the University Entrance Exam. Places for the study of *English Major* courses are highly sought after; both proficiency levels and motivation for English Major students are considered to be high. On the other hand, English is also a compulsory subject of study for all first and second year university students (6 credit points in 2002 at the time of the first stage of this research, and in 2003 doubled to 12 credit points). Such *non-English Major* students' EL proficiency will be markedly lower than that of English Major students; and their level of motivation is also often found to be significantly lower, with Science and Technology streams generally regarded as achieving less well than Humanities and Social Sciences streams. This was previously noted in Boonkit's 2002 study, and is confirmed by Wiriyachitra, who finds that non-English major students in faculties such as science score on average between 10 and 15 percentage points lower than English major students at the University Entrance Examination (2001: 5).

In providing a descriptor for the average EL proficiency levels for each class as shown in Table 7.3 below, I have made an informal judgement based on my experience as a past examiner for IELTS (the International English Language Testing System). Descriptors for IELTS Proficiency Bands 1.0 – 9.0 are reproduced in Appendix III.

Presentation of classes in this chapter

Classes are presented initially by teacher, and thereafter in ascending order of broad EL proficiency. Classes are further grouped into three as indicated below.

Part 1: Teachers 1, 2, 3, 4 **Non-English Major, Year 2**

These four Year 2 classes are composed of students who are not undertaking English as a Major Study program. Such students' EL proficiency is regarded as low, estimated to be from Band 2.0 to 3.0 on the IELTS scale, though there also appeared to be a small number of students on either side of that range. Two of the four classes were concerned with Oral English, and the other two classes were focussed mainly on the written dimension of English for Academic Purposes (EAP).

Part 2: Teachers 5, 6, 7 **Non-English Major, Year 1**

These three classes are composed of Year 1 students undertaking their 6 credit point compulsory study of *English 101*, also known as 'Foundations English'. At Isara, the subject had an enrolment of some 1,900 students in 2002, constituting 28 classes in all. Students had been streamed into two levels according to their results in the national University Entrance Exam (a procedure which has subsequently changed), and where possible, students were then grouped according to faculty. Accordingly, although they followed a similar program, there was a great range of EL proficiency apparent across the three classes observed, from Band 3.0 in the mixed, non-Humanities class, to Band 6.0 in the case of the English-Major, Humanities class.

Part 3: Teachers 8 and 9 **English Major, Years 2 and 3**

All three classes in this section are composed of English-Major students in Years 2 and 3, who represented the highest level of EL proficiency in the study.

Classes observed were focussed on academic reading: *Analytical Reading* with Year 2, and *Critical Reading* with Year 3.

The following Table 7.3 summarises the classes observed in the order of their presentation in this chapter.

		Teacher		Class				
		name	m /f	subject	Year	Eng Maj	IELTS	No. ss
Part 1	1	Aj Laksana	f	Oral English	2	×	2-3	52
	2	Dr Chai	m	EAP	2	×	2-3	30
	3	Aj Nuteau	m	EAP	2	×	2-3	53
	4	Aj Murray	m	Oral English	2	×	2-3	31
Part 2	5	Dr Patcharin	f	Foundations	1	×	3	51
	6	Aj Rajavadee	f	Foundations	1	×	5	58
	7	Dr Bua	f	Foundations	1	✓	6	25
Part 3	8	Aj Somchay	m	Analytical Reading	2	✓	6	14
	9	Aj Nanda	f	Critical Reading	3	✓	5	16
				Critical Reading	3	✓	6	41

Table 7.3 Summary of classes and teachers in order of analysis in Chapter 7

Transcription conventions

After some experimenting, the following framework was found to be the most suitable for representing bilingual classroom discourse.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
What's the best seller?	ดูสินค้า <u>Let's see!</u>		

It may be seen that in the above format, there are four possible speech categories: *Teacher*, in either English or Thai, and *Students*, in either English or Thai. When teacher or students spoke in English, the usual transcription of Roman script appears. When teacher or students spoke in Thai, their words are represented first in Thai script, and then translated into English (underlined). (It may be noted that Thai orthography usually separates clauses and sentences rather than individual words.) On those occasions when the teacher was 'quoting' an English word/phrase from the textbook, those English words appear in normal font, placed in single quotation marks.

On some occasions, teacher talk took place in one language only, and without student response. In such cases, rather than the four-part table described above, a simple indentation of spoken text has been shown.

Pauses in speech are indicated following convention by three dots. When pauses were of special significance, numerical timing in seconds is represented in square brackets, like so: [4]. Other punctuation, including the exclamation mark, has been used in a conventional manner.

The symbol [L] indicates laughter; [R] indicates repeat.

Square brackets have been used to indicate additions made by the researcher to clarify meaning.

I have occasionally made use in the analysis of Thai words which are commonly used by English speakers in Thailand, or which are key to the discussion; these have been transliterated into English, as in *sanuk*, *som tam*, *ajarn*, following the Thai Royal Institute Romanization System (1967), this being most commonly used system used by English language publications in Thailand and in Romanised street signage. In this approximately phonetic system, aspiration of initial stops /p t k/ is represented by 'h', as in the town of *Phuket*, and the post-vocalic /r/ is non-rhotic, signifying instead vowel length, as in *ajarn*. Full details are available in the Thai language at the Thai Royal Institute's website (2004), and an updated version in English is available on Thai Airways' website (2004).

(For ease of reference, these transcription conventions have been reproduced in Appendix IV.)

Part 1 Teachers 1–4 Non-English Major classes

These first four teachers conducted classes with Year 2 students who were both non-English Major and non-Humanities students. As such, these students' EL proficiency levels were the least advanced in the study, and each of the four classes was estimated to be in the range of IELTS Bands 2.0 to 3.0, which is significantly low considering that all Thai students have studied English for six years at High School, some also at Primary School, and in this case had also completed two compulsory first year English subjects at university.

Three of the four teachers whose classes are discussed here were native Thai, and one was Anglo-Australian; the difference is apparent in their self-selected pseudonyms.

Teachers, subjects and main teaching protocols were as follows:

	Teacher	Subject	Main teaching protocol
1	Aj Laksana	Oral English	English Dominant
2	Dr Chai	EAP	Thai Dominant
3	Aj Nuteau	EAP	Thai Dominant
4	Aj Murray	Oral English	Bilingual Blend

Table 7.4 Classes, teachers and protocols, Part 1 of Chapter 7

(1) **Ajarn Laksana**

Class	Oral English, Year 2
No of students	52
Faculty	Nursing
IELTS levels	Band 2.0 - 3.0
Text	<i>Journeys: Listening and Speaking</i> , by Adams and Setsuko (2001) Unit 12: How much is it?
Associated theme	Lesson protocols

Background

The class was held in the university's language laboratory, a classroom which was exceptional in being both carpeted and air-conditioned. Listening and speaking equipment was set up at individual desks (but not booths); both teacher and students made use of headphones throughout the lesson. The teacher was a senior lecturer with a calm presence and resonant voice.

The lesson consisted of the teacher guiding students through the textbook. Of the classes observed, this was one of only two whose primary concern was with oral language development – listening and speaking – and the only one which focussed on pronunciation. While *listening* activities are included in most EFL textbooks, it is, in my experience, standard practice amongst Thai teachers to omit those parts, sometimes because equipment is not available or reliable. *Speaking* in terms of pair work activity is similarly unutilised, sometimes because class sizes are perceived to preclude the activity, sometimes because pair work itself is not seen as valuable by the teacher, and sometimes because spoken language is not prioritised within the curriculum as a whole (Wongsothorn, 2001; Wongsothorn et al, 2003). *Pronunciation* is often neglected in EFL course books, and in the Thai context tends to be taught indirectly, that is, by exposure to the teacher's performance of English, with only occasional corrections being made in class.

In the present lesson, listening passages on cassette were focussed on intensively, assisted by the high quality sound available through language lab equipment. The teacher gave explicit instruction in areas of linking and final consonant clusters, and pronunciation was occasionally drilled from teacher to class in standard 'listen and repeat' form.

The teacher focussed upon grammar and vocabulary according to the textbook, which covered the following points:

- word form/class, e.g. countable vs uncountable nouns
- articles
- classifiers (infrequent in English, but a focus of the monolingual textbook, as in 'a pair of trousers').

Associated theme: Lesson Protocols

Two micro-episodes of teaching will be examined in detail. Analysis of these episodes will also serve to introduce the ways in which *moves* and *protocols* were seen to operate in lessons.

Episode 1: Bilingual Protocol

This episode is an instance of the **Bilingual Blend** protocol. It serves to illustrate the teacher's CET (Creating English Text), as well as demonstrating how the SI (Scaffolded Interaction) move can be achieved in Thai rather than in English, and showing how the teacher makes use of ET (Explaining in Thai). At this point in the lesson, the teacher had come to the lexical item 'best-seller' in the textbook.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
What's the 'best seller'?	ดูสิคะ <u>Let's see!</u>		
At the moment Harry Potter is the best-seller book. Everybody knows			

and reads it. The shop owner got a lot of money from selling this book. So, Harry Potter is the best seller at the moment. Understand this?			
	เออ <u>Mmm</u>		
			[inaudible]
	โอ้ไม่ต้องแปล อ้า ถ้าแปล คุณจะแปลว่ายังไง <u>Oh no need to translate. Ah – if [you/we] translate, what will you say?</u>		
			หนังสือที่ ขายดี <u>Book</u> <u>[which]</u> <u>sells the</u> <u>most</u>
	หนังสือที่ขายดีที่สุด <u>Book [which] sells the most;</u> <u>the most of all</u>		
	ภาษาไทย ขายดีเป็นเทน้ำ เทท่า ไปหามาจะ ทำไมต้องเทน้ำ เทท่า <u>In the Thai language, 'best seller' is equivalent to [literally] 'pour water, pour at the jetty'. [I would like you to] go find out why we say 'pour water, pour at the jetty'.</u>		

Text 7.1 Ajarn Laksana

The teacher makes use of L2 and then L1 in her communication. First, she provides Created English Text, illustrating the concept with an example of a current best-seller globally and in Thailand. After this, the teacher asks students

for the Thai meaning, which they provide correctly, and which the teacher echoes. Then the teacher adds a Thai idiom to the English idiom: เหน้้ำ เเท่้ำ, *tae nam, tae tha* meaning literally ‘pour water, pour [at the] jetty’. She also indicates that students should find out where the expression comes from (although she does not await a response to her request). I was interested to discover myself that in this idiom, เเท่้ำ *tha* has no equivalent in English. It glosses ‘the place on the river where people go to wash and bathe’. The ‘closest’ English word is ‘jetty’, in its identifying of a spot where humans enter into contact with water. But here is a world of difference, with the full Thai idiom interpretable as ‘selling like the water we pour over ourselves when we bathe on the bank of the river’, or less literally, ‘sales pouring [down/away] like water’. The semantic richness of the phrase is enhanced by the euphony of first and third word repetition, and assonance of second and fourth words.

It may be useful to analyse the process outlined above from a perspective of ‘interlinguistic intertextuality’. The semiotic notion of intertextuality was introduced by Kristeva (1989), who drew upon Bakhtin’s ‘heteroglossia’ (1967/1986) to refer to two ways in which we read texts: first simply through the connection between reader and text itself (the horizontal dimension), and more interestingly, also through the connection between the reader and her/his experience of the text as *a product of previous texts* (the vertical dimension). That is, a reader’s understanding of every ‘new’ text depends upon her/his experience of previous texts, both in holistic terms (the language system), and sometimes also more directly (through implication or direct allusion).

The intertextuality referred to above may refer to various semiotic systems, but is usually applied to non-spoken modes of written text and images. However, the notion may be usefully extended to spoken micro-texts in the classroom. Here, the teacher translates an English idiom into Thai, but she does so by incorporating another step – from idiomatic to congruent meaning – within each language. Thus:

(i)	best-seller	<i>idiomatic</i>	English
		↓	
(ii)	book which sells the most	<i>congruent</i>	English
		↓	
(iii)	หนังสือขายดี	<i>congruent</i>	Thai
	<u>book which sells the most</u>	↓	
(iv)	เทน้ำ เทท่า	<i>idiomatic</i>	Thai
	<u>sales pouring like water</u>		

Fig 7.1 Four steps of bilingual intertextuality, Ajarn Laksana

The effect of this four-step process is both to clarify meaning and to enrich semantic links across L1 and L2, thereby serving to create depth in a learner's processing of text and to improve retention in the memory (Nation, 1990). This kind of cross-linguistic layering represents a form of intertextuality which may be regarded as 'intratextuality', if we define 'text' here as the lesson. Steps (3) and (4) above are also of interest because by moving from non-congruent to congruent in English, and then from congruent to non-congruent in Thai, not only is the *meaning* of an English idiom clarified to Thai students, but the teacher can *re-place* the 'other' meaning into a Thai context which is both semantically deep and culturally familiar. Such a bilingual discourse structure can provide a richness of semantic support which may be contrasted with the conventional monolingual provision of an English synonym or paraphrase to explain meaning, that is, a process which would be limited to steps (i) and (ii) above.

Episode 2: English-dominant protocol

The next extract has been chosen to illustrate the English-dominant protocol (Type 1); in particular to show the use of Scaffolded Interaction in English only. It was in fact the dominant protocol seen in this lesson, and represents a simple illustration of its application at post-beginner level in an EFL context.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
Where is the speaker now? Where is the speaker now? She, is she at home?			
		No.	
Is she at school?			
		No.	
No. Where is she?			
		She is at shop.	
She is at the shop. What is she doing at the shop? Talking to her friend?			
		No.	
What is she doing?			
		Buying something.	
She is buying something. What is she going to buy? Hm?			
		A sweater.	
A sweater. Sweater. Is it for herself?			
		No.	
For whom?			
		For her mother.	

Text 7.2 Ajarn Laksana

Clearly, the teacher's parts of the SI represent 'new' oral language for learners, and it is in the teacher's hands how to anticipate the most appropriate content and form for this audience. Although the language of the episode is simple, in fact, students' EL levels were low, and judging by their responses, the teacher's L2 seems to have been appropriately adjusted for student understanding. This adjustment was achieved by confining *content* to the field of the textbook passage, and creating *language* in the form of questions which provided answer prompts within them, and which were confirmed by the teacher's 'echoing' (rather than 'elaborating' or 'evaluating') feedback.

The value of the SI move generally, and in this particular context, may be said to depend upon how and when it is used. Clearly, the way scaffolding operates in the present episode provides little opportunity for either critical thinking or creative output on the part of students. But at the same time, interaction of this

nature can offer a semantic and grammatical structure which may support learners with limited language competence to move forward gradually and securely.

Central theme: L1 and L2

As noted above, this lesson was English dominant, with Thai comprising less than 20% of the teacher’s talk. The teacher elected to use Thai in this class principally to explain points of language *form* or *meaning*. Some samples of each will be examined.

Form

Generally, the teacher would prompt students first in English, and follow this up with Thai to check, explain, or expand meaning. The example below provides a valuable illustration of ‘message abundance’, where the use of the first language enables localising and deepening of the field in a way not yet available to students in their second language.

Teacher	
English	Thai
Could you give me the name of some more items that we call ‘a pair of’? We have got socks, jeans, gloves, what else?	
	<p>คุณเป็นนัสนิตพยาบาล คุณต้องใช้อะไรในการทำแผล a pair คะ <u>You are nurses. What do you need when you clean a wound? A pair of what?</u></p>

Text 7.3 Ajarn Laksana

Meaning

Idiomatic usage was also the focus of teacher explanation, two examples from the textbook which are illustrated here.

Example 1

Teacher	
English	Thai
	ดูสำนวนตรงนี้ด้วยนะคะ <u>See this idiom here</u>
'Can I have a look?'	
	หมายความว่าไง <u>What does this mean?</u> ขอดูใช้ไหมคะ ขอดูเสื้อตัวนั้นหน่อย <u>[I] would like to see, right?</u> <u>[I] would like to see that coat.</u>

Text 7.4 Ajarn Laksana

Example 2

Teacher	
English	Thai
'Have a nice day.'	อวยพรกัน <u>a blessing.</u>

Text 7.5 Ajarn Laksana

The bilingual explanation of idioms as recorded in the two examples above illustrates the capacity of L1 to provide meaning, and also gives some flavour of the ways in which an L2 is mediated by L1.

Example (1) is metaphorical in two ways, both in the traditional lexical sense, and also in a grammatical sense (Halliday, 1985a), the latter through its nominalisation of the unmarked verbal form of 'look'. Ajarn Laksana alerted students to the lexical metaphor: ดูสำนวนตรงนี้ด้วยนะคะ See this idiom here;

but she did not choose to draw attention to the grammatical metaphor (which in this form does not exist in the Thai language).

Example (2) above offers another instance of language mediating culture which occurred in the process of translating this lesson. My translator had construed the Thai, อวยพรกัน as a blessing. I then needed to check whether this Thai term carries the restricted meaning of ‘blessing’ in English (ie, a religious one), and discovered that it does not do so. However, there exists no equivalent English word; and so we would need to paraphrase the Thai into something like ‘wishing someone well’.

At our subsequent interviews, Ajarn Laksana spoke about the ways in which she generally used English and Thai in her classes, noting that she aims to use English *as much as possible*, and finds that she can do so for most of the time with English-Major students, but for much less of the time with non-major students. She noted, however, that if English was used beyond the students’ capacity to follow the lesson, the following situation could occur:

At the end of the class, they [students] came to the teacher and asked: ‘What did you say, teacher? I did not understand anything at all.’

And commented that:

If the situation is like this, is it worth speaking all English through the period? Or is it better if we use some L1 to understand some difficult points?

Ajarn Laksana indicated that she finds it valuable to use L1 in the teaching of L2 vocabulary, grammar and culture, and gave examples in each field as follows.

Vocabulary

This was exemplified by Ajarn Laksana in respect of the word *sabaii*, which is usually translated as ‘healthy’, as in the everyday greeting of สบายดีมั๊ย? This phrase means How are you?, but its literal translation is health good [question marker]. The key word *sabaii* สบาย can also mean ‘comfortable’, in the sense of

airy, a term which can be used to describe, for example, a room which is well-ventilated. Ajarn Laksana pointed out that figuratively, that word is also used, for example, to describe a non-demanding event: ‘How was the exam?’ โอ้สบาย ‘Oh, easy.’ Ajarn Laksana pointed to the difficulty of illustrating these shades of meaning if confined to the target language of English. Translation, on the other hand, as may be seen in this lesson, can support the development of semantic fields in L2 through interlinguistic intertextuality as constructed by polysemy, collocation and semantic webbing. Ajarn Laksana also noted the prime importance of broad vocabulary development for EFL:

When I asked students about their problem in learning English, the first thing most students tell me is ‘I don’t know vocabulary ... I can’t translate’.

Grammar

According to Ajarn Laksana, the value of L1 in teaching is here again to enable the making of direct contrasts between the less familiar L2, and what is known to students from the grammar of their first language. Ajarn Laksana gave the example of English answers to negative questions, as in:

You're not coming? *No, I'm not.*

But in Thai (in common with a number of SE Asian and other languages):

You're not coming? *Yes [I'm not].*

Culture

Ajarn Laksana pointed out that the same Thai expression *ไม่เป็นไร mai pen rai* is used to cover three different meanings in English: *you're welcome*; *never mind*; and *it doesn't matter*. Unless the difference is explained to students, they may, for example, substitute *it doesn't matter*, when *you're welcome* would be appropriate.

Overall, Ajarn Laksana concluded that the use of L1 enables teachers to communicate with accuracy, check understanding and save time. However, she

stressed that these uses of Thai were only to be seen as a support and not a replacement for striving to achieve maximum use of English:

We try not to translate at the beginning. We try to use some other ways first ... at the end of the difficult point we can translate.

It is the duty of the teacher to guide students, not to tell at the beginning. Try to guide until they don't know how or where to go, then end with some translation.

These comments are an important statement of educational philosophy, which may be seen to resonate with a Vygotskian notion of working within students' Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978: Bruner, 1986). As Ajarn Laksana points out, in maximising student learning opportunities, it is crucial to stretch students as far as possible in the target language. But experiencing L2 alone cannot access students' full learning potential. For paradoxically, it can be argued that L1, when appropriately used, can be one of the most powerful tools in L2 learning, as only translation allows for students to draw upon the intellectual richness of their first language in developing the relatively limited second language.

The micro-episodes analysed here serve to illustrate the different kinds of meanings realised through the complementary use of both languages. In this low-proficiency class, the teacher first presented L2 according to the monolingual EFL textbook, which in this case was based on the sentence grammar of uncountable nouns, classifiers and articles; this move has been described as Animating English Text, where the teacher enables students to hear how the written English word actually sounds. She then provided teacher talk in the target language which extended the textbook language (Creating English Text) and scaffolded students' responses (Scaffolded Interaction). The teacher used Thai in order to deepen students' semantic connections, as well as for metalinguistic purposes, that is, to talk about the grammar, vocabulary and usage of English.

It is also important to note that the use of the target language here was contingent on perceived teaching/learning needs: the teacher adjusted the flow of L1 and L2 according to her judgement of students' understanding. The movement was generally from English to Thai, for the reasons indicated by the teacher above. It was notable that the two languages changed frequently in the teacher's talk, with a stretch of English rarely exceeding two minutes before a Thai explanation was added. This interweaving of languages has traditionally been discouraged in FLT (Swain, 1986; Edelsky, 1994; Gibbons, White & Gibbons, 1994) because it does not afford students access to longer pieces of discourse in L2, and because it is feared that students may switch off to L2 in anticipation of the return to L1. The first objection may have merit, but in respect of the second, it was the teacher's view of the lesson observed here, as well as apparent to the researcher, that the embedding of L2 in L1 acknowledged students' limited proficiency in the target language, as well as their strength in the first language, and served to ensure maximum student participation in a class which was composed – as all classes are – of a range of abilities and learning styles.

(2)

Dr Chai

Class	EAP, Year 2
No of students	30
Faculty	Science
IELTS levels	Band 2.0 - 3.0
Text	No written text Topic: Making ส้มตำ <i>som tam</i> (<u>papaya salad</u>) Aim: To create a recipe in English
Associated theme	Student Group Work

Background

This is the first of two Year 2 EAP classes observed. The class was composed of students from the Department of IT in the Faculty of Science. A majority of these students had entered their Bachelor's degree at Isara after completing two years at a Vocational College (similar to TAFE in Australia), and consequently were regarded by their teachers as being less academic than High School entry students.

The broader aim in this subject was to write an instructional manual, with the basis of most other writing being the text *A Guide to Writing for Engineers* (Beer & McMurray, 1997), which was accompanied by worksheets and model assignments. The lesson observed was based on experiential learning, and was exceptional in this study.

The teacher, who was in his 20s, was both relaxed and enthusiastic in his teaching, and spoke at a fast pace, both in English and especially in Thai. He was assisted in the practical part of this lesson by a cook from the local markets. Students were seated informally, that is with desks and chairs loosely associated in small groups, or placed individually, rather than in rows.

In this lesson, the category of Animating English Text (AET) did not occur, as there was no written English text in the lesson apart from that produced by students. The category of Creating English Text (CET) was small, appearing at the beginning of the lesson in the teacher's English instructions. The teacher's talk for the remainder of the lesson was comprised of Scaffolded Interaction (SI), when the teacher responded to student questions to him in their groups. Students' questions and the teacher's responses were almost always in Thai. It may be seen then, that this was a Thai-dominant class, with English comprising less than 10% of the teacher's talk.

At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher introduced both visitors to the class – myself, and a female cook from the local markets who would assist in the following activity. The teacher briefly explained to the students in English and Thai what they were about to do.

Associated theme: Student group work

The lesson proceeded as follows (percentages are approximate):

Part 1 [25% of lesson]

- students were divided into three groups of ten
- one member of each group left the room
- the visiting cook demonstrated how to make *som tam*
- students watched and took notes.

Part 2 [50% of lesson]

- students collaborated in groups to write instructions for the procedure
- teacher acted as a resource for students' questions
- teacher checked students' written instructions

Part 3 [25% of lesson]

- the three group representatives who had been waiting outside the room now returned
- the representative from Group 1 was given the English instructions written by that group, and s/he followed these in order to make *som tam*; the cook was requested to judge the quality of the dish prepared

- the procedure was repeated for Group 2 and Group 3.
- all students were invited to taste the different groups' dishes.

The lesson ended with a brief reference to future assigned work, but this occupied less than five minutes' time.

The majority of students appeared to be alert and absorbed for most of the lesson. There was scope for 'play' as students collaborated to carry out their task, and laughter was frequent in both Parts 2 and 3. As discussed in Chapter 5, *sanuk* in Thai means 'merry/good fun/enjoyable', where it has been linked to a predominant goal of maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations. Interestingly, Thai schooling does not in this respect follow broader cultural practices: in my experience, learning is by and large a serious business at all levels of education. However, when *sanuk* is introduced into learning as here, the pay-off appears to be considerable; and this was an issue later pursued with the teacher at interview.

I will comment in more detail on each of the three parts of the lesson.

Part 1

- students were divided into three groups of ten
- one member of each group left the room
- visiting cook demonstrated how to make *som tam*
- students watched and took notes.

First, I was interested to observe the introduction into the class of an outsider. In this case, the visitor was a middle-aged market vendor, such a person who in Thai society would not normally have received education beyond primary level, and would be regarded as of low social status. On the other hand, the vendor was a guest, and moreover an expert in the lesson goal of *som tam* making. The tenor I observed was respectful, with communication conducted in Thai only, and demonstrated a solidarity of language and local culture. Second, this part of the lesson was focussed on experience. Goals were observation, cognition and collaboration. Language was not verbalised in this first part, being

as it were 'stored up' through note-taking for a later outcome. Third, students' group work and actual note-taking was conducted in Thai, although the task product would be in English. This was a procedure to be met a number of times in the study.

Part 2

- students collaborated in groups to write instructions for the procedure
- teacher acted as a resource for students' question
- teacher checked students' written instructions

Part 2 was activity-based. It produced a great deal of purposeful language on the part of students in Thai as they pooled their notes in order to construct a set of instructions in English. The teacher encouraged students to ask him or the vendor for assistance. In fact, they did check with him on numerous occasions for the English vocabulary. (The following transcripts do not appear in tabular form because these texts were spoken by the teacher in one language only.)

Example 1 [teacher]

เฮ้ ไม่ต้องใส่ salt, fish แล้วก็ sauce ที่แปลว่า s.a.u.c.e. ุง

No, it's not 'salt'. 'Fish' and 'sauce'. 'Sauce' is spelled s.a.u.c.e., right?

Sauce มะเขือเทศอะไรยังงี้

It's the same spelling as in 'tomato sauce'.

Text 7.6: Dr Chai

Example 2 [teacher]

chop ก็ได้ คือตัดๆแบบนี้

'Chop' is a kind of cutting like this [demonstrates]

แต่ถ้าอย่างนี้คือ mince ถ้าหั่นคือ mince

But this one is to mince. To mince.

Text 7.7: Dr Chai

A secondary discourse in Part 2 was that of the teacher's guidance in the task.

Example 3 [teacher]

หรือว่าเขียนเป็น 1-2-3 อย่างนี้หรือเปล่า หรือว่าเป็น เป็นโดยบรรทัดๆไปเลย
Do you want to write in steps 1 – 2 – 3? Or just write them line by line?

And

ให้ผมดูก่อนนะครับ ก่อนที่จะให้เพื่อนดูนะอะ

Let me check your work first before you show it to your friends.

Text 7.8: Dr Chai

During this group work, I observed that a few students turned their attention to reading books and newspapers, and that the teacher did not allude to this. It appeared that not every student embraced the different classroom discourse set up in this lesson. There could be a variety of possible reasons, both personal and socio-cultural, but what interested me was students' apparent understanding that to withdraw in such a way would not be disallowed by the teacher. In this they were correct; and the teacher's decision not to challenge their withdrawal is interpreted as a rather indirect management style which aimed to avoid loss of face.

Part 3

- the three group representatives who had been waiting outside the room returned
- the representative from Group 1 was given the English instructions written by that group, and followed these in order to make *som tam*; the cook was requested to judge the quality of the dish prepared
- the procedure was repeated for Group 2 and Group 3
- all students were invited to taste the different groups' dishes.

The cook was asked by the teacher to watch and check if students were preparing the *som tam* dish correctly:

แล้วพื้จดอันนี้ด้วยนะครึบ แล้วให้คะแนนน้ได้เปลา่พื้

Could you write down mistakes and give them points?

จับเวลาด้วยนะครึบ กลุ่มใหนทำเสริจ แล้วก็อร่อยด้วยนะ

And check the timing, which group is going to finish first, and which dish is tasty?

Text 7.9 Dr Chai

The cook was supportive in her assessment, but did point out errors of ingredients missed or wrongly balanced. The ‘judging’ of the dishes occasioned some humour on the part of the teacher and amongst students:

Example 1 [teacher]

เดี๋ยวจอหมตวิชานี้ เปดร้านส้มตำเลย ออกไปเลย

After you’ve done this subject, you’ll be able to open up a *som tam* stall.

Text 7.10 Dr Chai

Example 2 [teacher]

เหนียะโทษคนทำไม้ได้ ต้องโทษคนเขียน

If it [the dish] is good or bad, it depends on the writer not the maker.

Text 7.11 Dr Chai

Example 3 [student]

ไม้ต้องเกรงใจนะครึบ

No need to show deference to us. [L] [Ironic]

Text 7.12 student in Dr Chai’s class

The last example merits glossing, as เกรงใจ *kraeng cai* has been alluded to in Chapter 5 as a key concept in Thai culture (and also one generally held by Thai people to be untranslatable in English, although as previously indicated, the technical term of ‘negative face’ seems to capture it). Literally, the phrase means ‘constricted heart’, such as the feeling experienced when faced with

imposing on another person. A person who is lower in status than another and who recognises this by showing deference may often be told by a higher status person this exact phrase. Here, then, as the cook has been ascribed the higher status of judging the students' work, its use is ironic, for in fact it is the students who are in deference to the cook. Hence a figurative translation would be something like *Don't be afraid to praise us*.

The lesson was an unusual one. At the time of my observation, Dr Chai was midway through his Ph D project, which was being conducted in the USA on the topic of social-constructivist approaches to teaching writing. The lesson which I observed was also a part of that research project, which provides an interesting intertextuality across continents and cultures. Vygotskian constructivist learning principles were explicitly followed by the teacher so that students were led to new understanding through undertaking a task which was set within their ZPD, and through being supported by peer collaboration, as well as by process/conference approaches to writing. An associated goal of the lesson was socio-affective, whereby students would learn to co-operate by undertaking a task which required collaboration in the fulfilment of group goals.

As indicated above, I observed that most students appeared to have enjoyed the lesson and remained on task. But given the unconventional nature of the activity, I wondered how students might perceive its educational value, and at interview, I asked Dr Chai whether some students might think that 'If it's not serious, it's not learning'. Dr Chai responded that indeed *Sometimes study has to be serious ... not fun all the time*, and he noted that in another class he was currently teaching and endeavouring to make 'fun', some students had said to him *Ajarn, stop it ... just teach us*. Dr Chai went on to explain why he had not chivvied students whose attention had wandered in the lesson observed:

I am not that direct. I don't want to scold them ... I don't want to make the class stressful. If they don't pay attention, maybe they have something else [which] distracts them ... Maybe I am too kind.

I asked whether Dr Chai's approach was often found at university level. He responded that it was not: *Many ajarn here, they're so strict, you know, and the students complain to me*, and he commented on his own style of teaching: *It's my nature – I'm not the type who forces people*. Dr Chai feels that it has been important to try and better engage students in their learning, for English is generally perceived by non-Major students *just as part of the curriculum*, and thus students *don't pay much attention*. He had surveyed students for their view on his approach, and their feedback indicated that overall, lessons were *strange ... not stressful ... enjoyable ...*

Dr Chai further related that he had become interested in the social constructivist theories of Vygotsky and Bruner because of his own ideas on how language is learnt by social means. He commented that *Although in Thailand we don't have these theories, we know anyway*. I interpret this latter comment as a view of theory being answerable to practice; that is, where one is not privileged over the other. Moreover, there appears a salutary demonstration of resistance to ELT hegemony as Dr Chai positions the experiences of Thai teachers as being of equal value to, rather than subject to, the Western academy.

Central theme: L1 and L2

The process of using L1 to write L2 reminded me of the relative strengths of learners' L1 and L2 and the role of 'inner speech' in language learning. As discussed in Chapter 2, inner speech is the internal sub-vocalisation which may take shape to a lesser or greater degree of linguistic formality. Inner speech may occur as L1 or L2, but it has been hypothesised that L2 learners will continue to think in L1 at all but advanced levels of L2 proficiency, and that generally, until those levels are reached, L2 will occur mentally only as rehearsal or 'preparation for output', rather than for cognition. Similarly, in respect of L2 writing, Dr Chai noted that this is a bilingual process for his students: *They think or write Thai first, then translate into English. Why? The brain has already been colonised by Thai*. And for this reason, he favoured the approach described, where the first language mediated the second. Dr Chai recalled that his doctoral supervisor had asked why students had not engaged in this group work task through the medium of the target language rather than in

the mother tongue. Dr Chai had responded, and it was clear from my observation, that to have had the students engage in L2 would have been impossible in a task of this nature. And there is a paradox here, for if this L2 writing task had been conducted *individually*, there would have been a degree of cognitive and linguistic challenge involved; but what made the task more demanding was its collaborative nature, which brought in not only interpersonal skill but metalinguistic articulation. Thus one might say that in setting this task, the choice had been to go for a cognitive challenge whose product was English but whose process was Thai, rather than to go for a task with less cognitive challenge but which could have proceeded within students' relatively limited English.

In general, Dr Chai believes that the use of L1 and L2 must depend upon students' EL proficiency levels. For English-Major students, lessons can be conducted entirely in L2, but for non-Major students he thought this to be impossible. Dr Chai said that when he started teaching the class observed, he had used L2 as the main medium of instruction, but student evaluations had asked him to translate into Thai. He said of this:

I could speak English, but I don't want to, because the students will not get any knowledge.

It is possible to view any learning experience in terms of its cognitive, socio-affective and linguistic dimensions. In this lesson, it is clear that in accordance with his stated perspective on the social nature of learning, Dr Chai had favoured the first two over the third. This focus may appear strange in the context of a foreign language class, but needs to be viewed particularly in the light of the general lack of interest in EL study on the part of these non-elective Science students.

Also of interest are the different approaches taken to students of a similar EL proficiency by this teacher and the teacher of the former class discussed. Both classes were composed of non-major students, from Nursing and Science faculties respectively, and both were of similarly low EL proficiency. However,

there were profound differences in lessons goals, teacher-student relationship and classroom activity. The former class was focused on Oral English, in the form of listening and pronunciation practice. It was entirely teacher-centred, with the dominant language being English. The teacher was senior, of some gravitas. The latter class was focussed on EAP: Writing. It was largely student-centred, with the dominant language being Thai. The teacher was young and aimed at an informal relationship with students.

(3) Ajarn Nuteau

Class	EAP, Year 2
No of students	53
Faculty	Science
IELTS level	Band 2.0 – 3.0
Text	<i>Text to Note: Study Skills for Advanced Learners</i> , by Adkins and McKean (1983)
Associated theme	Student group work

Background

This was one of the first classes I had observed, and unfortunately, the audio equipment proved to be unreliable. Accordingly, my description and analysis are based on field notes and teacher interviews.

The class was similar to that of Dr Chai in that students were also in Year 2 and of a low English proficiency, with the subject being undertaken as part of their compulsory six credit point study. This lesson, too, was conducted almost entirely in Thai, with the main strategy being student group work, which in this case was based on jointly completing text-based worksheets. However, in the present class, students numbered around fifty, as opposed to thirty in the previous class, and the teacher made use of a microphone. The organisation of

teaching for this second class was also complex, with a team of teachers rotating on a two-weekly basis, and these latter factors contributed to more distant tenor relations between teacher and students.

This lesson was Thai-dominant, with the teacher being observed to use English for around 10% of his speech. Here, the category of Animating English Text (AET) was small, being confined to the teacher's reading aloud of the written passages of worksheets towards the end of the lesson. The category of Creating English text (CET) was similarly small, appearing at the beginning of the lesson in the teacher's English instructions. The teacher's talk for the remainder of the lesson was comprised of Scaffolded Interaction (SI), when the teacher responded to student questions to him in their groups, and Explaining in Thai (ET) when he translated and explained in L1 the form and meaning of the written passages under study.

Associated theme: Student group work

The teacher divided students into groups of six people, with each group required to nominate a leader and secretary. Students were asked to move their desks into small circles, a process only briefly disruptive. The result was a classroom layout which was similar to that seen in Dr Chai's class but on a larger scale. (It should be noted that it is by coincidence that these two classes discussed early in the study had both adopted extensive group work and its associated classroom layout. The majority of classes were seen to follow the more conventional teacher-fronted pedagogy.)

The text used for group work was a scientific EAP type, entitled *Power Direct from the Sun*. Associated exercises had been written by the Thai teachers, and consisted of predicting the meaning of words from context, a 'Three Level Guide' to comprehension, and a structured overview of the text. The tasks thus focussed on reading and writing English, but the means of achieving the L2 output was through L1 interaction. In other words, as in the previous lesson, students collaborated in Thai in order to comprehend and produce English.

I observed that students appeared to find the activity challenging and engaging, and that they did in fact collaborate well, remaining focussed on task. I also noticed that students were permitted to leave their own group and walk to another group to seek assistance if necessary – another unusual classroom event – and that this happened not infrequently, in a smooth and apparently effective manner. At the same time, the teacher moved around the room in order to assist students at point of need.

In order to maximise learning, Ajarn Nuteau had placed students in mixed-ability groups so that: *The high achievers can help the low achievers – I didn't want the low achievers to be left behind.*

Ajarn Nuteau acknowledged that a great deal of work is involved in creating materials for the purpose of collaborative learning, but noted that once created, and students are engaged in their tasks, the teacher then becomes free to act as a resource in the classroom. He reported that this innovation had been evaluated highly by his students in the previous semester: *I was happy; students were happy too.*

Linked to the aim of collaborative learning was one of critical thinking:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Aj Nuteau | Students are clever ... Thai students have critical thinking. They can think by themselves critically if they get enough experience. |
| Ross | Why do some people say that Thai students are not critical? |
| Aj Nuteau | Maybe [they] didn't use techniques to extract it. The teacher must believe in this, otherwise [they] will reject every idea from students ... I always try to elaborate students' ideas. |

Upon probing, Ajarn Nuteau specified that by *critical*, he meant *more creative* thinking, which would extend to *making inferences* and *applying knowledge* on the part of students.

I was interested to learn how collaborative learning principles had been introduced into the EL curriculum at Isara. Ajarn Nuteau acknowledged that the

innovation had been initially proposed by him, and had been accepted by his colleagues as a foundation of the ESP strand over the past five years. He advised that it had been introduced partly in response to the difficulties experienced in teaching ESP to classes of 50+ students whose enrolment was mandatory rather than elective. Ajarn Nuteau had applied to the Thai situation elements of the theory and practice of Collaborative Learning encountered through his own professional reading, drawing in particular upon the ideas of Dewey and Gardner, as well as upon what he described as the 'neo-constructivism' of Vygotsky.

We also discussed the kinds of classroom activities which formed the basis of the group work in the lessons observed, such as Advance Organiser, Three Level Guide, and Semantic Mapping. Ajarn Nuteau advised that these were taken from the ERICA model – *Effective Reading in the Content Areas* (Morris & Stewart-Dore 1984), and that he is currently undertaking a research project with the English Department on the application of these strategies.

Central theme: L1 and L2

Ajarn Nuteau saw the use of L1 and L2 as a straightforward issue which, again, was related principally to students' L2 proficiency levels. In the case of the class observed, Ajarn Nuteau indicated that students' English proficiency level was not high enough for them to conduct such a group task through the medium of the second language, reporting that *They would not use English if I asked them to!* Moreover, the teacher believed that students would *fall asleep* if he lectured only. Accordingly, his aim was to get students thinking about the task and to collaborate to the best of their ability in accessing the target language.

At interview, we were able to discuss further the rationale for L1 and L2 use in this class. Ajarn Nuteau advised that particularly in the case of low level students, his focus is on learning goals which are broader than learning English. He wants to achieve collaboration and effective thinking amongst students, looking to the team-work qualities which employers seek of graduates. For as Ajarn Nuteau noted, high achievers are of little value in the workplace if they cannot collaborate with other people. Thus for these students, while the

completion of exercises related to an English text would contribute to developing their L2 reading and writing proficiency, it was the actual process of achieving the written task together which would develop students' deeper learning. Ajarn Nuteau stressed the social goal of the group task: *If one fails, the others fail.*

For higher level classes, Ajarn Nuteau indicated that he makes use of English as the medium of instruction in order to give students maximum exposure to L2 in the classroom, and with the aim of providing meaning-based listening practice. At these higher levels, he uses Thai only occasionally as follows: for exceptionally difficult words, where accuracy and time warrant a translation; for making announcements to do with exams and assigned work; and at the end of the lesson. On the other hand, with lower level students, he believes that L1 is necessary to communicate meaning. In that context, he observes students' faces to determine whether they understand his L2 talk, and if apparently not, he will translate into Thai. Ajarn Nuteau also pointed out that using Thai in this way is quicker, and assists in completing the units in tandem with other classes and within the time prescribed. Ajarn Nuteau's approach to lower-level students was based on his belief that students:

... have ability, they have creative ideas, but they don't know how to express themselves ... And if I force them to speak English, then this may obstruct their real ability.

Ajarn Nuteau also pointed out, as had Dr Chai, that a majority of students from non-Humanities areas would prefer not to be undertaking compulsory English studies. This distinction between students who *choose* and those who are *obliged* to study a foreign language is crucial in understanding the role of English in the Thai tertiary context, as well as in forming a picture of how EFL differs from most ESL contexts, and how it may resonate with FLT in other countries.

There were a number of similarities observed between this lesson and that of Dr Chai, but also one interesting difference, which lay in the tenor relationship

developed between teacher and students: formal in the case of Ajarn Nuteau and unusually informal in the case of Dr Chai. As noted earlier, this may have in part resulted from the complicated multi-team teaching of Ajarn Nuteau's class, as well as its larger class size, but in part it may also have reflected a difference in individual teachers' personalities. Ajarn Nuteau, while warmly encouraging of students, held traditional views on their behaviour and identities. For example, in our discussions about contemporary Thailand, Ajarn Nuteau had remarked upon the increasing tendency of Thai students to *feel free to do what they like*, and in particular, he had been critical of male students who dyed their hair or who wore it long (*not appropriate for a hot country*). He also asserted that students who wore sandals instead of shoes to his class would have marks deducted. We see an interesting conjunction in this case, then, of progressive pedagogic practice maintained alongside conservative beliefs about student behaviour.

(4) Ajarn Murray

Class	Oral English, Year 2
No of students	31
Faculty	Science and Engineering
IELTS levels	Band 2.0 - 3.0
Text	<i>Journeys: Listening and Speaking</i> , by Adams and Setsuko (2001) Unit 7, p 37 Topic: Dwellings and Rooms
Associated theme	Intercultural Semantics

Background

This is the last of four Year 2 classes observed where students were Non-English Majors from a range of faculties. The subject of Oral English was one of only two observed in the present study, the other being that of Ajarn Laksana (Teacher 1). This class was one hour in length, and took place in the late

afternoon (5-6 pm) when students are expected to be less fresh due to the heat and length of the day. However, the present class proved to be of an unusually high level of energy and participation. Smiling and laughter were in evidence for the greater part of the lesson, and signified a number of points: understanding of teacher talk; shared appreciation of humour; and a degree of trust and relaxation on the part of students.

The teacher was atypical in that he is the only native-speaking teacher included in this study. Ajarn Murray is an Anglo-Australian who had been working at Isara University for three years, and living in Thailand for over ten. Ajarn Murray was an expert speaker of Thai – so much so that he was engaged by the English Department to teach Translation, amongst other subjects.

The predominant teaching protocol in this lesson was a **Bilingual Blend** where English and Thai were rapidly alternated in the teacher's talk. The lesson also included student groupwork, which as usual was conducted in Thai with the goal of producing English text.

The structure of the lesson was three-part as follows.

Part 1: Teacher scaffolding and commentary

The teacher prompted students to verbalise English vocabulary for the names of different dwellings, and created a running commentary on students' responses, with his talk being in both English and Thai.

Part 2: Student group work

Students were divided into groups, with each group allocated one room, such as *bathroom, bedroom, living room*, and being directed to identify items located in that room. During this task, students spoke in Thai in order to create a list of English vocabulary.

Part 3: Student feedback and teacher commentary

Each group reported back its findings in English, and the teacher used this data as a source of further commentary, again using both English and Thai.

In this class, the teacher Created English Text through simplification, paraphrase, elaboration and ‘message abundancy’. He shaped the content of the lesson through localisation, personalisation, and through the ‘verbal art’ of humour (see later discussion in this chapter). The teacher initiated moves in both English and Thai, and students responded in both languages.

Associated theme: Intercultural semantics

The teaching of language and culture are of course closely linked, and indeed a central aim of FLT may be said to be the development of intercultural competence (Byram, 1997). In this case, then, it was of interest to observe the ways in which the teacher drew upon both Thai and Western cultures. In attempting to unpack some of the semantic complexity which was operating across two cultures in this lesson, I was mindful that on the one hand, very few, if any, of the students will have travelled beyond Thailand in the SE Asian region, let alone to Europe or the USA; and on the other, that they all will have been widely exposed to Western images through print, movies, music videos and the Internet.

Two textual examples will be discussed.

Example (i)

In the lesson observed, the focus was upon types of dwellings and the rooms and objects therein. An interesting moment early in this lesson related to the dwelling-type ‘hut’ in English, and a related concept of กระท่อม *krathom* in Thai. I would like to examine first my own perception of these two terms, and then speculate as to their meaning for Thai students in this study and their expatriate English teacher.

To me as an English speaker, the visual image of a hut is a small, old, stone building in a rural setting, with Scotland coming to mind. There are subsidiary images of huts in fairy-tales, perhaps in middle Europe. On the other hand, the Thai word กระท่อม *krathom* gives an image of a traditional Thai wooden house on stilts with a verandah, shutters for windows, and cattle housed below. A กระท่อม *krathom* is to someone like me both environmentally sympathetic and

aesthetically pleasing; but to Thai youth, such dwellings speak rural, unsophisticated, old-fashioned, and lower class.

When Ajarn Murray was eliciting words for dwellings in English, and the students offered กระท่อม *krathom* in the Thai language, he supplied the English translation of ‘hut’, but maintained a Thai rather than English semantic, as indicated by his response: *with buffalos underneath... geckoes above*. I wondered whether Ajarn Murray held a similar semantic flavour for ‘hut’ in English as I have described for myself above, and whether, in the context of this lesson, he elected nevertheless to stay within students’ existing Thai cultural concept. When I suggested this to the teacher at our second interview, he confirmed my interpretation, indicating that for these learners at this level, *Although I did have access to both images, I elected to stay with the Thai sense*, and also noting that had this been an advanced class, he would have drawn upon the cultural difference to explain that an ‘English language’ image was more likely to be of *a little stone hut in the mountains*. The teacher’s view was that when these students speak English, they will be doing so in Thailand, and from a Thai cultural base; that students thus need to be able to *talk about profoundly Thai things using English*.

The significance of this teacher’s capacity to perceive something of what the students perceive (i.e. the culturally-influenced visual image) is profound: it could not be replicated by a monolingual teacher. Equally significant is the teacher’s bi-cultural perspective that what the students need is to first be able to talk about their own, rather than the foreign culture through the medium of L2, a view which clearly goes against the majority of published EFL textbooks (see further discussion in Chapter 10).

Example (ii)

Another example is found in the teacher’s discussion of ห้องพระ *Hong Pra*, the Buddha Image Room, which a student nominated in Thai as one of the rooms in a dwelling. ห้องพระ *Hong Pra* translates literally as ‘room + Buddha figure’, and the teacher responded as follows:

Teacher	
English	Thai
	ห้องพระ <u>Hong pra</u>
I don't know how to say that in English either. Maybe the Buddha Image Room, Room for the Buddha Image	
	นะ [persuasive particle].

Text 7.13 Ajarn Murray

Another student then offered *Monk Room*. The teacher explained why this would not be an appropriate translation, and then continued in Thai and English:

Teacher	
English	Thai
	คือว่าไม่มีในวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก ไม่มีห้องพระโดยเฉพาะนะ ดังนั้นก็ไม่ได้มีชื่อเฉพาะนะ <u>In Western culture there is no Buddha image room, so there is not a specific name for it.</u>
Buddha Image Room. It sounds a bit funny. But I don't think it's a 'Monk's Room'.	

Text 7.14 Ajarn Murray

In this episode, students are acknowledged as 'knowers' of a shared culture, and are enabled to extend their prior knowledge into another culture. That is, the Buddha Image Room is a focal part of Thai people's lives, where it is the custom to pray and meditate. Students might or might not be aware that neither the custom nor the religion are a part of most Westerners' lives. And so the

learning was profound in terms of shifting students' awareness of 'other' perspectives, and thus enabling them to have an idea of how Thai culture may seem to non-Thais, which is a vital part of being able to talk about Thai culture through the medium of a foreign language such as English.

I would now like to focus on a particular aspect of intercultural semantics: the teacher's use of verbal art in the form of humour in ways which serve to cross cultures and facilitate second language learning.

As indicated in Chapter 2, humour in Western culture has been seen to result from the tension accruing from human encounters with incongruity. Incongruity in this lesson was observed to occur with two principal focii: cultural, and/or linguistic. In the first type a tension was set up by the teacher between social mores on one hand, and on the other, an imagined contravention by students. And in the second, there was a 'play on words'. Both types are, of course, at the same time linguistic and cultural; what changes is the particular focus.

In the cultural type of humour, an audience or interlocutor is positioned as lacking in socially appropriate qualities. In the examples discussed here such qualities include intelligence, education, industry, virtue, sophistication, and cultural savvy. In the linguistic type of humour, there is a tension between two meanings or soundings (that is, a contrast within the level of semantics or phonology). In this lesson, the most used humour was the first noted above, that which made fun of, or with students.

And so, while the primary activity of this lesson was implementation of an 'ostensible' syllabus concerning different kinds of dwellings and rooms in English, there was a sub-text which parodied the first. It seemed to me that the lesson could be positioned something like this in the heads of student and teacher participants: *Yes, we know that we have to follow the textbook and learn this bland topic of dwellings and rooms, but we can make it interesting and funny ourselves.* When I later shared this interpretation with this teacher, he confirmed it, adding that he was conscious of broad factors such as time of day, tiredness, and students' relative lack of interest in the study of English, and

accordingly wanted to enliven the discourse and to *make the most* of an otherwise dull text and topic. He achieved this by both contextualising the content – making cross-cultural comparisons; and by ironising it – exaggerating and parodying cultural concepts, students and the teacher.

Two sets of texts will now be presented: the first exemplifies cultural humour, and the second, word play.

Type 1: cultural

Example (i)

In this part of the lesson, students were reporting back on the items they had listed for their allocated room – here, the bathroom.

Teacher: English	Students: English
	Toothbrush
Do you use a toothbrush? Really? I thought you never use them.	

Text 7.15 Ajarn Murray

When the teacher suggests that the students do not use toothbrushes, incongruity results from imagined contravention of hygienic practice, which could be associated with discourses of sophistication, of class, of education.

Example (ii)

This text also occurred in the student report-back move.

Teacher: Thai	Students: English
	Floor
อย่าลืมฝ้าผนังนะ ฝ้าก็มีนะ <u>Don't forget the ceiling, as well as the floor.</u>	

Text 7.16 Ajarn Murray

Here, the item *floor* was offered by one group of students as one of the features of their room. This I interpreted as humour on the part of students, who presumably realised that because every room has a floor, the item was not really worthy of mention. The teacher took up their move in providing an equally 'obvious' lexical item of *ceiling*. Thus the students had created incongruity by parodying the task as given, and the teacher built on their parody in his response. This move represents an instantiation of the subtext of the lesson referred to earlier – that of upsetting the larger educational discourse.

Example (iii)

Feedback from students on items found in the bathroom.

Students had supplied at different times in their list *telephone, hairdryer*.

Teacher: Don't forget, when you use the telephone in the bath, you should also use the hairdryer. Don't forget!

Text 7.17: Ajarn Murray

Students were positioned as disregarding safety in their enjoyment of technology. The discourses relate to consumerism, youth foolishness and safety.

Example (iv)

Reporting upon students' list of items found in the bathroom.

Teacher: English	Students: English
	Trees
You have trees in your bathroom? OK! Cool! Elephants too? Waterfall? Servants? [L] Do you mean pot plants? Plants.	

Text 7.18 Ajarn Murray

Here, the teacher took advantage of students' error in offering the word *trees* for *plants* as a possible bathroom item. His response was ironic, suggesting that if trees were present, then why not other large entities, setting up a dissonance between the congruent image of a bathroom, and incongruent images of a waterfall, servants and elephants (the latter which would in Thai culture be associated not only with wealth but specifically with royalty). Ajarn Murray thus created a humorous positioning of students as being grandiose, and contravening a key discourse of modesty.

Type 2: word play

Word play is a rather different kind of humour from cultural play, being more consciously linguistic. Many teachers will have experienced L2 learners' capacity to create new meanings/forms through their knowledge of one language allied to a partial command of a second language. In the three examples below, the teacher himself creates new forms/meanings through word play.

Example (i)

The teacher was discussing different kinds of dwellings, and when he came to *apartment*, created the word *togetherment*, explaining in Thai as follows.

เพราะอยู่ด้วยกันหมดเลยในตึกเดียวกัน

Because people all live in the same building.

นะ ว่ามัย

Right, think so?

เออ ใช่มัย แปลกประหลาด

Yeh, right, it's strange.

Text 7.19: Ajarn Murray

Example (ii)

Teacher: What's a single house? A house that's not married!

Text 7.20: Ajarn Murray

Example (iii)

When students were reporting back on items listed for the kitchen, they said 'bottom', meaning 'bottle'. The teacher deliberately misunderstood their speech and pretended outrage at the inappropriate reference.

Bottom ใม่ได้อยู่ในห้องครัว มันติดตัวมาเนี่ย ใครเขียนนะ bottom... ทะลิ่ง
ต่อไปนี้จะใม่ยอมยืนข้างคุณหรือก กลัว... what? ... หม้อ Bottom คือชั้นล่าง
ข้างล่าง หรือกั้นก็ได้

Bottom is not in the kitchen, It's attached to your body. Who wrote this?

Naughty! From now on, I will not dare to stand beside you. I'm scared. Ha?

Pot? [Pot = kitchen item] Bottom is the lower area, lower part, or buttocks.

Text 7.21 Ajarn Murray

In the first of these three examples, the teacher creates the neologism of *together-ment* by analogy with *apart-ment*; in the second, he creates a pun on the two meanings of *single*; and in the third he chooses to misunderstand the typically Thai rendering of *bottom* for *bottle*, which results from substitution of final // by /n/ or /m/, combined with epenthesis of the final consonant cluster. The teacher's performance of outraged sensibility was maintained for over a minute, and caused a great deal of laughter on the part of students.

Central theme: Use of L1 and L2

In the present lesson, the two languages received roughly equal time on the teacher's part. But the discourse was, as it were, seamless, with alternation from one language to another resembling a 'blend' rather than a 'switch', given both its frequency and smoothness. This is not to say, however, that different intellectual exploration was not evident in each language: clearly, students were able to understand and produce a great deal more conceptually in their first language. And pedagogic skill was evident in the ways that the teacher was able to stretch students' L2 use through the support of their L1.

A number of texts exemplifying L1 and L2 use have already been shown above, but the following extract will serve to show how this bilingual blending took place

in longer stretches of discourse. The episode is taken from early in the lesson when the teacher is building up the field of students' L2 knowledge of dwellings.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
How about ...	กระท่อม <u>Hut?</u>		
Do you live in a hut?		Yes [L]	
Oh, do you really, Tum? [name of student] [R]			
		Sure! [L] [Ironic]	
You're lucky, because it's nice and cool, and it's easy to clean.			
	อยู่กับใคร ตุ๊กแก <u>Who do you live with? A gecko?</u>		
	ควายอยู่ข้างล่าง ข้างบนมีตุ๊กแกกับตุ่มสองคน <u>Buffaloes are underneath, and you ('Tum') live together with a gecko in the upper floor.</u>		
Is it a single...	ตุ๊กแก <u>gecko?</u>		
Are there any other kinds of house you can think of?			
	มีอะไรอีกมั๊ย บ้านอีกประเภทหนึ่ง นึกออกมั๊ยครับ มีอะไรอีกมั๊ย อยากจะถามอะไรครับ <u>Anything else? Other kinds of house you can think of?</u> <u>Anything else you want to ask?</u>		
		mansion	
	ก็คือคฤหาสน์ครับ <u>It is a mansion</u>		

Text 7.22: Ajarn Murray

This extract captures something of the swiftness and dexterity of the bilingual blending. It also shows again the way in which the L2 is embedded in L1 meanings, and how the teacher was able to draw students into the discourse in simple ways. Meaning is always made available in both languages: for example, when a student supplies the fairly infrequent English word 'mansion', the teacher immediately glosses it in Thai.

The teacher's balance of English and Thai is almost exactly equal in the extract above, as judged by number of words and number of clauses (although the visual representation may suggest otherwise because Thai is transcribed in two forms). Students are seen to offer only one word answers, and in English. These patterns are roughly representative of the lesson as a whole, although it was notable that in the earlier (fresher) part of the lesson, the teacher's talk favoured a greater proportion of English, while towards the latter part of the lesson, Thai predominated.

At interview, Ajarn Murray distinguished three ways of using Thai in his teaching of English, which varied according to the level of students. For lower level students, such as non-English Major, Ajarn Murray always uses Thai to explain new language, both for principles of grammar and for lexical meaning. He pointed out that if using only English to explain vocabulary, most teachers will give synonyms, and these in fact may mislead students. As he put it: *the trouble is... how are they [the synonyms] different?* In my own experience as a teacher educator, this is a point not often accepted by ESL teachers, although it has been documented for some time (e.g. George, 1978; Nation, 1990); and a belief in the value of confining vocabulary explanation to L2 synonyms can also sometimes buttress an anti-bilingual dictionary stance. Ajarn Murray believes that rather than offering potentially confusing synonyms in the target language, more accurate meaning can be provided by translating into L1. He noted that this was particularly the case when dealing with L2 words which are close in meaning: the example he gave was of distinguishing between *stubborn* and *headstrong*.

While entirely supportive of the value of L1 in explaining grammar, vocabulary and culture, Ajarn Murray was also clear about the need for maximum exposure to L2: *You have to force the students to use English or they won't.*

In viewing this lesson in terms of what is appropriate to the Thai educational context, I would like to note that while Ajarn Murray's classroom was unusual, and that it is probably true to say that there is in some ways a greater licence of role available to expatriate native speakers, I have also seen such extensive use of verbal play in the classes of a Thai teacher at the same institution, (in a department outside that of languages). That is, a similarly adventurous role can be taken by a Thai teacher, though it is certainly atypical.

Conclusion to Teachers 1–4

These first four classes discussed here were composed of non-English major students whose EL proficiency was relatively low. Two of the classes were compulsory for all students, and two were elective. These were students who had attained this level of EL proficiency after at least six years compulsory English study at High School, as well as in one year's study at university. It is not likely therefore, that they would see themselves or be seen by others as having been successful foreign language learners.

In attempting to address the need of such students, the four teachers were observed to have adopted a range of approaches. In two cases, teachers saw English as a part of broader educational goals of socio-affective and cognitive development. In one case, the teacher created an entertaining oral discourse across two languages and cultures, and in the other, the teacher applied the shared L1 to a close and accurate commentary on English grammar and usage. At interview, all four teachers had spoken with concern and sensitivity towards student needs and abilities, in particular noting the importance of supporting the learning of the whole range of students, and, in the case of the two non-elective EAP classes, the importance of enabling students to experience their study in positive ways.

In three of the four lessons, there also occurred a similar pattern of group work which drew upon in L1 for the purpose of producing L2 written text. This is a use of the mother tongue which is similar in some respects to that which has been recorded by Antón and DiCamilla (1998), Swain and Lapkin (1998), and others.

Overall, the most striking feature shared by these four classes was the way in which learning of L2 was embedded in L1, just as learning about C2 was embedded in C1. And so, what the students brought to the lesson in the form of their L1 was seen not as a barrier to L2 but as a resource.

Part 2: Classes 5, 6 and 7

The next three classes to be discussed are different cohorts of the Year 1 subject, *English 101*, commonly known as *Foundations English*. This subject focuses on reading as the primary skill, and is compulsory for all first year students. Each class followed one of the *Passages* series (1 or 2) according to their level (Richards & Sandy, 1998 and 2000).

In the present study, three Foundations classes were observed. These were of varying levels and backgrounds as indicated below, but in all cases, teaching protocols of the *Bilingual Blend* type predominated.

	Faculty	IELTS levels	Teacher	Textbook
1	Mixed (non Humanities)	3.0	Dr Patcharin	<i>Passages 1</i>
2	Business	4.0 - 5.0	Ajarn Rajavadee	
3	Humanities (English Major)	6.0	Dr Bua	<i>Passages 2</i>

Table 7.5: Classes and teachers, Part 2 of Chapter 7

As indicated above, the first two classes discussed here were in the lower stream, following *Passages 1*; the third, that of Dr Bua, was in the upper stream, and followed *Passages 2*.

The common textbook series used for this class was of some significance in this study, and analysis of its content and appropriacy will form a large part of the discussion in Chapter 10.

(5)

Dr Patcharin

Class	Foundations English, Year 1
No of students	51
Faculties	mixed, non-humanities
IELTS levels	Band 3.0
Text	<i>Passages 1</i> , by Richards and Sandy (1998)
Associated theme	Teacher questioning

Background

The students in this class were of relatively low level EL proficiency. They were attentive and appeared to be focussed on task. Their teacher was a senior ajarn with a serious and dignified manner.

As will be explored later in this analysis, the predominant mode of teaching in Dr Patcharin's lesson consisted of CET and ET within a **Bilingual Blend** protocol. The SI move was not frequently made, but nevertheless offered some interesting moments. Two of these are explored here, one successful, and one less successful.

Associated theme: Teacher questioning

Episode 1

Unit 11 On the other side of the world

Lesson A Culture shock

Text Moving abroad

This episode occurred approximately one third of the way through the lesson. The teacher had completed Unit 10 of the textbook and moved to Unit 11. The classroom discourse to this point had consisted almost entirely of Animating English Text, interspersed with Explaining in Thai.

The teacher spoke briefly in English and Thai about her experiences of culture shock in the USA, and recalled the sight of boys and girls *hugging and kissing* on campus, exclaiming – โอ้ ตายแล้ว *oh, tai laew!* [Oh my God! or literally: I died already], with increased volume and marked intonation contours. Dr Patcharin then passed to an exercise in the text book and posed the following questions to the class:

Imagine you have just learned that you will be moving abroad in a few months. How would you feel? Answer these questions.

- (1) Would you be afraid of moving to a foreign country?
- (2) Why or why not?

How would you prepare for culture shock?
(Richards & Sandy, 1998: 94)

In the following transcript, because the duration of pauses is significant, times in seconds have been placed in square brackets after each utterance.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
Would you be afraid of moving to a foreign country? [2 seconds]			
Now, would you be afraid of moving to a foreign country? [6]			
Would you like to answer that question – would you be afraid of moving to a foreign country? To be afraid of? [1]	เข้าใจคำว่า 'afraid of' มั้ย <u>Do you understand that word 'afraid of'?</u>		
What does it mean 'afraid of', to be afraid of? Uh? [0.5]			
			กลัว <u>Afraid</u>

Okay		กลัว <u>Afraid</u>		
Would you be afraid of moving to a foreign country? [2]				
Yes or no? [1]				
Uh? [0.5]				
			Yes	
Yes. Why? [2]				
Why? [5]				
Why? [4]				
Mm? [3]				
Why? [2]				
Who would like to answer the question? [4]				
Now, if you cannot answer the question and if you don't want to answer the question, okay move further.				

Text 7.23: Dr Patcharin

This part of the lesson occupied 65 seconds. It was conducted in English, with two exceptions: the teacher's query in Thai meaning Do you understand that word 'afraid of'?, and the students' correct translation of an English word into its Thai equivalent. This latter response by students formed the first of two which they made to the teacher's questions; their other response, of 'yes', was made when the teacher reduced her question at one point to 'Yes or no?' And so, out of thirteen eliciting moves by the teacher, only two achieved a response by students, and in both cases the response was a single word.

What was striking about this episode was intensity created by the number of repetitions which the teacher made of her initial question, combined with the

length of wait-time she created. In my experience as a teacher and teacher trainer in Western contexts, I have rarely seen either phenomenon occurring to this degree, unless teacher or students were demonstrating intransigence of some kind. In those contexts, such a dynamic would signal tension. But here, I did not read this as being the case for teacher and students.

Teacher wait time has been studied by Rowe (1974), who discovered a mean duration of 1 second following teacher solicitation in American schools, and by Shrum and Tech (1985) who found that American FL classrooms utilised a mean wait-time of 1.91 seconds. A number of researchers have urged an expanded wait time of 3 seconds (Tobin, 1987; Stahl, 1994).

Wait-times recorded in this episode are compared in the table below to those referred to in the literature:

Wait time in seconds							
Mean (1.91)	-	-	+	++	++	++	++
Recommended (3.0)	-	-	-	+	++	++	++
Actual	0.5	1	2	3	4	5	6
No. of occurrences	2	2	4	1	2	1	1

Key:	- did not fulfil
	+ fulfilled
	++ exceeded

Table 7.6: Timing and frequency of wait-times, Dr Patcharin Episode 1

As can be seen, there was a range of wait-times employed. Nine of the thirteen times here were greater than the US-reported mean wait-time of 1.91 seconds; one fulfilled, and four exceeded the recommended time of 3 seconds. On the other hand, it should also be noted that the effect of repetitions in this instance progressively compounded. Overall in the 65 second segment, 35 seconds consisted of silence: it felt to me like one very long minute.

I was interested to explore why students remained silent in this instance, and the extent to which the teacher's use of L1 and L2 could have borne upon the matter. In attempting to understand what may have been happening, this episode will be examined further, and later compared to a second episode in the same lesson.

The analysis will be presented in two parts – as it happened, so to speak. The first part represents my own interpretation of the data; the second part, the teacher's commentary on my analysis.

Part 1: Researcher's interpretation

At the most 'micro' level of meaning, it was my judgement in observing the lesson, and again when listening to audio tapes, that students had 'understood' the teacher's L2 questions, particularly as Dr Patcharin had already introduced the field by talking in English and Thai about her own experiences in moving to a foreign country. Thus we may say that the content/meaning of the teacher's question was not the cause of students' difficulty. Rather, the problem may be identified as students' reticence or inability to create and perform a spoken L2 response on call. There are a number of dimensions to this issue.

First, there is the immediate context of that particular lesson. Until that point, the first thirty minutes of the lesson had followed a structure of monologist teacher 'explication of text' which focussed on the accessing of a written text by means of L2 translation. Although there had been numerous occasions upon which the teacher said แปลว่าอะไร What does that mean?, such questions were nearly always rhetorical and answered by the teacher. Now, the textbook had prescribed questions to which a student response *was* required. It may have been the case, then, that one reason why students did not offer a response was that the move into 'interaction' formed too strong a break with the prevailing discourse pattern.

Secondly, there had been no opportunity for students to 'rehearse' or practise an answer before offering it publicly – neither in spoken/written form, nor through dialogue with another student.

Thirdly, the question itself sought answers concerned with *feelings*, in particular, feelings of fear/anxiety. Such personal disclosure in a public domain is generally not considered appropriate in Thai culture. It was pulled into view here only because required by the textbook, a move which indicates the power of the textbook in ELT, and its possible cultural effects.

Fourthly, there is a key Thai cultural desire for social/group harmony, which is naturally reflected in Thai classroom discourse (Komin, 1990; *pace* Kubota, 2003). This harmony involves the avoidance both of 'standing out' from the group, and also of 'loss of face' which itself is a risk inherent in speaking publicly in L2.

These were my reflections on the incident, formed of course by my own experiences and perceptions both as a teacher and learner of language. As I thought again, however, I wondered about the different pace and ambience of Thai and Western classrooms, and recalled Canagarajah's salutary description of Western EFL methodology as 'student-driven, hyperactive, supervoluble' (1999: 191). There is a small literature relating to differences in wait-time amongst Anglo and Native American teachers and students (Leacock, 1976; White & Tharp, 1988), but to my knowledge, there are no published studies comparing Anglo and SE Asian classrooms in this respect. And so I was interested to explore whether the tension I felt during the wait was necessarily shared – at least to such a degree – by the Thai teacher and her students.

Part 2: feedback from Thai lecturer

The preceding analysis was provided to the lecturer in advance of my second visit and round of interviews in Thailand, and discussion of students' reticence in verbal response formed a large part of our second visit's interview.

First, Dr Patcharin distinguished between two groups of students of English at Thai universities: *English Major*, and *non-Major* (as had nearly every teacher in this study). She indicated that while the former group has elected to major in English and therefore may be regarded as of high motivation, the latter group

are obliged by the government to study English, and are generally perceived to have little positive regard for such study. The lesson observed was of the latter type, whose students Dr Patcharin characterised as having been *forced to learn* and *hard to motivate*.

Secondly, Dr Patcharin asserted that Thai students in general *prefer to be passive learners*, noting their fear of making mistakes which could result in being laughed at by their peers, and would lead to loss of face.

In her analysis of a third factor, Dr Patcharin offered comments which indicated that she wanted me as a Western observer to understand that different patterns of interactions and L2 use are likely to occur when Thais are taught by a Thai teacher and by an English native speaker. The following comments were highly 'spoken' and I have therefore glossed most pronoun references. The phrase *ajarn farang* means Western or Caucasian teachers.

If we [Thai students] are among Thai, we tend to know that I [Thai students] have to show respect to you [Thai lecturers], so I have to behave myself. But for *ajarn farang*, okay, they [Thai students] say that 'I don't have to behave myself', and therefore students tend to speak up more.

This dimension of students' speech will be taken up later in Chapter 9 dealing with student performance of L2.

Dr Patcharin made the significant comment that *It is more natural to speak a language to a native-speaker, but if we speak English amongst Thai, it is not natural*. In other words, Thai students' reticence to speak English in class was attributed to an artificiality in the Thai teacher-Thai student situation, and one which would no longer pertain if the teacher was an English speaker. In this respect, Dr Patcharin also referred back to her own experience as a learner of English, when she enjoyed studying with foreigners because *I would like to know whether my teacher will understand me or not*.

We also discussed the issue of comparative wait-time, a matter upon which Dr Patcharin could speak with some authority having had extensive experience of education in the USA as well as in Thailand. In her view, there were not typically differing wait-times in Thai and Western classrooms as I had suggested in my analysis. Rather, Dr Patcharin attributed variation in wait-time to individual teachers regardless of culture: *some [teachers] wait longer, some don't wait at all*, and noted that *older teachers try to slow down more and be more calm*.

It appears reasonable that variation amongst individual Thai teachers would be the case; and I would suggest that what differs in the two cultural contexts may be the *effect* of long wait times. It was clear in our discussion, for example, that Dr Patcharin did not share my own level of tension described in relation to Episode 1 above. On the contrary, I believe that she experienced such a lack of response on the students' part as unexceptional – usual, even – and ascribed it, as indicated above, to Thai students' *general* classroom pattern of interaction, to the relative lack of motivation on the part of this *particular* group of students, and to the 'unnaturalness' of a Thai teacher engaging Thai students through the medium of a foreign language.

Episode 2

Unit 11 On the other side of the world

Lesson A Culture shock

Text Moving abroad

This episode follows a written exercise in the textbook which had required students to put into order the four nominated moves of culture shock (Tourist Move; Emptiness; Recovery; Acceptance), with information backdropped by a coloured graph showing how related feelings of happiness expand/diminish. The teacher then asked students to report their answers in L2, and sought to elicit student explanation for answers given.

This episode has been selected in part to contrast with Episode 1 because here is a fairly rare occasion upon which students were willing/able to respond orally in L2.

We pick up the lesson in the last part of the report-back.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
The next one, the last move. What is the last move?			
		The acceptance move.	
Huh?			
		The acceptance move.	
The acceptance move. The acceptance move. OK, the acceptance move. OK. How will you feel in this move?			
		You don't want to go back home.	
You don't want to go back home! [loud] Why not! Uh?! Why! [laughs] Why don't you want to go back home? [laugh] Okay, say something! [laugh]. What...			
			<i>Inaudible</i> [in Thai]
Okay. [teacher summarises student's Thai contribution] Now you are familiar with the environment, with the people, right? You get to know the people, you know the way around, you know, you, you can do everything by yourself now. OK, you seem to enjoy living there, right?			

Text 7.24 Dr Patcharin

There are two points of note. The first is that some students were willing and able to respond to the teacher's L2 questions, and this response stands in distinction to the reticence discussed above in Episode 1. But what is different here? For although the teacher at interview had attributed students' silence in

the previous episode as resulting from cultural practices and learning context, both factors are identical for the current episode. It appeared to me that the *nature* and *presentation* of the task were crucially different. Now, the students had been given time and L2 scaffolds in order to prepare their answers. That is, by having first completed a written exercise, students had the opportunity to *catch* the L2 words, to *reflect* on their shape and meaning, and to *make sense* of the new language in terms of their existing knowledge. The preparation also enabled students to *plan* what they wished to say, and to mentally *rehearse* the performance of it. Although this episode may be noted as a significant contrast to Episode 1, it is also true to say that answers were volunteered cautiously, and by a small minority of students.

The second point concerns the interchange between teacher: *How will you feel at this [acceptance] move?* and a student's reply: *You don't want to go home.* This response was 'authentic' inasmuch as it did not mirror the written text under study (which was 'prompting' key adjectives such as 'lonely' and 'excited') and presumably therefore represented the student's projected feelings. The teacher's response is hard to capture in a written transcript. She sounded amazed, with her voice increasing in volume and in pitch range. It took six or seven fairly quickly repeated questions in order to elicit a reason from the student, who explained in Thai what the teacher then translated into English as the Acceptance Move being marked by familiarity with the new environment and its people. Why does this exchange stand out in my mind? Because it represented a moment in the lesson when a student offered a personal view to which the teacher responded 'authentically' with surprise and interest.

The teacher's talk in this lesson was usually *framed* as interactive, in that it was usually effected by the teacher posing questions to the student. However, in general, and as seen above, Dr Patcharin provided the answers herself. Only occasionally did students volunteer one-word responses. This meant that the kind of teacher questioning seen in the lesson, while superficially similar to the traditional IRF, was in fact significantly different. In the first place, both questions and answers were provided by the teacher. That is, the second step was usually absent – the 'eliciting' of student response for the central purposes

of checking/guiding student understanding and maintaining class control. Moreover, the third, 'Feedback' step here consisted of the teacher's translation into Thai, rather than of confirmation, disconfirmation or encouragement of student responses.

Ostensibly, then, the teacher's discourse is more like monologue than dialogue. However, there may be more happening here than meets the eye/ear.

First, while the teacher's talk may be monologic in that it is sustained by one person only, it is nevertheless shaped, as is all natural language, with an interpersonal goal, with 'an audience in mind'. This feature of language has been illustrated by Halliday in his notion of 'tenor' (Halliday, 1985b), and by Bakhtin's notion of 'addressivity' (1962/1986: 126). Although the teacher's questions are largely rhetorical in intent or effect, they do serve to provide a discourse which differs from, for example, a series of statements, in that students are now positioned as interlocutors who are 'primed' to respond even if not required to actualise their response. And this leads to another point concerning the teacher's apparent monologue: the students may well be answering the questions posed to them, but *mentally* rather than *verbally*, that is, via Inner rather than Outer Speech. There is no evidence provided for this suggestion in the present study, but for two supporting assertions. First, it is a fundamental feature of classroom discourse for students to be positioned as respondents to teacher questioning. Second, in the Thai context, as has been documented in Chapter 5, there is a deep and abiding respect for learning and teachers. In this light, Thai students' participation in the lesson may generally be assumed to exist internally without the 'proof' of a verbal response.

While I have not seen this phenomenon discussed in Thai research literature, it is interesting to note that S. Scollon has identified a similar process in Hong-Kong Chinese classrooms, noting that:

asking a rhetorical question and then answering it is common in Chinese classrooms as well as in Chinese textbooks. Students most often expect a teacher to answer her own questions ... (1999: 19).

Scollon goes on to suggest that the Western ideal of ‘Socratic Dialogue’ is far removed from Chinese cultural patterns, and is not likely to succeed in Chinese-speaking contexts. While the differences between CHC and Thai culture have been referred to earlier in this study, it has also been argued that in some respects, there is greater commonality between neighbouring E/SE Asian cultures such as Thailand and China than there is between those countries and Western ones, and this would appear to be the case here.

This associated theme of Teacher Questioning will be taken up again in Chapter 9, relating to student performance in L2.

Central theme: L1 and L2

The teacher's characteristic discourse pattern consisted of a variation on the **Bilingual Blend**, where Creating English Text (CET) and Scaffolded Interaction (SI) are greatly reduced, resulting in two moves predominating: Animating English Text (AET) and Explaining in Thai (ET).

In the following Text 7.25, all four lesson moves are represented, with, as indicated above, a predominance of the teacher's reading aloud of the English text (AET), and her translating or explaining in Thai (ET).

In this text the last sentence is of interest, for the last three English words ‘when you pay’ were not taken from the written text being studied, but added by the teacher in order to flesh out the meaning of her Thai explanation. This intersentential alternation again points to the apparent seamlessness of the discourse as constructed by the teacher in this context.

Teacher		Analysis
English	Thai	
‘You have the right to be on a flight.’		(1) AET
	คือเค้าต้องได้ไปเที่ยวบิน	(4) ET

	<u>This means that you must be able to be on the flight.</u>	
'You've booked.'		(1) AET
	ที่ได้อั้คเอาั้ไว้ <u>You've been able to book.</u>	(4) ET
'Always demand your satisfaction.'		(1) AET
	คืออะั้ไรคะ <u>What does this mean?</u>	(2) SI [But teacher did not await a response.]
	'Demand' แปลว่า ? <u>'Demand' means?</u>	(2) SI [But teacher did not await a response.]
	ตั้องการนะคะ ตั้องการ เราตองแ่สดงออกถึงความต้องการของเรา <u>Need, right; need. We must express our needs...</u>	(4) TE
... when you pay.		(3) CET

Text 7.25 Dr Patcharin

As indicated above, this sequence of AET, minimal CET and extensive ET was the predominant mode for the teacher of this class.

One other balancing of Thai and English found in the lesson, but uncommon in its extended nature, occurred in the teacher's introduction to the topic of Culture Shock. The protocol took two minutes and fifteen seconds, and made use of L1 and L2 in a three part sequence as represented in diagrammatic form below, with spacing of columns approximating to duration.

English only →	English & Thai →	Thai only
60 seconds	35 seconds	35 seconds

Table 7.7 Timing of language use, Dr Patcharin

In this case, because the teacher was no longer explicating the textbook but building up the field herself, the discourse was more extended and of quite a different flavour. The order of languages as indicated above also confirms the typical sequence of L2 → L1 as has been described by this and other teachers at interview. That is, students were first ‘pushed’ to follow a chunk of English; language and meaning were then scaffolded by providing a blend of L1 and L2; and finally, the teacher provided L1 input in order to check that every student had understood her message.

In the lesson as a whole, Teacher translation was generally of lexis, sometimes adding morphological information (Examples 1 and 2 below) or explaining idioms (Example 3).

Teacher		
Ex.	Thai	English
1	Resolve หมายความว่าอะไรคะ มาจากคำว่า solve Resolve อืม หมายความว่าอะไรคะ <u>Resolve: what does this word mean? It derives from solve. Resolve mean to get a result, right?</u>	

Ex	Thai	English
2		‘Complaint’. You add a ‘t’ after complain.
	เต็มตัว t ลงไปเป็น noun. It’s a noun หมายถึงอะไรคะ คำร้อง หรือการต่อว่า หรือคำร้องนะคะ <u>Add ‘t’ [to ‘complain’] then it becomes a noun. It’s a noun, which means what? A petition or a complaint or a petition, right?</u>	

3		Stand up for your rights. Okay. Stand up for your rights.
	<p>ทำไมคะ เอ้อ ยืนยันในสิทธิของเรานะ <u>Why? Yes. Stand up for our rights.</u></p> <p>ต่อสู้เพื่อสิทธิของเรา <u>Fight for our rights</u></p>	

Text 7.26 Dr Patcharin

In sum, the focus of my analysis of this lesson was upon the unusual, that is, upon episodes where the teacher moved from ‘monologue’ to dialogue in her soliciting of students’ verbal interaction. It should also be noted, however, that the predominant discourse observed was the AET-ET protocol described earlier, whereby the teacher animated English text and translated it into Thai. This protocol was judged by the teacher to be the most appropriate for students who were of low EL proficiency, and who had relatively low investment in the learning of a foreign language. The use of L1 afforded maximum scaffolding on the part of the teacher, who could ensure that meaning was understood by all students, rather than by only the more proficient; and L1 use was seen to be crucial in accessing a monolingual EFL textbook the language and culture of which were far removed from students’ knowledge and experience.

(6) Ajarn Rajavadee

Class	<i>Foundations English, Year 1</i>
No. of students	58
Faculty	Business
IELTS	Band 4.0 - 5.0
Text	<i>Passages 1</i> , by Richards and Sandy (1998) <i>Unit 11, On the other side of the world</i>
Associated theme	Teacher questioning

Background

This class is the second of the three Foundations classes observed. The class was composed of Business Major students, whose EL proficiency level was somewhat higher than that of students in the previous lesson discussed.

The teacher in question was a dynamic and expressive presence in the classroom, who spoke quickly in English, and rapidly in Thai.

Teacher questioning is a special focus in this class as it was in the preceding class, but for different reasons. There, its exceptionality was the point of interest; here, questioning formed the predominant protocol, and because of its extensive use, offered a window onto the tenor relations constructed between teacher and students.

Further discussion of the textbook used in this class will be pursued later in Chapter 10.

Associated theme: Teacher questioning

The teacher worked through a list of questions provided in the textbook (reproduced below), checking form and meaning, and relating to the Thai context as well as to her own experience of the USA.

Read this list of customs in Canada and the US.

Are they the same or different in your country?

1. People are usually punctual for appointments. In fact, most people arrive slightly early.
2. Business meetings are friendly, but even so, there isn't much socializing beforehand.
3. Lunch is usually a fairly light meal that doesn't last long.
4. Both men and women shake hands when introduced.
5. It's common to ask people you meet what kind of work they do.
6. Many people eat dinner early in the evening, around 6:00 P.M.
7. People generally talk quite a bit while they're eating dinner.
8. It's not uncommon for couples to display affection in public.
9. When invited to someone's home, you're not necessarily expected to bring a gift. Even so, something small, such as flowers or dessert, is always appreciated.
10. Most people open gifts as soon as they receive them.

Richards & Sandy (1998: 96)

The teacher's opening presentation is set out below. Pause length is represented by numbers of seconds in brackets. It should be noted that when student responses are indicated, such responses were in fact made by only a few students in the class.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
If you look at the word punctual, you know what it means? Punctual [2]. Punctual [4]. So some of you are punctual and some of you are not punctual today. So what's it mean, if we talk about time? [4]. So if, if, let's say, if you have an appointment			
		On time	
Yes, on time. If you have an appointment with your friend, at 3 o'clock, for example, and if you, if you are punctual, what time will you meet your friend? [3] At what time will you go and meet your friend? [2] At what time, if you are punctual [2] at what time? Do you understand? You understand what I say?			
	เข้าใจมั้คะ <u>Do you understand?</u>		
Yes? No?			
		Yes	
Yes? Okay. So at what time if you are punctual? At what time will you meet your friend? [4] Four o'clock? [3] Is that punctual? [3] Four o'clock or three o'clock? [2] Or even a little bit earlier. Which one? Four o'clock or a little bit earlier than three o'clock? Which one?			
		A little bit earlier	
Okay, a little bit earlier than three o'clock. So that means you're punctual.			
	คืออะไรคะ <u>What is that?</u>		
What is that in Thai? Come on, speak. (L). What is it in Thai?			

		กำหนด- การ <u>schedule</u>
No,	ไม่ใช่หมาย- กำหนดการ <u>Not schedule</u>	
	คืออะไรคะ ถ้าเราพูดถึง เรื่องเวลา <u>What is it if we are talking about time?</u>	
		ตรงต่อ- เวลา <u>Punctual</u>
	ตรงต่อเวลาใช้ มั๊ยอะ <u>Ah, punctual, isn't it.</u>	
It means that if you are punctual, you come on time.		

Text 7.27 Ajarn Rajavadee

A significant feature of this lesson, which is shown in an intense form in the transcribed episode above, was the level and type of teacher questioning, together with the reticence of students to respond. The following diagram simplifies the moves of teacher and students in order to bring out the shape of the interaction. A question mark [?] represents a teacher question; a tick [✓] represents a correct student response, and a cross [×], an incorrect student response.

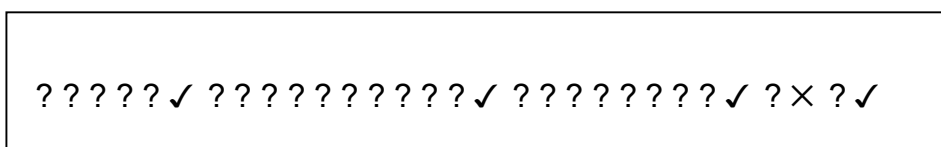


Fig 7.2 Questions, responses and non-responses, Ajarn Rajavadee

That is, of 25 questions posed by the teacher, 4 were answered correctly, 1 incorrectly, and 20 received no response. In my second interview, I asked the teacher to comment on this episode. Ajarn Rajavadee gave two reasons for her extensive questioning. First, she wanted students *to be alert... just apply themselves to the class*. She believed that it was important to stimulate some participation on the part of students: *if they sit and be quiet, the atmosphere's getting pretty boring*. Second, she believed that weaker students might not have understood the initial questions, and she wished to ensure comprehension of all students. I asked Ajarn Rajavadee whether she would pose questions in this manner if speaking in Thai. She indicated that she would not do so, noting that: *If I say directly in Thai, can get some response. But I can't, [do so here] because this is an English class*. She also acknowledged that: *It's probably easier for me to ask questions to the students [in Thai] and probably easier for them to answer my questions in Thai*.

I put it to Ajarn Rajavadee that in my teaching experience, the cumulative effect of an episode like this would probably create tension on the part of teacher and students, but that I had not observed this in her lesson. She responded:

I think I understand [what you mean]. In Western culture, probably if students don't want to share ideas, it means they don't like you; they don't like the way you teach; they get bored with the class.... But here, it doesn't mean that.

The dialogue continued as follows:

Ross: How were they [students] feeling?

Aj Rajavadee: That it doesn't matter

[Students are imagined to be thinking:]

'You say', 'No, you say', 'If you don't say, I won't say'.

Ross: How did you feel?

Aj Rajavadee: I know them so I don't feel upset ... but I feel a bit annoyed.

We also discussed Thai students' general reticence to respond to teacher questioning in L2, and Ajarn Rajavadee commented:

Maybe they feel that they will say something wrong ... they don't have confidence to answer, even if they know the answer ... they don't want to say it ... Probably this is the nature of Thai students.

She also noted that *If you try another way, just call their name one by one, they can answer*. When I asked why she had not pursued this strategy, Ajarn Rajavadee said that failure to respond in that situation *makes them feel more embarrassed and could discourage them from remaining a language student*. Ajarn Rajavadee noted, however, that she does use this technique, sparingly, when managing students who are not paying attention, in which case embarrassment is the intended outcome.

Again, this associated theme of Teacher Questioning will be pursued in Chapter 9, dealing with performance.

Central theme: L1 and L2

The teacher had decided to engage solely in English at the start of this lesson. This relates to an expectation that maximum exposure to the TL will benefit students' learning, as well as aiming to meet the guidelines of the English Department that for students of this level, communication may reasonably be achieved in L2 for the majority of lesson time. And indeed, in the episode extracted, it may be seen that the word, *punctual*, for example, while not of high frequency, does appear to be of a meaning retrievable from the context provided by the sentence in which it appears, and/or from the additional contexts created by the teacher in her subsequent discourse.

When in that episode a student quickly and correctly responded with *on time* to the teacher's early request for the meaning of *punctual*, I was initially surprised that the teacher continued to develop input around the item. I speculated then that she may have done so because she did not believe that the student who responded typified the level of understanding on the part of the class as a

whole. In my second interview, the teacher confirmed that this was indeed the case:

I know that when one student says *on time*, the other students probably don't know what *on time* means, right?... it's an idiom.

It was salutary to be reminded that the phrase is idiomatic and thus potentially complicated for a second language learner. And indeed, the teacher's decision to proceed with her explanation had been well-founded, for when she solicited the meaning of *punctual* in Thai, students' incorrect understanding then became apparent. The value of the bilingual support here – only a few words, which represented less than 1% of the interaction – was striking.

At interview, Ajarn Rajavadee said that she tries to use English first in her lessons, and *if I see that a lot of students don't understand the lesson, then I have to change into Thai*. She checks on students' understanding by attending to *the look on their face* or by asking them questions which demonstrate comprehension; for *if you keep going on, you just lose them, right?*

If we compare this class with the previous class discussed, that of Dr Patcharin, it is clear that although part of the same subject and following the same textbook, the EL proficiency of the present class is somewhat higher than the first. As EL proficiency level was reported time and again by teachers as the principal determiner in judging the balance of L1 and L2 use, it is no surprise, therefore, that whereas the former lesson had drawn fairly equally upon English and Thai, the current lesson was English Dominant. Even within this English dominance, however, and perhaps particularly because of it, the brief use of Thai was seen to be powerful in impact.

In terms of student reticence, which was apparent in both classes, neither teacher saw this as any kind of resistance to the teacher's authority or to the content or direction of the lesson. Instead, they attributed it to the educational culture of Thai students. In this light, it is interesting to consider these teachers'

own positions, as well as the way they perceived my possible responses to what was observed.

Both teachers had undertaken graduate study in the USA and were expert L2 speakers with broad experience of the target culture. In this sense, they were bi-cultural as well as bilingual. Accordingly, each teacher's expectations of Thai students' classroom behaviour would probably be influenced by their international experiences. It was also interesting to observe that when both these teachers were communicating with me about their teaching, they presented their views tempered by what I was perceived as being likely to understand given my own teaching background. That is, in each case, the teacher was able to project what they (correctly) thought might be my perception of Thai classroom discourses observed. And so, Dr Patcharin correctly anticipated that when I had been an 'ajarn farang' (Western teacher) in Thailand, I would have had fewer of the problems of student reticence which I had observed in Dr Patcharin's class: *for ajarn farang, okay, they [Thai students] say that 'I don't have to behave myself', and therefore students tend to speak up more.* Similarly, Ajarn Rajavadee noted that *In Western culture, probably if students don't want to share ideas it means they don't like you; they don't like the way you teach; they get bored with the class.... But here, it doesn't mean that.* It was valuable to be reminded of these cultural differences from a Thai perspective; and also to consider their implications for the import of Western methodology and curriculum into the Thai EFL teaching context.

(7)

Dr Bua

Class	Foundations English, Year 1
No of students	25
Faculty	Humanities: English Major
ELTS levels	Band 6.0
Text	<i>Passages Two</i> , by Richards and Sandy (2000) <i>Unit 12 Getting down to business</i>
Associated theme	Language and culture

Background

In this third Foundations English class we move to the second book of the *Passages* series, *Passages 2*. There is a marked difference seen in this class because for the first time in the study we meet English Major students, whose EL proficiency and motivation are generally considerably higher than those of non-Major students, having elected to undertake the study of English to the maximum depth offered by their degree program. The students in this particular class were from within the Humanities faculty (rather than from, say, Business or Education) and were regarded as the top stream for English. I estimate the IELTS level of students to be around Band 6.0, which is the level at which a number of Western universities admit foreign students to English medium degrees (albeit contentiously so).

The atmosphere of this class was positive; the teacher was dynamic and friendly. I observed a solidarity between teacher and students, and an enthusiasm for learning.

Associated theme: Language and culture

The episode to be analysed formed a part of the pre-teaching or warm-up segment. It occupied approximately fifteen minutes, in which appears the passage transcribed below.

The teacher provided pictures of five people in turn and asked students to describe them. The language medium was English. The pictures were of Ms Machaa, a Thai pop singer; Mr Jesetaporn, a Thai actor; Mr Taksin, the Thai Prime Minister; George W Bush; and Osama Bin Laden.

A transcript relating to the three latter figures is set out below.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
[picture of Mr Taksin] Okay, who is he?			
		Prime Minister	
Okay, he is our Prime Minister, right, ok. And I believe that everybody knows him. Okay, class, if I would like to ask you uh some words that you want to use to describe him....			
		Rich [L]	
Rich, rich right? Very very rich, right. I thought I hear he, he is ranking, he was ranked, like number one richest in the, in Thailand, right? Ok, students, what else? What can you describe him?			
		The richest	
		Smart	
Smart? Okay you mean intelligent? Right, okay, what else? ([L])			
		Big face [L]	
[picture of GW Bush]		George W Bush	
Oh right, he is the President of America. Class okay... [teacher briefly recounted incident of Bush having recently choked on a pretzel - 10 seconds] Okay class, can you think of any words that you know you want to use to describe him? What is that? Can you – can you think of any?			

		Absolutely	
Pardon?			
		Absolutely	
Absolutely, um. Can I ask what do you mean by 'absolutely'? [L] What is that? Uh – you mean extreme? Is that, is that what you mean? No, what is 'absolutely' here?		[L]	
		[inaudible]	
Uh – huh, yes, just try – if you – you can speak Thai also if you want. Pardon?			
			เด็ดขาด Decisive [L]
Is that? She want to say <i>detkart</i> . What is that? Very what? Very <i>detkart</i> [L]. You know that right okay uhuh – what is that? Niravone, can you get, get get the word? Not yet, right, coming soon, okay, uhuh. And he's <i>detkart</i> , one thing, and what else? [R] [R] Uhuh, okay probably ah you you don't, are, were, ah you cannot think of any words right now....		[L] [L]	
[picture of Osama bin Laden] But what about this guy? What about him, what about him?			
		Evil	
What is that, what is that?			
		Evil	
Evil, right you think – oh wow! Okay what else? Can you think of? Ah what is his name?			
		Osama bin Laden	
Osama bin Laden okay and he is name like number one terrorist right now, right, okay. The most wanted, right, okay. So do you think he is a devil [sic], and what else? I don't, ah... Do you think, ah, these two alike, are alike [GWB and OBL]? Have something in common?			
		Yes	
Yes, well what is that? [L]			
		They love	

		their countries.	
Yes, they love their countries. And some other traits, some other characteristics ... mm probably they are very much different right.			

Text 7.28 Dr Bua

Of significance was the teacher's selection of a range of public figures in her introductory segment, namely three Thais, one American and one Saudi. In this way, Dr Bua drew upon both local and global culture. Her selection of familiar figures enabled a range of meaning-oriented responses, one of which bears note.

The teacher had chosen to juxtapose photos of George Bush and Osama Bin Laden. While the Thai media is generally pro-Western and pro-American, there is also, as in many parts of the world, uneasiness at the extent and use of American power. The teacher's question regarding what the two figures have in common was not one, I reflected later, which would have occurred to me as an Australian ESL teacher. I wondered what commonalities an American Christian leader and a Arab Muslim leader might be perceived to have by a Thai Buddhist. The answer given by a student to the teacher's question – itself, to me, equally surprising – was that 'They both love their country'.

This episode demonstrates a degree of cultural awareness and capacity for public disclosure amongst Thai students which counter common claims of 'Asian' learners' passivity and lack of critical thought. It also displays a sense of community between students and their teacher. I doubt whether such cultural exchanges would have been similarly constructed between Thai students and a foreign teacher, given the constructs of 'Thai-ness', foreign-ness, and preservation of face. Still less would this sharing of critical perception be possible if the students and their foreign teacher were additionally operating in an overseas location, for example, an Anglo-Australian teacher with Thai students in Sydney; and yet, it is precisely this latter context upon which most

Western writers base their perception of 'Asian' learners and ways of thinking/learning.

This associated theme of interculturality will be taken up again in Chapter 10 which deals with curriculum and textbooks.

Central theme: use of L1 and L2

The use of English as the main medium of instruction for this class appeared to be appropriate both to students' proficiency level and to the requirements of the task. The teacher drew upon familiar content as a basis for less familiar language in order to support students' learning, and her L2 use formed an exemplum of 'message abundance'.

The use of the term เด็ดขาด *detkart* was notable within this lesson. When, as indicated above, one student offered the adverb 'absolutely' rather than the adjective required by the context, the teacher first suggested an alternative in English: 'extreme'. Perceiving that this was either not understood by the student, or did not accord with the student's intended meaning, the teacher directed students to discuss their intended meaning, using Thai if they wished. The offering then by students of the Thai word เด็ดขาด *detkart* (meaning decisive, firm, strong-willed, absolute, dictatorial) was accepted by the teacher as a description of GW Bush.

Teacher input in the lesson as a whole was approximately 90% in English and 10% Thai. I was struck by the breadth and depth of CET in this lesson, where the teacher 'talked around' key English vocabulary and concepts through definition, paraphrase, exemplification, and leading questions to students. Additional use of English in the lesson as a whole was to give instructions, to elicit oral responses from students, and to offer encouragement. Although the teacher pushed students as far as possible to engage in the L2, Thai was used as shown above to check meanings of difficult words and to accept/expand upon students' responses, as well as to duplicate instructions already given in English,

At our first interview, Dr Bua explained that her approach to using L1 and L2 in the classroom aimed to give students maximum exposure to the target language and at the same time to ensure that every student could follow the lesson. She described her approach to teaching new language items as follows:

- give English input first; some students will understand, others only partly
- tell students a definition given in an English-English dictionary
- create personal or local exemplification
- switch to Thai in order to check/confirm understanding.

Dr Bua noted that once she perceived that students were having problems in comprehending, she would not proceed: *I don't see the point in going on and not making sense*. She would then move into Thai so that *everyone has the same understanding*. Dr Bua referred to her own experience as a learner of English. When her teachers used English only, she had benefited from it, but friends who were weaker *learned nothing and wasted time*. Dr Bua also noted the use of Thai for supporting a good relationship with students, *for example, through jokes*. When students worked in groups, Dr Bua would prefer them to use English, but she accepts that they do not feel competent to do so. In this case, she feels that the value of group work lies in students being able to assist each other in their learning, and here Dr Bua echoes the views of her colleagues as recorded earlier. (It may also be recalled that collaboration and social harmony were identified as key Thai cultural traits by Komin, 1990; Tajaroensuk & O'Sullivan, 1997; and Bovonsiri et al, 1996.)

By the time of our second interview, Dr Bua had assumed the headship of the English Department, and was able to give an overview of continuing staff discussions on the issue of how best to balance L1 and L2 in the classroom. She identified what she called an *external factor in code-switching*, reporting that a major constraint for staff was how to achieve an aim of maximum L2 exposure and yet manage to complete the common syllabus on time. In her own case, colleagues had said: *Because you use so much English in your class right now, you cannot catch up with your lessons* (that is, cover the set curriculum in time). Dr Bua acknowledged that this was a dilemma she was

unable to resolve, as she strongly believed in using as much English as possible in her classes.

This third class as observed here was seen to differ markedly from the two *Foundations* classes which preceded it in this study, and such difference is attributed principally to students' EL proficiency level, although of course other factors such as teaching approach and text played their parts.

Given students' high proficiency, their enthusiasm for learning, and willingness to use English in the SI components of the lesson, I was surprised that their group work activity was, as with lower level classes, conducted exclusively in Thai (again, with an English written text as its product). The teacher did allow students in this class a choice of language for their group work, and Thai was universally selected. Why? Given the persevering attention demonstrated by students in this class, the Thai option does not appear to have been selected 'because it's easier'. Had the teacher directed students to operate within English rather than Thai for their group task, they would certainly have done so, but with different outcomes. In such a process there might be *gains* (comprehensible 'output' on the part of students, through which their L2 would be 'stretched') and *losses* (depth of cognitive engagement and metalinguistic discussion afforded). It appears that the goal of the activity, then, was to embed understandings of the new English terms which had been presented in the written text into students' existing knowledge as based in their first language and culture – a rather different goal from that of CLT in most English-speaking contexts.

Part 3 Teachers 8 and 9: Years 2 and 3

In this last part of Chapter 7, I look at two teachers and three classes, all of the latter which are composed of English Major students. The last class discussed in the previous section, that of Dr Bua, may be regarded as linking Parts 2 and 3, as Dr Bua's class was both part of the common *Foundations* subject, and also composed of English Major students.

This section is structured as follows:

Teacher	Faculty	Year	IELTS
Ajarn Somchay	Humanities	2	6
Ajarn Nanda	Education	3	5
	Humanities	3	6

Table 7.8 Classes and teachers, Part 3 of Chapter 7

All classes in this section are **English-Dominant**, and focussed on reading in L2, with the Year 2 subject entitled *Analytical Reading*, and the Year 3 subject, *Critical Reading*.

As indicated earlier, students in these classes had chosen, and been permitted to undertake English as their major course of study, and consequently were of high EL proficiency and were regarded as highly motivated.

(8) Ajarn Somchay

Class	Analytical Reading, Year 2
No of students	14
Faculty	Humanities: English Major
IELTS levels	Band 6.0
Text	<i>Reading Comprehension Workshop (1995) Unit eight: <i>Becoming an active reader</i></i>
Associated theme	Lesson protocol

Background

The teacher was a senior ajarn who was calm and attentive to students' responses.

This is the second of two lessons where audio tapes proved to be inaudible; reporting is thus based upon the researcher's field notes and teacher interviews.

'Explanation of written text' was the focus of teaching. Following the oral part of the lesson which is the basis of this analysis, students completed written tasks from the textbook which consisted of multiple choice exercises and some guided writing.

Associated theme: lesson protocol

It is of interest to examine in some detail the protocol of this high EL proficiency class as a review and contrast to the protocol analysis of the low EL proficiency class of the first teacher in this study, Ajarn Laksana. Each move of the protocol generally followed in this lesson will now be described.

Move 1: Animating English text (AET)

The teacher himself would read aloud the written passage as described in previous classes. However, he also required of the students to chorus-read the written text unrehearsed, and without the guidance of the teacher's voice, which was a strategy I had not previously observed in this form.

In this technique of reading aloud English written text, it was notable that students were able to chorus their speaking even when going beyond a single sentence, although one might well have predicted otherwise. That is, students were able to broadly synchronise the production of prosodic features such as intonation contours, the demarcation of tone-groups by pausing, and the isochronous tendency of the English foot (which contrasts with the syllable-timed prosody of the Thai language). Moreover, the paralinguistic feature of pace was also successfully synchronised. I have seen and used myself a similar technique when teaching English, but with the vital distinction of having the teacher's voice as lead. I asked Ajarn Somchay at interview why he thought the students were successful in performing in this way. He responded: *It's with the culture. Thai students are trained in that way. We do things uniformly... right from when they were kids.* I was able to investigate this phenomenon further when I met it in Ajarn Nanda's class, the last to be analysed in this chapter.

Move 2: Creating English text (CET)

In this move of the protocol, the teacher was able to draw attention to two dimensions of the written text: meaning and pronunciation, and at the same time provide further 'exposure' to the target language. Ajarn Somchay focused on meaning by paraphrasing, giving synonyms and creating examples; he attended to pronunciation by correction and modelling.

Move 3: Scaffolded Interaction (SI)

In this lesson, the SI move was predominant, and usually ran as follows:

- a. *Prompt* by teacher in English or in Thai
- b. *Response* by students in Thai or in English
- c. *Feedback* by teacher in English.

However, because of its bilingual nature, this component actually provided quite different learning experiences from those available in the traditional IRF protocol. Each step of Move 3 is examined below.

Step (a): Teacher prompts

This was similar to the traditional *Initiate* of IRF, but differed in that here the aim was almost entirely to achieve a translation. The *prompt* could happen in English: e.g. *What does that mean in Thai?* Or in Thai, e.g. เป็นอะไรครับ What does that mean? For example, when dealing with new vocabulary in the text, the teacher would pronounce the word and then ask for a translation:

Teacher	
English	Thai
'injustice'	
	แปลว่าอะไรครับ <u>What does it mean?</u>

Text 7.29: Ajarn Somchay

Step (b): Students respond

This step would most often happen in Thai, where students would provide a translation of the English, but could also happen in English, where students would supply an English synonym.

Step (c): Teacher feeds back

This was usually a brief step of confirmation of meaning in L2 rather than in L1. A dimension of explicitly evaluating student performance did not occur here, and indeed only appeared minimally elsewhere in the study. That is, overall, verbal praise, encouragement, 'reward' was not a significant feature of the Thai educational context as observed.

Move 4: Explaining in Thai (ET)

Occasionally in this lesson, the teacher would provide his own translation into Thai instead of asking students, presumably when he judged that the word was either outside their knowledge, or not worthy of attention. In the following example, there is an interesting occurrence of the teacher's Thai translation being then followed by an English synonym:

Teacher	
English	Thai
'hint'	
	แนะนำ <u>hint</u>
suggestion	

Text 3.30: Ajarn Somchay

Above we also see a three-step form of the interlinguistic intertextuality described earlier in this study.

Looking at the occurrence of each language in this protocol may be assisted by the following table.

	Thai	English
1		T. animates text
2		T. creates text
3a	T. initiates	
3b	Ss. respond	
3c		T. feeds back
4	T. explains	

Table 7.9 Use of Thai and English, Ajarn Somchay

Now, in order to explore how students would experience this protocol, I build upon table 7.9 above by analysing the associated learning demands. In the following table 7.10, the abbreviation *rec* stands for Receptive language (shaded columns), and *pro* for Productive language (unshaded columns).

Lesson moves		Thai	English	Student activity	Thai		Eng	
					rec	pro	rec	pro
AET	1		T. performs	attend to correspondence between written and spoken modes of L2			✓	
CET	2		T. creates	understand spoken L2 text which is novel but associated thematically			✓	
SI	3a	T. prompts		understand T's question; prepare to translate from one language to another	✓		✓	
	3b	Ss. respond		translate and respond in Thai <i>or</i> provide English synonym		✓		✓
	3c		T. feeds back	understand T's L2 feedback			✓	
ET	4	T. explains		receive confirmation/extension of meaning in L1	✓			

Table 7.10 Analysis of student learning according to teacher protocol, Ajarn Somchay

It may be seen that this protocol is closely related to the written English text under study, and that the lesson is focussed on developing students' receptive rather than productive skills in L2. There is scope for students to respond in English in Move 3b, but this only happened when a simple English synonym was available; in the majority of cases, Thai translation was preferred by both students and teacher in the constructing of meaning.

Central theme: L1 and L2

In the lesson protocol described above, it may be seen that the process of translation features strongly, and is particularly required of the students in the SI moves of the lesson. Translation can be a challenging intellectual process, demanding as it does an understanding of one language, and the capacity to recreate meaning in another language. That is, translation requires the comparison – conscious or unconscious – of two semiotic systems, as well as the construction of semantic and formal associations between them, and in this sense translation has itself been described as a form of metaphor (Halliday, 2003: 415). And so, if we consider the protocol in terms of the depth of processing which it affords (Craik & Tulving, 1975; Asthana & Nagrini, 1984), then the bilingual dimension of students' understandings as described above is far removed from the fairly limited and predictable L2 display-type responses of the standard monolingual IRF.

The use of both languages in this way also develops the tenor of teacher-student relations. In the Thai EFL context, where teacher and students share a first language/culture, and their common goal is the study of the English language, the teacher can draw upon L1 and L2 to shift to and from a role of fellow-Thai and that of a navigator of a culturally distant L2. The Thai connection provides an affective bond in this process. As Ajarn Somchay put it: *I think the students feel closer to me in Thai...when they communicate in Thai.*

Ajarn Somchay and I discussed at interview the notion of maximum exposure to L2 in ELT, and I asked Ajarn Somchay where he thought the notion had come from. He responded: *from teachers and the authorities*. I queried the term 'authorities': it meant *people who write books about language teaching and learning in the United States and Europe*. But Ajarn Somchay believes that L1 and L2 use should depend on the situation, and that while L2 exposure is apparently a simple principle to be followed, if students are not confident, they may lose understanding because of it. He recommends that students should *use what is with them, slowly strengthening [the] target language*. And so, the teacher should use Thai for the following reasons:

- to put students at their ease
- to teach difficult or abstract words
- to explain grammar through contrastive analysis, eg, use of modifiers in Thai and English.

Ajarn Somchay believes that if only L2 is used, *students will become nervous and frustrated ... will not be confident ... [and] may hate English*. He noted that *whenever we come to difficult vocabulary, I find it's a waste of time to describe and explain it in English*.

With regard to written work, Ajarn Somchay believes that students *usually try to make logical sense in their L1*, and then *convert into English in their minds*. Even when writing at university, he believes that they will either draft in Thai and then translate into English, or draft directly in English, but in both cases, Ajarn Somchay asserts, Thai is the medium through which students construct ideas and express them in written form:

In order to organise thought, students have to think about something in Thai first, and [then] think of the parts of speech.

As Ajarn Somchay put it to me: *If you study L2 in Australia, do you think in L1?* To which I, of course, responded yes.

(9)

Ajarn Nanda

<u>Class (1)</u>	<i>Critical Reading, Year 3</i>
No of students	16
Faculty	Education: English Major
IELTS levels	Band 5.0
Text	Selected reading passages
<u>Class (2)</u>	<i>Critical Reading, Year 3</i>
No of students	41
Faculty	Humanities: English Major
IELTS levels	Band 6.0
Text	Selected reading passages
Associated theme	Contingency of teaching

Background

I was able to observe the same lesson taught to two English-Major classes of differing ability within the same day. Class 1, held in the morning, consisted of 16 students from the Education faculty; Class 2, held in the afternoon, comprised 41 students from the Faculty of Humanities. There was a significant difference in the EL proficiency of students, with Class 1 being around a Band 5.0 on the IELTS scale, and Class 2 being around Band 6.0.

This teacher was a senior ajarn, whose lessons were conducted with authority and firmness. My visual memory of this lesson is distinct, for the teacher brought an expressive 'performance' to the texts under study: here, 'animation' of English text was at its richest.

The subject was Critical Reading. The texts for these lessons were taken from a number of published readings which had been collated into a 'textbook' for this subject. The lesson observed was based on Chapter 5: *An author's attitude and tone*. The texts were in a variety of styles and genres, including both fiction and

factual writing. Eight short passages were revised or introduced in each lesson as follows:

1. Meteorology
2. Animal Characteristics
3. Father in Hospital
4. The Garbage Collector
5. Fire Destroys the Old Depot
6. To an Old Friend
7. The Evil Child
8. The Idiot's Seat

Students had been required to pre-read the texts for homework. The lesson consisted of the teacher working through each text, with standard protocol as set out below.

Associated theme: contingency of teaching

Seeing the same lesson taught to two classes of different kinds within the same day offered a rare opportunity to compare how elements such as participation and L1/L2 alternation might operate, given the need for the teacher to cover the same prescribed curriculum with both groups. In fact, there turned out to be some significant differences between the two classes observed, not the least which was the use of Thai in Class 1 for around 20% of the lesson; and in class 2, for around 5%, but the latter nearly all in a chunk towards the end of the lesson.

It appeared to me that students in both classes had prepared the reading material well, but whereas the atmosphere and participation in the lower level Class 1 (morning) was fresh and positive, in the higher level Class 2 (afternoon), there was a different ambience. By the middle of the lesson, students appeared to be restless. There was noise associated with shuffling of papers and desks, some chatting, and some students at the back of the class were reading other texts. I observed that the teacher dealt with the situation in two ways. First, she responded very little in direct terms, apart from once when she asked *Why is this class talking?* Second, although the students in this group were of an EL proficiency higher than that of the morning group, in the latter part of the lesson, the teacher used more and more Thai. This I interpreted as a means of more effective management of students, and a more

likely way of engaging students' attention; and at the second round of interview, the teacher confirmed that this was the case.

What caused the differences between the two classes?

Both classes were English-Major students. As indicated earlier, the EL proficiency of Class 1 was in my estimation around 5.0 on the IELTS scale, and that of Class 2 around 6.0. Clearly, the obligation to follow the same curriculum for classes of different proficiency levels is problematic. In fact, it seemed to me that while Class 1 struggled somewhat, the challenge was within their grasp; for Class 2, on the other hand, I felt that the material was insufficiently challenging. Difference in students' EL proficiency, therefore, can be reasonably regarded as having influenced the progress of lessons.

It is also significant that Class 1 was composed of twelve students, whereas Class 2 comprised approximately forty students, which required the teacher to use a microphone. Moreover, Class 1 was held from 10 am to 12pm, whereas Class 2 was held later in the same day from 3pm to 5pm, that is, in the heat of the afternoon (with classroom fans seeming to provide more noise than coolness).

It was striking to see how the balance of languages used did vary from class to class, and indicates again how such balance is contingent upon a range of factors, which include student language proficiency, the texts under study, classroom management, and not least, responsiveness to student attention and the ways in which this may vary according to physical conditions such as level of temperature and time of day.

On my second visit, I was able to share these perceptions with the teacher, who generally agreed with my analysis, and added depth to it with several additional points as follow. First, she noted that the second class was held *in the heat of the day...it's stifling*, and that students were *exhausted*, with their studies having started at eight o'clock that morning. Second, she confirmed that it was essential for the teacher to cover the same curriculum with each class in order

not to disadvantage any student in the exam process. Third, Ajarn Nanda commented on my perception that the texts may have been insufficiently challenging for the higher level group. She pointed out that she had avoided choosing texts with complex language because she wanted each reading to be simple enough to be accessible to critical analysis. Giving attention to a dense or difficult text, on the other hand, would have reduced the time available for critique. In other words, the teacher felt that the selection of texts was in fact appropriate.

Central theme: use of L1 and L2

The teaching observed in both these classes represents the second of the two English-dominant protocols, differing in that the SI move is largely absent.

Move 1	Teacher	AET: animates English text
Move 2	Teacher	CET: creates English text
Move 4	Teacher	ET: explains in Thai

This protocol is similar to that seen in Dr Patcharin's class in being for the most part monologist, except that here the monologue is predominantly monolingual rather than bilingual. When the teacher did pose a display question to the students, or elicited their contributions, students responded appropriately (as briefly illustrated above), but such contributions would not have exceeded 5% of each lesson.

AET

As has been previously discussed, the *animation* move in EFL provides a unique opportunity for students to hear how the written language sounds. Of particular note here was the teacher's dramatic performance, the affective dimension of which may have served to engage students' attention, and assist their memory (see Stevick, 1976). By dramatic, I mean that the teacher's speech drew upon a variety and boundary of pitch range greater than those found in usual classroom discourse; and that in this case, the enhanced affect produced by marked intonation and rhythm was supported by greater than usual animation of both face and hands. In her English speech, the teacher

frequently used *Tone 2: High Rising + Pause* (Halliday, 1970) as a cue that students' response was sought, although in fact the teacher herself normally supplied the response. This is a phonological device not uncommonly found in Australian classrooms, used as part of IRF when only a predictable short answer can fill the Response slot. Its function may be glossed as 'I know that you know the answer to this...'. The teacher's speech was also characterised by extensive use of *Tone 5: Rising/Falling*, this tone signalling strong interpersonal investment as well as a desire for engagement with the interlocutor. As always, phonology overrides lexicogrammar in terms of interpersonal impact. And here, although the teacher's speech was *monologist* in lexicogrammar, its phonology was *dialogic*, as realised by the preponderance of Tones 2 and 5, as well as by the intensified pitch range and dynamics of the teacher's intonation, and her accompanying paralanguage.

There was also present in the AET move students' unrehearsed Chorus Reading, as described in the previous class of Ajarn Somchay. Again, students managed to keep pace and time with one another in their L2 reading. I asked Ajarn Nanda about the purpose of the activity: she responded that it was not often used, but had two purposes: so that students would hear *the beauty of the words, the tone, the rhythm and the melody*, and also *to refresh them, to wake them up, [provide] some kind of activity*. Ajarn Nanda also thought that weaker students were not being led by the stronger, at least not in the case of the English major students, as the texts were prepared for homework, and thus any unfamiliar vocabulary would have been rehearsed. I would suggest that if in fact such leading did happen, it could have been at a subtle level, and might well have been a positive process for weaker students.

CET

Also of note in these two classes, and as illustrated above, was the extension of the CET move, the development of which appears to have been directly related to these students being of the highest EL proficiency encountered in this study. In her CET, the teacher added depth and breadth of meaning to the target language by localising and critiquing; that is, by connecting the new language with students' local experiences and with their cultural experiences as Thais,

and by analysing the 'issues' and 'tone' of the text. For example, in the passage dealing with Meteorology, the teacher localised experience by relating the US naming of cyclones to Thai practice; and she analysed the author's position towards the issue (in this case, the author was seen to be critical of 'jargon', and his tone 'humorous').

ET

While CET was predominant in these classes, ET was also sparingly used in a supplementary fashion. For example, again in the Meteorology text, when the teacher came to the word 'depression', Ajarn Nanda first made use of CET in her account of three different meanings of 'depression' in the domains of economics, psychology and meteorology. She followed this with an explanation of the English polysemy conducted in Thai (ET).

Because these were third year English major classes, the teacher felt it appropriate to conduct nearly all the lesson in the target language. If we consider the lesson overall in terms of the connection between texts selected, students' current proficiency in L2, and the teacher's understanding of the relation between the two, it would appear this view was appropriate, and afforded maximum opportunity for students to access L2. By the same token, the relatively little use of L1 did appear to serve a disproportionately powerful role in enabling comprehension and clarification moves to be made.

At interview, Ajarn Nanda summed up why she considered L1 to be important and useful as follows. First, L1 enables the explanation of *technical concepts*, for example, 'hurricane' and 'typhoon' in the Meteorological reading undertaken in this lesson. Additionally, the Thai language enables the teacher to explain idioms such as 'Indian Summer', and phenomena which do not exist in Thailand, for example, 'skunk' and 'rattlesnake' in the Animal Characteristics text. Using the L1 in these instances ensures that students and instructor *are focusing on the same thing*. Moreover, Ajarn Nanda nominated *social reasons* for her use of L1, explaining that it allows for that all students to participate in learning, *not only those proficient in L2*, and that L1 enables *close interaction*, emphasising that *...we are native Thai*.

The two lessons observed here were notable for their extended chunks of L2, the intensive embedding of L2 meanings in L1 culture, and their intellectual challenge. Some problems associated with leading students to read 'critically' in a second language were apparent, in particular the focus this appeared to place upon the teacher herself as the sole expert guide. This raises the classic pedagogic dilemma of when to tell, when to lead and when to facilitate. Here, there was a significantly limited use of SI, as well as of pair or group work, in favour of L2 teacher talk as the predominant teaching strategy. The aim of the lessons thus appeared to focus more upon accessing the content of L2 written texts – in this case both ideational and interpersonal content – than upon directly developing students' oral L2 performance, an issue which will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 8

Making Meaning Across Two Languages

- Part 1 Teachers' use of English and Thai in the study
- Part 2 Teacher talk: comprehensible input and the scaffolding of learning
- Part 3 Pedagogy of L1 and L2 revisited

Chapter 7 explored two of the six research questions:

In what ways do Thai EL teachers make use of two languages – English and Thai – in their classes with university students?

What do these teachers perceive to be the purposes and effects of the use of L1 and L2 in this context?

The present chapter continues to address these questions, seeking to draw out patterns across the nine classes. It then moves to consider a third research question:

How does the use of both languages contribute to students' potential development of meaning?

Part 1 Teachers' use of English and Thai in the study

When pulling together data from ten classes taught by nine teachers which total some nineteen hours of lesson time, the emerging picture will be of necessity simplified. Nevertheless, gaining an overview of practices will be of value in this discussion of language and learning.

Overview of L1 and L2 use in the ten classes

As was shown in various lessons analysed in the preceding chapter, teaching could be described in terms of four distinct moves, which are represented as follows:

- AET Animation by teacher of English (written) Text
- CET Creation by teacher of English (oral) Text
- SI Scaffolded interaction
- ET Explaining in Thai: use by teacher of (oral) Thai to translate, explicate, exemplify.

As also previously noted, there were identified four different sequences of moves, called protocols: *English Dominant* (two types) *Bilingual Blend* (one type) and *Thai Dominant* (one type). These are shown below in the table first presented in Chapter 7, The Nine Teachers.

	English	English	Eng	Eng & Thai	Thai	Thai
Move	AET	CET	SI			ET
Protocol			mono	bi	mono	
English Dominant						
E1	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
E2	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓
Bilingual Blend						
B1	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓
Thai Dominant						
T1	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓

Table 8.1 Analysis of moves and languages of four protocols

It was found that for each lesson, a predominant protocol was identifiable. In many cases, further minor uses were identified, but in order to maintain a clear

overview, these have not been included. The following Table 8.2 expands Table 8.1 to incorporate data related to predominant protocol use by teacher and class, along with an indication of the broad IELTS bands of each class. (The name of Ajarn Nanda appears twice because she taught two classes.)

The relative proportions of English used in each lesson are shown in the last column of the table. Reading from top to bottom represents a decrease in the amount of English used within the predominant protocol selected by each teacher for her/his class.

	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng Thai	Thai	Thai			
Proto- col	AET	CET	SI			ET	Teacher	IEL- TS	% Eng
			mo no	bi	mo no				
English-Dominant									
E1	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	Aj Laksana	2-3	>80
E2	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓	Aj Nanda Aj Nanda	5 6	
Bilingual Blend									
B1	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	Dr Bua Aj Somchay Aj Rajavadee Aj Murray Dr Patcharin	6 6 4-5 3 3	60 - 40
Thai-Dominant									
T1	✓	×	×	×	✓	✓	Aj Nuteau Aj Chai	2-3 2-3	<20

Table 8.2 Analysis of moves and languages of four protocols by teacher and students

Thus it can be seen that:

- **E1** and **E2** employ English for 80% or more of the lesson; this protocol was favoured by teachers in three classes

- **B1** employs English for between 60% and 40% of the lesson; this protocol was favoured by teachers in five classes.
- **T1** employs English for 20% or less of the lesson; this protocol was favoured by teachers in two classes.

Factors involved in L1 and L2 use

Looking at the above data summary, what stands out is the diversity of approaches towards the use of English in the classroom, ranging from less than 20% to more than 80%. Chapter 7 has already described the selection and balance of L1 and L2 on a class by class basis. Drawing upon on that account, and upon teachers' own comments, there may be identified seven factors involved in teachers' use of L1 and L2.

The **first** factor was teachers' commonly expressed desire to maximise students' exposure to the target language:

We try not to translate at the beginning. We try to find some other ways first ...
At the end of the difficult point, we can translate. (Ajarn Laksana)

And as Ajarn Murray noted: *You have to force students to use English or they won't.*

This related closely to a **second** factor: teachers' concern that students should feel supported in the language learning process. For if students are faced with language which is incomprehensible, they will become: ... *nervous and frustrated ... will not be confident ... [and] may hate English* (Ajarn Somchay). Or as Ajarn Rajavadee put it: *If you keep going on, you just lose them, right?* Teachers were also mindful of the range of ability which exists in each class, with Dr Bua referring back to her own experiences of learning English, when she herself had benefited from exposure to the target language, but weaker students *learnt nothing and wasted time*. And Ajarn Nanda noted that when she uses Thai, All *students can participate in the lesson, not only those proficient in L2.*

Thirdly, there was a perceived need to use L1 in order to explain meanings of L2 grammar, vocabulary, usage and culture. In the previous chapter, textual examples were given of such explanations. A comment by Dr Patcharin captures the principle for this use of L1:

If we would like to get down into the real meaning, the deep meaning, we can use Thai.

A **fourth** factor in the use of L1 and L2 is found in the class of Ajarn Laksana, which although of low EL proficiency, was nevertheless characterised by use of English as the major focus of instruction. Here, what largely determined L1/L2 use was the skill focus of the lesson, which was unusually focused on oral English development rather than on written English.

A **fifth** factor may be discerned in a number of classes, but particularly in those of Ajarn Nuteau and Dr Chai, where Thai, rather than English, was favoured in order to realise socio-cognitive learning goals as well as linguistic ones. In both those classes, teachers had taken a problem-solving approach to understanding and producing English written text where collaboration of students in small groups was aimed to foster both peer support and team-building: *The students have creative ideas ... And if I force them to speak English, then this may obstruct their real ability* (Ajarn Nuteau). In the case of both these teachers, classes were composed of low EL proficiency students who were engaged in mandatory EL study and generally perceived to have low motivation for such study. There appeared to be two designs in the dominant use of Thai here. First, both teachers believed that the most enabling strategies for students to develop their EAP was to collaborate by means of L1 in the writing of L2 texts. Second, both teachers saw the process of collaboration as a valuable educational goal in itself, which served to prepare students for their future participation in the workplace.

A **sixth** factor appears when we compare the two classes of Ajarn Nanda, where although students were of a similar EL proficiency, and were following the same syllabus on the same day, Thai replaced English for the last part of

the second class in response to students' tiredness in the heat of the afternoon. That is, contingency upon immediate learning conditions was the determining factor here.

A final, **seventh** factor lies in the socio-affective dimension of drawing upon students' first language. At every level of English proficiency, teachers made reference to the solidarity afforded by returning to the home base of L1:

Using L1 gives close interaction [because] we are native Thai. (Ajarn Nanda)

We can smile and make jokes. (Dr Chai)

I find it's alien to do otherwise [than draw upon shared L1]. (Ajarn Somchay).

Part 2 Teacher talk: comprehensible input and the scaffolding of learning

Having described the extent and balance of L1/L2 use in the classes observed, and having connected observed data to teachers' own views of their practices, the analysis made thus far will now be related to key constructs of teacher talk as constituted in the SLA field.

As discussed in Chapter 2 of this study, Input-Output models remain dominant in SLA (Ellis, 2001; Block, 2003; Johnson, 2003). For classroom teachers, popularisation of the model has been significantly achieved by Krashen's notion of *comprehensible input* (and Swain's later notion of *comprehensible output*). More recently, the broader field of education has been significantly influenced by the Vygotskian notion of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and its associated metaphor of the *scaffolding of learning*. While both *comprehensible output* and *scaffolding* are concerned with the role and quality of teacher talk,

and have sometimes been associated (Schinke-Llano, 1993), these notions are in fact ‘rooted in incommensurable theoretical discourses’ (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998: 412). Each will now be considered in more detail before presenting alternative constructs.

Comprehensible Input

Input models of SLA lie squarely in the Chomskian approach to language as a psychological rather than sociological phenomenon, where input and output are features of an information-processing or computational approach to learning. Two claims made by Krashen’s Comprehensible Input hypothesis are that the ‘Language Acquisition Device’ is still accessible to adults for SLA, rather than having been lost at the critical age of puberty, and that ‘Comprehensible Input’ is necessary and sufficient for such SLA to occur. This model has been directly applied to L2 teaching methodology in the form of the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), an updated form of the Direct Method which advocates ‘acquisition-type’ learning activities which focus on meaning in the place of ‘learning-type’ activities which focus on grammatical form.

There are (at least) four problems in the input-output model which will be noted here. First, there is no causal link between what a teacher aims to do – providing input – and what a learner may achieve – comprehending it. For this reason, Gass and Selinker propose to confine the term ‘comprehensible input’ to ‘the person providing the input’, and to introduce the term ‘comprehended input’ to represent agency on the part of the learner (2001: 404; emphasis added). It may also be noted that neither is there a necessary link between comprehension and learning. Moreover, the Input model does not acknowledge the social context of language: it represents the mind devoid of interaction, agency, society, culture. In so doing, the model is representative of mainstream SLA, where as previously noted, Ellis recently found that metaphors of the learner as ‘machine’ and ‘container’ remain the two most dominant images (2001: 83). Lastly, it is of great significance for bilingual teaching contexts, such as Thai ELT, that Input can refer only to the target language: there is no place in the Input model for the first language of students.

In the present study, the kind of L₂ teacher talk (that is, English) which is represented by Krashen as input has been distinguished as two activities, AET and CET; and L₁ teacher talk (that is, Thai) has been identified as ET. This reconception has aimed to achieve a delineation of what the teacher does as distinct from what students do, following Gass and Selinker's proposal above, as well as to acknowledge that not only L₂ but L₁ can represent an important part of teacher talk if teachers and students share a first language.

It should be noted that Input is the focus of the present discussion because it represents a key notion related to *teacher* talk, which is the object of this study. Looking more broadly in the SLA field, there have also been developed notions which attend to *student* talk amongst students and with teachers. However, student talk is not a focus of the present study, and accordingly, I will not explore areas such as 'interactional modification' (Hatch, 1978; Mackey, Gass & McDonough, 2000); 'noticing' linguistic features (Ellis, 1994); and teacher 'recasting' of students' utterances (Long, 1996; Lyster, 1998).

Socio-cultural approaches to input

If we look beyond the mainstream SLA field and examine socio-cultural approaches to 'teacher talk', we find that calls for the abandonment of the input metaphor and suggestions for alternatives have been made by, amongst others, Savignon (1991), van Lier (1996), Donato (2000), Swain (2000) and Johnson (2003). Van Lier (1996) proposes the notion of 'affordance' to replace that of input, and receives strong support from Swain (2000). The term 'affordance' is borrowed from psychology (Gibson, 1979/1986): 'The affordances of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill.' (p. 127, italics in original). The concept has been developed by van Lier to refer to learning opportunities which a participant is enabled to see and act upon. Affordance thus 'requires an active person, not a passive receiver of input' (van Lier, 1996: 122); and it 'affords further action but does not cause or trigger it' (van Lier, 2000: 252).

As noted in Chapter 2, the acquisition construct of SLA itself has itself also been questioned by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) who suggest that a 'participation'

metaphor complement that of 'acquisition', acknowledging that while the latter can account for the cognitive process of language learning, another metaphor is required to account for social processes; in particular, for how an individual engages with the target culture. Johnson (2003) has alternatively proposed that 'participation' replace rather than 'complement' the acquisition metaphor.

In these minority socio-cultural approaches to SLA, we meet a fundamentally different perspective of learning as being socially-mediated, with key notions of student collaboration, the interpersonal leading the intrapersonal, and the maximising of learning through work within an individual's Zone of Proximal Development. Such approaches are increasingly found to be valuable in recognising the learner as a social being rather than a processor of information, and additionally are being seen to address pedagogical concerns related to degrees of readiness, difficulty, and appropriate challenge for individual learners.

Scaffolding and paradigms of learning

The term scaffolding has become many things to many people in the years since its development in the mid 1970s (Bruner & Sherwood, 1975; Wood, Bruner & Ross (1976). Maybin, Mercer and Stierer (1992: 186) describe scaffolding as 'a special kind of help that assists learners to move towards new skills, concepts or levels of understanding', a view developed by Gibbons as 'the process by which a "mentor" helps a learner know how to do something, so that they will be able to do it alone in the future' (1999: 26). This focus on the quality of teacher intervention in *developing students' capacity to mean* has been a major force in scaffolding pedagogy. Scaffolding has also been viewed broadly as a form of *explicit teaching*: 'a deliberate intention to teach' (Wells, 1999: 346), and one which may focus on the formal properties of language. The New London Group, for example, describes scaffolding as 'all those active interventions ... [which] allow the learner to gain explicit information at times where it can most usefully organise and guide practice' (1995: 28), and similar claims have been made by the Sydney genre school (Martin, 1999) in relation to a pedagogy which some have viewed as essentially transmissive (Threadgold, 1992; Dufficy, 2000). The NSW state government, in a current syllabus support

document for High School Certificate English, goes further in this formal focus by defining 'a scaffold' as:

A supporting organiser in the form of a proforma delineating the structural features of specific types of texts, which will assist students in their composing of oral and written texts. (NSW Board of Studies, 1999)

Although a number of writers have attempted to apply more focused, meaning-based criteria to what constitutes scaffolding, (Maybin, Mercer & Stierer, 1992; Webster, Beveridge & Reed, 1996), it must be said that it is currently the case that the term has either been appropriated to fit a particular educational philosophy, as by the Sydney genre school or the New London group, or it has been applied so widely that it may cover most of what teaching entails.

I would like to suggest a repositioning of the pedagogic use of 'scaffolding', and to propose a new metaphor which will draw upon and develop elements of what both this concept and that of comprehensible input have aimed to describe.

First, it may be argued that part of the problem in applying the scaffolding metaphor is that as indicated above, its coverage has become excessively broad. This appears to have happened partly in attempts which have been made to formalise and develop social constructivist approaches, but which have claimed more for scaffolding than perhaps it can achieve. This may be seen, for example, in the genre-based syllabuses developed for adult ESL in Australia in the 1990s (NSW AMES, 1995). In other words, while scaffolding in a specific sense may be valuable in understanding parts of classroom discourse, it cannot be fairly applied to the whole range of teaching/learning experiences. In this light, three paradigms of teaching/learning may be compared, which will be termed Transmissive, Social Constructivist, and Transformative. It is acknowledged that the categories presented below are simplified representations, but these comparisons are aimed to assist in establishing some fundamental characteristics of different educational paradigms.

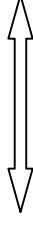
Approach	Teacher		Student			Teacher/ Student
	role	key activity	key activity	type of role		
				pres- cribed	self- created	
transmissive	instructor	telling	listening	✓	✗	teacher control  student autonomy
constructivist	mediator	co- constructing	co- constructing	✓	✗	
transformative	resource	supporting	initiating/ creating	✗	✓	

Table 8.3 Three teaching approaches linked to teacher and student roles

Information included in the above table aims to provide a summary view, as well as to illustrate two points. First, there is a focus on one element of classroom discourse, that of student role, made in order to illuminate a distinction between Constructivist and Transformative approaches to learning. This draws upon van Lier’s description of *Transaction* as a kind of student activity with an ‘externally imposed structure and agenda, which group members are not free to transform’ – the *prescribed* role above; and his category of *Transformation*, which results when ‘the agenda is shaped by all participants, and educational reality may be transformed’ – the *self-created* role above (1996: 180).

Secondly, the comparison of approaches made here has not been undertaken in order to build a case for the social-constructivist approach to learning, which already forms the basis of the present study. Rather, it is proposed that drawing upon any or all of these approaches may be appropriate in different proportions and contexts according to teacher, students and culture. That is, approach (1), taking charge and ‘Telling’ can be a valid and important part of a teacher’s role; and so can (3), standing back and ‘Supporting’. It may be that accepting an integration of elements from different roles can contribute to addressing some of the difficulties inherent in, for example ‘genre’ pedagogy of the Sydney school, where ‘Telling’ in fact features strongly in pedagogy, but is positioned otherwise. That is, while elements of genre pedagogy do involve the teacher guiding

students to create (usually) written text, for the most part such elements may often be more accurately described as teacher-fronted rather than genuinely co-constructive.

It may be further seen in the present study that all three approaches have featured in the Thai classrooms observed, sometimes with elements from various approaches being integrated by one teacher, and at other times with one approach being favoured by a particular teacher. This breadth and diversity of pedagogy is in strong distinction to claims made regarding the fundamentally 'transmissive' nature of 'Asian' and 'Confucian-based' pedagogies as outlined in Chapter 2.

Alternative constructs of scaffolding

Having set the above context, it will now be possible to return to the notion of scaffolding. Earlier in the present study, a specific meaning of scaffolding was adopted as follows:

Teacher talk designed to help students create L2 which they could not manage alone, with the teacher's aim being consciously to teach, and which is thus contingent upon an understanding of student needs both broad and immediate to that moment of learning.

Considering that the notion of scaffolding is likely to remain a fairly broad one in the field, it is now proposed to limit this term here at least somewhat, to the following:

Teacher talk which provides explicit, often language-focused support to students at point of need.

I believe that by partially containing it in this way, the term scaffolding may continue to be of value in describing language learning. Scaffolding thus may be seen as a technique whereby the teacher intervenes to provide the student with 'parts of the picture', and may be taken to cover functions such as modelling, deconstructing, attention to form, and so on. In the following Figure 8.4, this technique is presented as box (2). But additional to this, the study

proposes to develop the concept of scaffolding in two ways: through a shift 'inwards', and a shift 'outwards'.

Scaffolded Interaction

If, as indicated below, we regard box (2) as representing the working definition of scaffolding as used in this study, then box (3) proposes a 'shift inwards'. Thus *within* the fairly broad notion of scaffolding as teacher intervention, three teaching techniques which relate to teacher-student verbal interaction are specified, which I refer to as *Priming*, *Prompting*, and *Dialoguing*. The latter form a cline representing least to greatest cognitive/linguistic challenge for students. They are seen to cover but are not limited to the kinds of teacher-student interaction often described as Initiation-Response-Feedback.

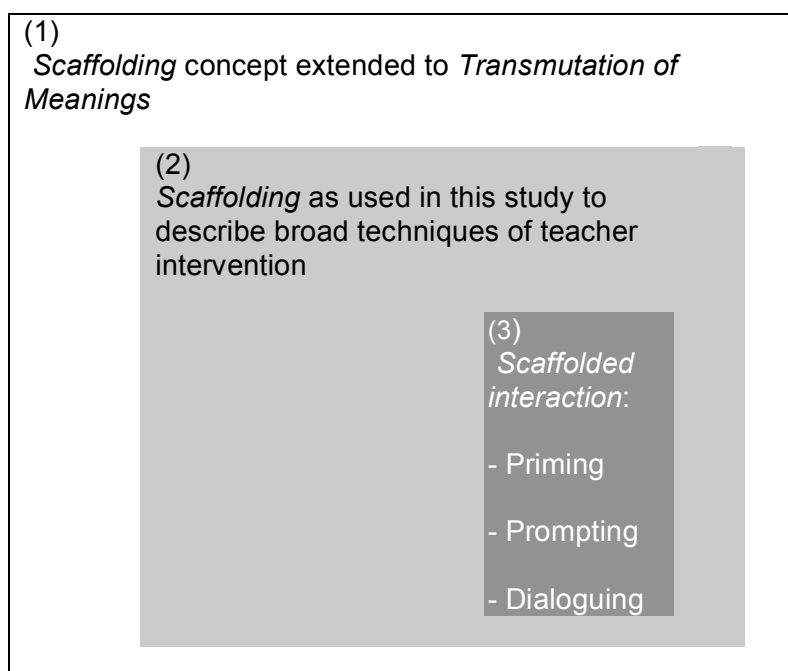


Fig 8.1 Redefinitions of 'scaffolding'

Each technique functions differently as follows. *Priming* covers the areas of 'drilling' and repetition of language, where students are, as it were, being primed by the teacher for more creative expression in the L2. The image is selected for its mechanical nature – as in priming a pump with water – because this kind of interaction is regarded as requiring little cognitive engagement on the part of the learner, and because it suggests the 'readying' function of some language work. *Priming* represents the most directive, most focussed kind of scaffold. In the

present study, this kind of interaction was rarely met, being confined to a small amount of pronunciation teaching.

Secondly, *Prompting* refers to students being led to produce the response required by the teacher through her verbal cues (a process sometimes also known as guessing what is in the teacher's head). The notion of 'prompting' may be useful in positioning students as 'actors' whose L2 'scripts' can emerge with expert support. This is the form of scaffolding which most closely resembles the traditional IRF sequence. The process can range from specific to broad, that is, from more immediate display-type questions to those which draw upon students' prior knowledge/study. In the present study, 'prompting' was found to be extensively used. The following example occurs in Ajarn Laksana's lesson.

Teacher	Students
English	English
Where is the speaker now? [R] She, is she at home?	
	No.
Is she at school?	
	No.
No. Where is she?	
	She is at shop.
She is at the shop. What is she doing at the shop? Talking to her friend?	

Text 8.2 Ajarn Laksana

The third concept of *Dialoguing* is close to what Lemke calls 'true dialogue', (1990: 55), similar to Kramsch's 'dialogic pedagogy', (1993: 30), or Gibbons' 'dialogic exchange' (1999: 189), where teacher-student interaction is still guided and monitored by the teacher, but where students' speech is more open, varied and lies beyond what is 'in the teacher's head'. This technique may also extend to a kind of 'problematizing', where content may be of some depth cognitively or affectively. 'Dialoguing' may be shaped by hypothetical or speculative statements/questions, as well as by 'real' questions, that is, where the other's party's own ideas are genuinely sought. It may also include quite extended discourse on the part of either teacher or students (though generally only

produced by teachers in the present study), but still with a sense of two-way participation. An example follows from Dr Bua's class:

Teacher	Students
English	English
Do you think, ah, these two alike, are alike? [George W Bush and Osama Bin Laden] Have something in common?	
	Yes
Yes, well what is that? [L]	
	They love their countries.
Yes, they love their countries. And some other traits, some other characteristics...mm probably they are very much different, right.	

Text 8.3 Dr Bua

And here is a bilingual example from Ajarn Murray's class:

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
How about:	กระท่อม? <u>Hut?</u>		
Do you live in a hut?			
		Yes [L]	
Oh, do you really, Tum? [name of student] [R]			
		Sure! [L] [Ironic]	
You're lucky, because it's nice and cool, and it's easy to clean.			
	อยู่กับใคร ตุ๊กแก? <u>Who do you live with? A gecko?</u>		

Text 8.4 Ajarn Murray

These three *teacher scaffolding* techniques may serve to complement and extend van Lier's continuum of four *student response* functions, which are said to range from lesser to greater depth of cognitive processing: Repetition, Recitation, Cognition and Expression (1996: 153-4). In Table 8.5 below, van Lier's categories of *student responses*, together with his descriptors, occupy the two furthest right columns. In the two furthest left columns are my proposed *teacher actions* and descriptors. The central column of the table represents level of cognitive challenge, moving from low (top) to high (bottom) as indicated by van Lier.

It may be seen that the teacher function of *Priming* corresponds to van Lier's category of student *Repetition*, and that of *Prompting* to *Recitation*. Van Lier's third and fourth categories were seen to overlap in that *Expression* appears to represent a focus of *Cognition*, rather than forming a different kind of process per se (following Halliday's notion that learning to 'language' equals learning to mean, 1975). Both these actions are thus seen to correspond with teacher *Dialoguing*, which requires of students depth of thought as well as verbal creation.


		cognitive challenge	van Lier (1996: 154)	
descriptors	Teacher action		Student response	descriptors
image of <i>readiness</i> , leading on to greater things	prime		'repeat'	'repeat something verbatim'
image of <i>cues</i> , with partial form/meaning being supplied	prompt		'recite'	'produce previously learned materials from memory'
image of <i>meaning-based</i> interaction	dialogue		'cognate'	'think and verbalize those thoughts'
		high	'express'	[students] 'express themselves more clearly or precisely'

Table 8.4 Teacher actions connected to student responses on a cline of cognitive challenge

Translation in scaffolded interaction

Because these are bilingual classes, the process of translation is central to meaning making. Translation was rarely found to be a part of the *Priming* process, simply because of the depth of cognition it requires. In *Scaffolded Interaction* moves, translation was commonly found in the process of *Prompting*, where typically, the teacher would direct the students to provide a translation from English into Thai, this sequence being more common than the reverse. An example follows from Dr Bua's lesson.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
'Competitive' – Ah – we always hear that we live in a competitive world. So what is competitive? According to your understanding? Who wants to try? Please? Competitive. Yes, you can tell me in Thai. Yes, please, Chalita.			
			การแข่งขัน <u>Competitive-</u> <u>ness</u>
	การแข่งขัน <u>Competitive-</u> <u>ness</u>		

Text 8.6 Dr Bua

Translating was also found in the third process of *Dialoguing*, on occasions when teacher-student exchange took on breadth or depth in the target language and could be supplemented briefly but critically at key points by translation. The following example comes from Ajarn Murray's lesson.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
		monk's room	
	<p>คือว่าไม่มีในวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก ไม่มีห้องพระโดยเฉพาะนะ ดังนั้นก็ไม่ได้มีชื่อเฉพาะนะ <u>In Western culture there is no Buddha image room, so there is not a specific name for it.</u></p>		
Buddha Image Room. It sounds a bit funny. But I don't think it's a 'Monk's Room'.			

Text 8.7 Ajarn Murray

It may be noted that although the above texts have been described as examples of Scaffolded Interaction, in fact student responses are brief. This was characteristic of the study as a whole; and in this respect, data is similar to that of Pennington's study of EL learners in Hong Kong, where it was found that 'in no case was a student observed to produce an utterance of more than one clause in length' (1995: 97), a finding which has been echoed in studies of FL classrooms by Butzkamm (1997) and Morgan (2003). However, as will be argued later in Chapter 9, paucity of verbalisation cannot simply be taken at face value: there may be more happening in this kind of interaction than is visible/audible.

Transmutation of meanings

As indicated earlier, and as illustrated in Figure 8.1 earlier, it is proposed to reposition the concept of scaffolding in two ways. Firstly, through an inward shift, that is, a narrowing of meaning, to Box (3), as has just been explored, where the term itself is applied to the *Scaffolded interaction* move in lessons, and is fulfilled by the three teaching techniques of *Priming*, *Prompting* and *Dialoguing*. And now secondly, through an 'outwards shift', where the concept is

broadened to that of ‘transmutation of meanings’, a process which describes the semiotic reconstruction which can result in different ways from all three key teaching activities of *telling*, *co-constructing* and *supporting* as outlined in the earlier Table 8.3.

‘Transmutation’ refers to a change ‘from one form, substance, nature or state to another’ (Oxford Concise Dictionary), and so may be said to always retain something of what was there before. In terms of pedagogy, then, a teacher may be said to act on students’ existing meanings in order to *transmute* them into broader/deeper meanings. If we consider the learning of a second language, transmutation can affirm that both L1 and L2 operate from within the one semantic field; that is, as Cummins and Swain (1986) suggest, a second language learner develops a *common underlying* L1/L2 language proficiency; or, as Cook (1992) proposes, a language learner develops *holistic* multi-competence. These latter positions are in distinction to ‘separatist’ (see Grosjean, 1989) or ‘co-ordinate bilingual’ (Ervin & Osgood, 1954) views of the language learner. The transmutation metaphor thus affirms that moving into a second language serves to transmute - extend, develop, transform - the meanings of the first, as, for that matter, the first language acts to transmute those of the second (Cook, 2003).

This alternative metaphor may affirm the value of acknowledging the teacher as acting upon the basis of what students already know and what they need to further know: it captures the ‘known to new’ principle. At the same time, it focusses upon meanings (or semantics), which are the heart of learning; and it attends to the changes in quality and breadth of meaning which education develops. Moreover, the metaphor is suggestive of alchemy, which gives a nod to the creative and sometimes magic dimension of teaching and learning. A *transmutation* model therefore brings into prominence elements which may be found in all three paradigms noted above: *transmissive*, *social-constructivist*, and *transformative* models of pedagogy. This notion of transmuting of meaning builds upon that of ‘affordance’, for in its focus on semantic development, Transmutation of Meanings (TMM) incorporates what students *intake*, *process* and *construct*. Moreover, the notion can complement that of ‘participation’ by

providing an internal restructuring focus which complements the latter's socially-oriented stance.

Register

At this point, having identified the teaching/learning functions operating through L1 and L2 in the overall process of transmuting meanings, it will be of value to return to the linguistic descriptors initially introduced in Chapter 2 and revisited in Chapter 7. These are the three components of *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, which constitute Halliday's theory of Register (1985b). A brief recalling of the discourse functions of these three components will be set out before linking Register theory with the notion of Transmutation of Meanings.

The **field** of discourse constructs experiential meanings: 'goings on', 'happenings'. In making choices about the field of pedagogy, a teacher evaluates what students know/need to know in the light of what can be done already/what can only be done with assistance. By transmuting the experiences which students already have ('the known'), into those they are yet to have or to understand, ('the new'), students' field of knowledge can be developed.

The **tenor** of discourse constructs interpersonal meanings: how we relate to one another; or from another perspective, it constitutes our subjectivity. Because no communication and therefore no learning happens without an interpersonal dimension, it falls to the teacher to again evaluate the subject positions offered to students within various learning experiences and textual encounters, and to transmute students' existing roles of power and affect into those of greater strength and diversity.

The **mode** of discourse constructs 'texture': it is the function through which texts differently achieve coherence and cohesion according to the location of producer and recipient across time and space. Most simply, mode choices can be determined as language/non-language, visual/aural, or for that matter, multi-modal. In education generally, the teacher plays a crucial role in moving along the spoken/written 'mode continuum' (Hammond, 1990) to support students' control of the ways in which spoken and written meanings are reciprocally

constituted in the lexico-grammar. Importantly, in the present study of a foreign language classroom, texture is realised in and across two languages, through which is created a hybrid of cross-modal language alternation or blending, offering new ways of meaning both receptive and productive.

Part 3 Pedagogy of L1 and L2 revisited

In this section, the two notions of Transmutation of Meanings (TMM) and Register will be applied to the four lesson moves reviewed in Table 1 at the beginning of this chapter, that is, Animation of English Text (AET), Creation of English Text (CET), Scaffolded interaction (SI) and Explaining in Thai (ET), with the aim of better understanding how both Thai and English operated in the classes observed.

As indicated previously, in these four moves, 1 and 2 (AET and CET) employ the English language; Move 3 (SI) may be English only, a blend of Thai and English, or Thai only; Move 4 (ET) employs Thai only.

Animating English Text (AET)

In the Thai EFL environment, the written form of the target language is of high status, being prioritised in the curriculum, as well as the major focus of examination. From a learning perspective, moreover, writing is a mode of language which is generally retrievable verbatim and therefore more readily accessed for study than oral language. Status also accrues to the written form because it is recognised that with respect to the mother tongue, our developmental sequence is from speech to writing, and that while almost all people gain a working proficiency in their spoken (or signed) mother-tongue, this is far from the case for its written form.

However, the developmental sequence for a second language may follow a different path, where the receptive written mode of *reading* often precedes the spoken equivalent of *listening* (as well as both productive ones of *speaking* and

writing). And so, from a foreign language student's point of view, as noted above, the teacher's oral rendering of a written text often represents the only time when sound-symbol correspondences are made in the foreign language, and there thus emerges a significant difference in the value of the AET move for second language and foreign language contexts. For example, if on the one hand, I am a native speaking teacher of English in an ESL context such as Australia, where I am teaching my native tongue to multilingual classes, working with native language curriculum, textbooks and resources, and I am able to create both oral and written texts in the target language fairly spontaneously; then in this context, the value to my students of my being able to render orally the written English of a textbook may seem to be relatively negligible. However, switch roles to my being a teacher of, say Japanese in the same Australian context, and the significance of this capacity becomes apparent, for when else will students hear the symbol-sound connection being made?

AET may also be described by the third register variable of *mode*, where the teacher re-channels the written word into spoken form, with the phonetic and prosodic features of the latter serving to 'grow' meanings. Such a connection is, of course, particularly significant for a language such as English where the phonetic correspondence between 44 sounds and 26 letters is estimated to be 20% irregular (Kennedy, 2003: 14). AET can thus be regarded as a necessary preliminary to the process of Transmutation of Meanings.

As well as being produced by the teacher, AET is often found in Western classrooms in the form of 'reading around the class', where individual students attempt to produce unrehearsed the oral form of a written text, with their efforts receiving feedback from the teacher. In the present study, I did not witness any instances of this practice (which is not to claim that its absence is in any way representative of general practice in Thailand). There was, however, the notable variation of students' 'chorus reading' which was observed in two advanced classes as described in Chapter 7, and which appeared to be of value in this context.

'Meanings' are not confined to the experiential or intellectual, of course, and it is of interest to examine also the interpersonal meaning, or *tenor*, which is constructed in the AET move. A teacher's performance of English text in AET is monologist, one-directional, and here conveyed in a foreign language. Accordingly it constructs a maximally distant tenor between teacher and students. This is not to suggest that such a tenor is of negative value, or inappropriate. There may be cultural as well as pedagogic reasons why parts of lessons maintain maximum power distance – for example, in order to focus attention, to maintain role expectations, and to construct a 'safe' environment in which student performance is not required. In this sense, the relative impersonality of AET may function to 'secure' students' attention and involvement as a basis for subsequent moves of the lesson.

Creating English Text (CET)

The value of CET lies in engaging students in text which has been *created* by the teacher directly out of text which has just been *animated* by the teacher, and which is both newly heard and solely in the oral mode. The AET and CET are nearly always associated in this way, and represent a dual move: from more predictable written mode to less predictable spoken *mode*, and from less to more familiar *fields*. Once again, the value of this move in a second language context can be appraised by examining its effect in a foreign language context. For in Thailand, students are rarely exposed outside the classroom to English which they can understand.

CET also serves to provide English which is adjusted to learners' proficiency levels. The meanings thus created, however, are usually intellectually limited when compared to the semantic richness which can be realised through the mother tongue. Given the relatively limited nature of learner language, then, how does the CET effectively transmute meanings? It may be seen to do so through selection made in three ways: in semantics, lexico-grammar, and extra-linguistic semiosis such as gesture or image (moving and static). Each of these areas will now be considered in turn.

Semantic selection

The contextual nature of the transmuting of meaning is critical here, for in the process of CET, the teacher draws upon what s/he knows of learners' current knowledge in order to make appropriate semantic choices. In so doing, teachers can utilise techniques such as personalisation and localisation, and this was evident in a number of lessons observed, such as the joint text construction in Dr Chai's class, where the experience of making papaya salad led to the construction of English written text; in Ajarn Murray's lesson when the teacher's CET parodied students' discursive knowledge of appropriate behaviours such as modesty and responsibility; and in Dr Bua's lesson where Thai, Anglo and Arab world figures were the focus of study. Here, teachers could localise and personalise the field of study; link 'known' to 'new'; and thereby achieve what another teacher described as *use what is with them [the students], slowly strengthening the target language* (Ajarn Somchay).

The following example of this process is taken from Ajarn Nanda's reading class (in this case, relating to a current issue of a Munitions Depot being located close to a populated area).

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
And so what's the comment from the present Prime Minister here?			
	คิดใหม่ทำใหม่ [Proverb]: 'Think [something] new; do [something] new.'		
He went there [R] and [R] and he talked to the mob, and what did he say?			
		[inaudible]	
Yes. 'I understand what's the problem, I have got all the problems, I won't do anything that will? cause the problem to? the environment, to the communities, to the country.'			

Text 8.8 Ajarn Nanda

CET not only enables links across fields, but provides options for a change of tenor, for in the process of creating new oral text in the foreign language, the teacher can elect to construct her/his relationship with students with more or less solidarity and affective involvement. That is, while the unmarked means of communication amongst students and teacher is Thai as the shared first language, in the CET move there is a shift to communication in a foreign language. A number of teachers commented upon how they felt when communicating in English to fellow Thais, and this issue will be explored in depth in the following Chapter 9, dealing with performance.

Linguistic choice

As indicated above, whereas the AET allows for re-channelling written to spoken L2, the CET provides new spoken L2, which is attuned to that specific learning context. The value of CET in EFL was noted by Dr Patcharin:

Anyway, for a language lesson, if you speak in English, what you say in English becomes a lesson....They [students] might learn something else; they don't learnt the thing that you expect to teach...it we accept that, it's okay.

The techniques of CET, which have been documented in various episodes of various teachers' classes, may be summarised as both message *simplification* and message *abundancy*, and include repetition, grammatical and lexical simplification, redundancy, paraphrase, circumlocution, and recycling of meanings. An example follows from Ajarn Laksana's lesson, which was triggered by the appearance of the term 'best-seller' in the monolingual English textbook. In this text, the teacher's talk has been separated by clause in order to assist discussion.

'Best-seller'....

At the moment *Harry Potter* is the best-seller book.

Everybody knows and reads it.

The shop-owner got a lot of money from selling this book.

So, *Harry Potter* is the best-seller at the moment.

Understand this?

Text 8.9 Harry Potter text, Ajarn Laksana

It may be seen that here we have a semantic thread which is formed by lexical devices of simple repetition, endophoric reference, and substitution around the new lexical item of 'best seller', as follows:

best seller ... *Harry Potter* ... best-seller book ... it ... this book ...
Harry Potter ... best-seller ... this.

The register of teacher talk as constructed by CET in this study may be described and compared with more everyday forms of spoken language by drawing upon concepts of lexical density and frequency, as well as grammatical intricacy (Halliday, 1985b). Spoken language is said to be typically low in *lexical density* (the proportion of lexical items to grammatical items), high in *lexical frequency* (the proportion of common lexical items) and high in *grammatical intricacy* (the extent to which single clauses are linked into clause complexes). In fact, this CET has a *lexical density* of approximately 50%, which is higher than that usually found in dialogue, but characteristic of monologist teacher talk in this field. The second dimension of *lexical frequency* may also be of value in understanding the impact of CET, for items which are of high frequency lexically (that is, often met) will normally be more familiar to the learner, and provide greater accessibility. As observed here, the feature may be interpreted as an outcome of this teacher's desire to lighten the comprehension load for second language learners. Thirdly, in terms of *grammatical intricacy*, the passage differs from everyday spoken English in that it is less intricate, with the number of clause complexes being low, and the two instances limited to simple parataxis (making use of the conjunctions 'and' and 'so') rather than hypotaxis. The cumulative effect of these three features as seen in the text above is to produce enhanced congruency of language and transparency of meaning.

Overall, what is significant about these opportunities being provided in English by a Thai teacher is their embedded nature in the local language and culture, which through transmutation, forms a new layer of hybrid meaning across L1 and L2. In each case, the teacher has been where the students are in their

learning, and having made this journey her/himself, can appraise what meanings can be tapped, extended, transmuted.

Extra-linguistic semiosis

The CET in the present study was not often supported by extra-linguistic semiosis, and this would appear to diminish its potential to create TMM, particularly in the absence of the visual images available from movies and television. Textbooks were fundamental to most lessons, but as will be recounted in Chapter 10, the Amerocentric and dispersed nature of most textbooks often appeared to confuse rather than assist in the transmuting of meaning across cultures. Two classes which did make use of non-language texts were Dr Bua's lesson incorporating pictures of world leaders, and the cookery presented in Dr Chai's class. The field in both instances was transmuted and made more accessible to students' existing knowledge; and in the case of the latter class, tenor relations were also extended by the introduction into the classroom of the cook in person.

Scaffolded Interaction (SI)

This Teacher-Student interaction move of lessons could occur in three forms: monolingually in English, bilingually in Thai and English, or monolingually in Thai. In Part 2 of this chapter, both monolingual and bilingual texts were exemplified, and the three types of SI were identified as *Priming*, *Prompting*, and *Dialoguing*.

In this study, it was found that the monolingual English form in general provided a structured, fairly predictable and secure base, from which the content of the written text could be slightly embellished orally by the teacher, and students thereby led to produce L2 in brief 'display' responses; in fact, it was in some ways similar to the traditional IRF protocol (although often omitting a Feedback step). Here the content was not of itself intellectually demanding: it generally constituted what has been called here *Prompting*, rather than *Dialoguing*. As was noted of the examples previously recorded in Part 2 above, although they have been classed as interactions rather than monologue, that is, as SI rather

than CET, these exchanges, whether monolingual or bilingual, were normally still highly teacher-centred.

Further examination of the *Prompting* type in this study showed that there was particular value in having the expert language user provide L2 cues of a simple nature, which when skilfully created, guide learners just enough and not too much in their experience of L2. Such interaction in the form of IRF has been the subject of significant criticism for many years (e.g. Barnes, 1976; Lemke, 1990; Wells, 1993), principally on grounds of its superficiality. However, in the present study, it was seen that depth of cognition or affect may not always be desirable because it can distract from achieving transparency of comprehension and accuracy in production of targeted language forms. That is, linguistic accessibility can be aided by limited cognitive challenge. Van Lier has supported the value of some degree of interaction of the *Prompting* type, noting that for a non-native speaking student, this kind of focussed language support can be more useful pedagogically than 'a less formally structured conversation', since in the latter, 'in addition to figuring out the right thing to say, the student has to judge the right moment to say it ... and how to say it.' (1996: 152).

Turning to the *Dialoguing* type, we see how meanings are transmuted across cultures, and students' fields of experience are thereby developed. An intercultural approach to L2 learning is founded upon being able to talk about one's own culture to foreigners in the medium of the target language. Through this kind of *Dialoguing*, students are not only learning the new language for existing concepts, but are learning about how meanings transmute across cultures and languages.

Explaining in Thai (ET)

The use of L1 represents potentially both the greatest strength and the greatest weakness in effecting the transmutation of meanings in the bilingual EFL classroom: strength because of what it affords from the richness of existing L1 and C1 knowledge; weakness because if over-used, the L1 may limit potential L2 experiences. As indicated previously, no teacher in the present study

operated without some use of this move, with actual principles for use having been outlined in Part 1 above.

The following text is taken from Dr Bua's lesson where she was aiming to teach some challenging, abstract, personality descriptors in English.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
Okay, class. What is it in Thai if you want to translate this in Thai – pragmatist? Do you think that we have Thai word for this? The word pragmatist – no? I think that we do have one – probably I can give you – I don't know whether you agree or not – we call it uh			
	<p>ปฏิบัตินิยม พวกปฏิบัตินิยม เคยได้ยินมั้ยะ เคย เคยได้ยินมั้ยะ ปฏิบัตินิยม <u>Pragmatic; a pragmatist. Have you ever heard this? Ever, ever heard it? Pragmatist.</u></p>		
			<i>Inaudible</i>
[laughter – teacher and students] Okay she wants, she wants me to give some – what is that – the explanation in Thai again, alright? [L] Okay			
	<p>เป็นยังไงคะ เป็นปฏิบัตินิยมมั้ยะ พวกที่พูดอย่างเดียวรีเปลา ี่ไม่ พวกนี้ทำจริงเลย ลงมือปฏิบัติจริงใช้มั้ยะ พวกลงมือปฏิบัติจริงใช้มั้ยะ ไหนลองดูสิคะ <u>What is it, pragmatism? People who speak only, or not? Not? What do these people do? They want action to happen [be real], don't they. They want action to really happen, don't they. Now let's have a look, shall we.</u></p>		

Text 8.10 Dr Bua

In this extract is demonstrated both the power of the L1 in conveying meaning, as well as its limitations. On the one hand, the difficulties of explaining meaning in the case of abstract descriptors will be familiar to any monolingual language teacher. The example of ‘pragmatic’ exemplifies such difficulty, with the use of this word additionally being of low frequency and of subtle meaning. ‘Talking around’ such concepts, that is, by means of CET as described in this study, is one approach which in some cases can be effective in conveying meaning, and which also, of course, provides experience of listening to the target language. But there are other times in a lesson where one wishes to go for accuracy, and/or speed, and then, the value of ET is catalytic and unique.

The example shown is also of interest because it demonstrates the role of ET in a situation when students meet a word/concept in English *for which they have not yet learned the Thai word/concept*. Bearing in mind that these were first year students six months out of High School, and that their L1 semantics are of course still developing, it is not hard to see why the teacher approached her ET gingerly:

What is it in Thai if you want to translate this in Thai – pragmatist? Do you think that we have Thai word for this? The word pragmatist – no? I think that we do have one – probably I can give you – I don’t know whether you agree or not – we call it ... uh, ปฏิบัตินิยม [*patibatniyom*].

Text 8.11 Dr Bua

I would judge that the word ปฏิบัตินิยม *patibatniyom* in Thai is of a register similar to but more formal than that of ‘pragmatic’ in English (and interestingly, the Thai term comes from the ‘dead’ language of Pali, whose relationship to the lexis of modern Thai is similar to that of Latin with English). Just as a number of Australian students of a similar age might be unsure of the meaning of ‘pragmatic’ in English, so did some of the Thai students in this class appear unsure of ปฏิบัตินิยม *patibatniyom* in Thai. And so, the existence in the mother tongue of a near-equivalent word does not of itself assure the transmutation of meaning across/within two languages. However, in such a case, the value of L1

may be appreciated in a different way, for the alternative strategy of 'explaining' rather than translating meaning (which follows later in this segment) is more effectively and efficiently achieved within students' mother tongue than within their second language. It is also suggested that the development of meaning seen here in Thai as well as in English, serves to affirm the multi-competence model of language learning, whereby there are two-way, rather than one-way flows of meanings within and across two languages.

Overall, it was found in this study that a concern expressed by teachers time and again was how to effectively convey meanings to their students, and the complementarity of the mother tongue in this respect. As Dr Patcharin put it:

If we would like to get deep down in the real meaning ... I feel more comfortable to explain in Thai, and then we can switch back to English.

From a register perspective, it may be seen that it is only once the semantic *field* realised by the lexicogrammar of L1 is opened up that the richness of knowledge which learners bring to the classroom may be drawn upon.

It was also notable how *tenor* relations changed when the teacher reverted to sharing her/his first language with the students. This move was often accompanied by a transparent release of tension amongst students, and I observed that teachers' speaking in Thai was generally conducted at a quicker pace, with greater pitch range and intensity, and with greater animation of facial expression. Interestingly, with regard to *mode*, while there was frequent written to spoken transferal within English, and across written/spoken English to spoken Thai, there was little writing of English by teachers in these classes, and no writing at all of Thai on the part of teachers was observed

As was noted earlier in this study, while the four pedagogic moves which have been established are found to be valuable in making sense of the complex, shifting picture of teaching, like all categories, their expanded scale reduces subtlety. And so, while these four moves are clearly distinguishable, I would like to emphasise again the intricacy and bilingual blending which characterised their

use. The teacher may be producing English text (CET), and then pose a question in Thai (ET); students may respond (SI); the teacher may return to the written text (AET); and so on, with all this happening in a matter of seconds.

Conclusion

Two main points have been demonstrated in this chapter. The first concerns the spread and nature of L1/L2 use. As was illustrated in the previous chapter, every teacher used both languages in every class, but it became clearer here the ways in which a majority of teachers favoured the Bilingual Blend protocol. It was also observed that whether the L1 was used for explanation, translation, solidarity of affect, or contingency to the pedagogic moment, it afforded unique ways of making meaning which drew upon the semiotic systems which students brought to their learning. Second, it was possible to problematise key notions of learning which have conventionally been applied to second language learning, such as Comprehensible Input, Scaffolding, and the IRF sequence, and to propose new concepts which could better represent the bilingual classrooms observed in this study. These new concepts are founded in a view of language as social semiotic and of learning as socially mediated: language learning may then be seen as a process of semiotic reconstruction, and the role of the first language in this process as being multiple, pivotal, and unique.

Chapter 9

Performance

- Part 1 Teachers' views of their performance in L2
- Part 2 A descriptive framework for classroom performance
- Part 3 Performance in lessons observed: Teachers
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The focus of Chapter 8 was upon L2 *pedagogy*; how it affords semiotic reconstruction in the transmutation of meanings from L1 to L2; and how this process is identifiable through a matrix of *languages*, *moves* and *protocols*. The present chapter turns from pedagogy to focus on *participants* in the L2 learning process, in particular, to examine how meaning is enabled/disabled in their actual *performance* of the second language in the classroom, and the implications which this has for speaker identity. Five classroom performance types will be identified here; these will then be integrated with the four teaching moves which formed the basis of the previous Chapter 8, thus mapping *performance processes* onto *pedagogic functions*.

Approaches to Performance have been described in Chapter 2. These will be briefly reviewed here, and now related to the notion of Identity with which performance is often associated.

As indicated earlier, 'Performance' is a concept which has been variously understood. In recent years, it has been taken to embody the psycho-social construct of identity, the latter which in postmodern terms is a process of becoming, rather than a state of being, and is associated with notions of performativity (Butler, 1990), subjectivity (Norton Peirce, 1995) and agency (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). In this study, 'performance' is taken to refer simply to the instantiation of all language, thus encapsulating the Hallidayan notion of

enactment as well as the Butleran notion of performativity, both of which offer linguistic and political perspectives upon the same phenomenon.

Identity has also been approached in a variety of ways, with, for example, Lemke arguing for the value of slippage between Identity and Role Behaviour (2002: 234); and Kramsch analysing Identity as comprising Identity, Role and Voice (2000a). Within or alongside Identity, the notion of Voice has itself also been diversely theorised (Keane, 1999). The field of enquiry into Identity may be said to be flourishing (see for example Kroger, 2000; Norton, 2000; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Kramsch, 2003a; and the inception in 2002 of the *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*).

It has also been recently suggested that discussion of Identity has tended 'to spread disquietingly and amorphously to end up absorbing all the familiar independent variables of sociolinguistics we would ever talk about' (Hastings & Manning, 2004: 3). The present study will attempt therefore to constrain discussion as follows: *Roles* are taken to be 'collectively constructed ... within institutional frameworks... eg, teacher, mother, hero' (Belz, 2002b: 18); *Voice* is taken to be 'the freedom of the individual to claim authorship' of her/his thoughts and words (ibid); and *Identity* to be one's idea of what one is, 'the self', this being a superordinate of the former parts (Kramsch, 2000a). The analytical focus of this chapter will thus be upon the ways in which Voice and Identity are constructed, produced and revealed by a speaker in her/his Performance of social Roles through language. Performance will also be reapproached here so that the concept may be applied not only to *public performance*, but also to *the public performance of a second language*, and to *the public performance of a second language in classrooms*.

Performance and Identity will be discussed in this chapter in respect of two sets of L2 speakers. First, following the central focus of the thesis upon teacher talk, I report upon and discuss how teachers themselves perceived their roles when they performed L2 in the classroom. Second, student talk, although not a focus of this study, emerged as a point of interest in the lessons observed because it was relatively scarce, and this too will therefore be explored from a

performance perspective. The twin vantage points of teachers and students offer an interesting range of linguistic positions. The teachers in the study, as previously noted, are highly expert bilinguals for many of whom, as will be seen, performance of L2 offered an 'opening up' of role. On the other hand, the majority of students in this study, who were a long way distant in terms of L2 development, were often seen to experience in their classroom performance of L2 in the classroom a contrary 'closing down' of role.

Part 1 Teachers' views of their performance in L2

My interest in pursuing the notion of performance in a second language was triggered by an early interview in which one teacher referred to the impact of a second language upon a learner's socio-cultural repertoire. Ajarn Murray spoke of:

... the pleasure of [learners] expressing themselves in a completely different socio-cultural context using a completely different language ... and how exciting! ... You're a different person ... You get new roles opened to you....

I found that these comments resonated with my own past and present experiences of learning foreign languages (principally Welsh, French and Thai), in the process of which I have variously felt 'othered', 'engaged', 'truer' and 'depersonalised', with such processes engendering feelings of tension, fear and joy. In my experience, there are few other phenomena which carry such deep potential as language learning does for the development of both personal and social understandings. Lin, Wang, Nobuhiko and Riazi (2002: 307) have written of the affective, social and political dimensions of their various 'quest[s] for expanded selves ... to define who we are and what we shall become'. Kramsch speaks lyrically of learners 'who take intense physical pleasure in acquiring a language, thrill in trespassing someone else's territory, becoming a foreigner on their own turf, becoming both invisible and differently visible' (2003b: 256), and she positions every language learner as 'privileged' through being 'potentially, to a greater or lesser extent, a non-native speaker' (ibid., p. 260). These broad

themes are seen to resonate in different ways in the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Gillette (1994), Hawkins (1999), and Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000).

Further comments made by Ajarn Murray related to the ways in which his *teaching* performance differed when conducted in Thai and in English:

In Thai, I'm more easygoing, relaxed, ruder, use techniques to relax students and myself ... In English, I'm much more of a teacher – more serious, strict, regimented.

At the second round of interviews in Thailand, I therefore determined to pursue with all teachers in the study the notion of performance of a second language in the L2 classroom and what this meant for teachers' role-relationships with students. And so, a question to the following effect was presented:

(5) PERFORMING IN ENGLISH

Some people have written about how they feel different when they communicate in their second language – they may speak in different ways and about different topics.

Can you compare the way you communicate in Thai and the way you communicate in English in the classroom?

For example:

- Do you feel like you are 'performing' in English?
- Do you take on different kinds of roles in English and Thai?
- Do you speak/ behave in different ways in each language?

As well as this fairly detailed written question, which participating teachers had received one week before interviews took place, I provided verbal elaboration of the concept at the interview, for I anticipated that discussion of this particular topic might prove difficult, especially as conducted through the medium of teachers' second language.

I found that ensuing discussions were still not easy, but that valuable responses were generated. These have been reproduced verbatim in Table 9.1 below, along with associated comments made by teachers at other points of their interviews.

	English [L2]	Thai [L1]
(1) Dr Chai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more open; less hierarchy - I feel that students are my friends - a culture [which] doesn't treat people at different levels; everyone is just equal - wide range of topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - my role as a teacher is very respectable - I have to use some words not too harsh - it's like you're sharing your Thai-ness - I have to keep distant a little bit - cannot have a wide range of topics
(2) Dr Bua	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I feel more comfortable, [can say] some things that I probably cannot say in Thai or I shouldn't say in Thai; more direct - if students want to speak to me in English, they use English very directly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we beat around the bush and <u>then</u> get to the point
(3) Aj Murray	<p>[L1]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more serious, strict, regimented - a lot more organised 	<p>[L2]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - easy-going, relaxed, ruder, use techniques to relax student and myself - a fun language, and it's really easy to make wicked jokes in, so why not?
(4) Aj Nanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [speaking English] can open up a different part of our personality - it's not the real you, not the real students, not the real teacher, because we are still non-natives - [you] slow down your pace of speaking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [use Thai in order to] take a break, relax - I <u>know</u> you [students] understand what I'm saying
(5) Dr Patcharin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If we speak English amongst Thai, it's not natural; we are pretending - it makes me uncomfortable [because] I don't know if students understand or not - it takes time to find the words 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If we would like to get down into the deep meaning, I prefer to use Thai
(6) Aj Rajavadee	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I feel relief; they [students] feel relief; we understand the same point now
(7) Aj Somchay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - it's more planned rather than just spontaneous 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I can speak my mind - I think the students feel closer to me in Thai
(8) Aj Nuteau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I believe it [relationship with students] depends on the <u>personality</u> of the teacher not the <u>language</u> used. 	

Table 9.1 Teachers' views on their performance in Thai and English

(It may be noted that no response to this question was received from Ajarn Laksana; and that Ajarn Murray is atypical in that what are L1 and L2 for him are contrary to what are L1 and L2 for the other eight teachers in the study.)

There was clearly a general belief, held by seven of the nine teachers in the study, that their classroom performance and teacher roles did vary significantly depending on whether English or Thai was being used. What emerges from their views here is the psycho-social dimension of L1-L2 performance, which renders illusory a simple notion of language as code (as in 'code-switching'). Language selection may be seen to inevitably function as role choice, with bilingual choices now constituting a wider and qualitatively different repertoire of Voice. Teachers' views as expressed here also put paid to the notion that bilingual speakers move from one self-contained meaning system to another (as intended by the exclusive L2 exposure model of CLT), for it is the blending of L1/L2 (and Culture 1/Culture 2) which creates new performance possibilities.

Teachers' perceptions will now be examined in more detail, initially with regard to English, then Thai, and finally in respect of patterns across both English and Thai.

English

Of the seven teachers who noted significant differences in performance according to language, three indicated that when using English, they felt more open, more relaxed, more equal, and could say things they would normally be less likely to say in Thai. On the other hand, when it came to the use of Thai, they indicated that their role was more conventionally respectable, serious or indirect. The fourth and fifth teachers did not refer specifically to an equalising dimension of English use, but rather, to an 'unreality' or unnaturalness of the roles and relationships enacted in it. For these latter teachers, in fact it was in Thai rather than in English that they could relax.

The one teacher who directly disconfirmed the proposition, Ajarn Nuteau, followed up by commenting:

If the teacher seems to be hostile to the students, even if you use English or Thai, your hostility will show up ... I never show any negative feelings to them ... Remember, it's because they don't know, they come to the classroom.

This particular teacher had elsewhere affirmed his encouraging but formal relationship with students, disclosing, for example, that he enforced a strict dress code whereby students who wore sandals instead of shoes to his class would have marks deducted. It may be then that for this teacher, tenor relations were rather distant in both languages.

In general, it may be noted that there is an interesting paradox which arises in regard to performance of English in these classes. On the one hand, there is a sense of closeness afforded by both students and teacher 'conspiring' to communicate in an 'other' tongue: *I feel that students are my friends* (Dr Chai); *[I can say] some things that I probably cannot say in Thai or I shouldn't say in Thai ... more direct* (Dr Bua). On the other hand, it is also the case that when moving into English, Thai teachers' power is significantly enhanced, and students' power significantly reduced, simply because of the degree of expertise required to communicate in the second language. It may be, then, that it is in part a tension between these two effects which contributes to the opening up of roles referred to by teachers above.

Thai

When Thai teachers spoke of their roles in L1, they usually emphasised its overall ease of communication: *I feel relief; they feel relief* (Ajarn Rajavadee), *I can speak my mind* (Ajarn Somchay); its solidarity effect: *... you're sharing your Thai-ness* (Dr Chai), *I think students feel closer to me in Thai* (Ajarn Somchay); indirectness: *We beat around the bush and then get to the point* (Dr Bua); and conventionality: *My role as a teacher is very respectable* (Dr Chai). These perceptions may be seen as being a product of teachers' existing interpersonal relations with students being enacted within familiar Thai pedagogic discourses. That is, while on the one hand the use of English affords a reduction of teachers' normally distant status, and opens up changed 'speaking' in the classroom, on the other, the use of Thai represents conventional tenor

relations, which by their familiarity require less attention and energy on the part of teachers and students.

Thai and English roles compared

The reported 'liberating effect' of operating in a second language as reported above seemed to be associated with two factors amongst this group of teachers, that is, age and formality of classroom tenor, both of which, by and large, were also associated with each other.

And so, I would note that teachers 1-3 in Table 9.1, who most strongly shared views about the 'opening' roles of L2 were the youngest in the study, and moreover, according to my observation, held the most interactive and least traditionally formal relationship with their students. On the other hand, Teacher 8 who did not perceive a difference when enacting in L2, and Teacher 9, who did not respond, were amongst the most senior participants in the study, and displayed formality in their classroom stance. It seems possible, therefore, that in order for an L1/L2 affective impact to 'kick in' for a teacher, there needs to exist a certain level of interactivity and reduced formality in the language classroom; or vice versa. (In suggesting this, I do not propose that 'younger is better', but simply note what appeared to be a pattern in the lessons observed.)

It is also of interest to consider the extent to which teachers' perceptions of different roles enacted in the two languages results from the particular status of English in Thailand, and the extent to which 'otherness', or 'alterity' may be a consequence of performance in any foreign language. Certainly, teachers appeared to ascribe various 'freedoms' to English itself. Thus, Dr Chai commented directly of English that it *doesn't treat people at different levels; everyone is just equal*. (It was not considered important whether such differences were actual or perceived, but rather that they were articulated by teachers; for a view of Western social equality would not accord, for example, with my own experience.) Similarly, Ellwood (2004: 128) found that perceptions of English as allowing 'relaxed informality' were shared by all three student groups in her study: French, German and Japanese. In the present study, Dr Bua noted that she can say *some things that I probably cannot say in Thai or I*

shouldn't say in Thai, which may also support the idea of the opening effect of English, here by particular contrast with the greater verbal restraint which operates in Thai culture (O'Sullivan & Tajaroensuk, 1997).

The presence of Ajarn Murray as the sole native speaker of English in the study offers another perspective on the issue of *English* versus *any L2* openings. If it were specifically the differences between Thai and English which prompted Thai teachers' perceptions, then Ajarn Murray's views of the roles characteristic of Thai and English would have resonated with Thai teachers' views, but in fact the reverse was true. For whereas some Thai teachers felt that when using English with their students they felt more open, and others that there was an 'unrealness' of role, the English speaking teacher himself felt *more serious, strict ... regimented* when communicating in English. By the same token, Ajarn Murray asserted that for him, *Thai is a fun language, and it's really easy to make wicked jokes*. Ajarn Murray spoke further at interview about the propensity for word-play in Thai, in particular for 'spoonerisms' and puns, pointing also to a structural difference in phonology where Thai, through its tonal nature, provides the possibility of substituting not only phonemes, but also lexical tones. (Komin confirms Thais' predilection for 'playing with words, using puns and *khom phuen*', the latter referring to the reversal of syllables in taboo words [1990: 234]). Ajarn Murray's anomalous position suggests, therefore, that differences in English and Thai may have been perceived by teachers only in part because of the qualities perceived to be characteristic of a particular linguaculture; and additionally in part because of the 'foreignness' of any second linguaculture which offers 'newness' of role. In other words, it is the *intersections* of languages and roles which serve to shape performance possibilities.

I would like to recall here Cook's assertion that when we explore the use of L1 and L2 in bilingual classrooms, the issue concerns 'not whether it [L1] is present or altogether absent' but 'whether the L1 is visible or invisible', for 'L2 users have L1 *permanently present* in their minds' (1999: 202, emphases added). I suggest that in the same way, we may view C1 as being 'permanently present', again visibly or invisibly; for one's psycho-social identity is embedded in

'culture', and like L1, C1 is not 'absent' when communicating in the medium of a foreign linguaculture. Instead, through bilinguality are developed third spaces – transmuted meanings which cross cultures and languages but in the process retain something of what was there before. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, and as witnessed by teachers in this study, these 'special effects' offered by language learning can produce new ways of being/doing in the world; and thus, each time we perform, our selves may be 'constantly reconstituted' (Weedon, 1997: 36).

Part 2 A descriptive framework for classroom performance

Part 1 of this chapter explored *teachers' own perceptions* of the ways in which their classroom roles are differently performed in first and second languages. Later, Parts 3, 4 and 5 will examine *what was observed to happen* in the classes of this study. But now, in Part 2, a framework for describing the public performance of a second language in classrooms will be established.

In observing the classes of this study, it was possible to identify five kinds of performance, which I will refer to as *Enacting, Displaying, (Verbal) Playing, Acting* and *Animating*. In their re-visioning of performance, Hastings and Manning (2004) have drawn upon Goffman's (1974) notion of speech *figure*, and linked the latter to a cline of speaker *voice* which ranges from identity to alterity. Table 9.2 reproduces their representation of *figure* and *voice*, and relates those concepts to the performance processes established in the present study, providing a basis for the following discussion of each performance process in turn.

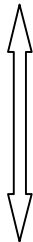
performance process	figure Goffman	speaker voice Hastings & Manning
<i>enacting</i>	(A) natural <i>presenting oneself</i>	identity  alterity
<i>displaying</i>		
<i>verbal playing</i>		
<i>acting</i>	(B) staged <i>presenting another</i>	
<i>animating</i>		

Table 9.2 Performance processes related to figure and voice

Performance processes

Enacting

The term *enacting* will be used here to describe ‘unmarked’ communication where participants are exclusively or predominantly focussed upon ‘making meaning’, or upon ‘the message’, if we understand message to be constituted of both experiential and interpersonal components. In its *enacting* dimension, language functions to realise the range of human experience and positioning.

Enacting happens differently when performed in the medium of a learner’s first or second language. It will be evident that when a speaker makes use of her native language, she is enabled to enact a wide ‘repertoire’ of roles. In this sense, *enacting L1*, being unmarked communication, is more familiar, close and ‘natural’, and therefore the least ‘othered’. At the same time, however, while L1 roles are potentially broader and deeper than those available in the second language, they are also shaped by familiarity and convention, as circumscribed by both the context of situation, in this case that of the classroom, and context of culture, in this case Thailand. On the other hand, *enacting L2* has the potential to open up new senses/positions of being because it is ‘marked’ communication, less familiar, close and ‘natural’, and therefore more ‘othered’.

In its *enacting* function, following Hastings and Manning, the speaker’s voice may be regarded as representing a relatively unmediated, ‘authentic’ identity (with the proviso, as set out in Chapter 2, that ‘identity’ should be regarded as

'provisional', contextual and mutable; and moreover, that it is jointly constructed 'at the time' and within/by various discourses).

Displaying

A second kind of performance may be regarded as a kind of 'dual enacting'. Publicly, it may be seen in the kind of speaking constructed through media events such as interviews or panel discussions, and more recently, through 'reality' television shows. In this kind of enactment, participants are representing 'themselves' to (at least) two audiences: the immediate one within a television studio, and a distant, electronically-mediated one. The term *displaying* is coined to describe this hybrid area where participants perform both amongst themselves and at the same time for public gaze. It is a process which has also been investigated by performance/media theorists, where it is said to result in our actions being 'objectified, lifted out to a degree from [their] contextual surrounding, and opened up to scrutiny by an audience' (Bauman, 1992: 44). It may be useful to regard the voice thus presented as realising part of the multiplicity of social roles available to a person; and that as such, the process of *displaying* also serves to affirm identity's contingent nature.

The classroom provides another public arena for *display*. In the L2 classroom, *display* happens when teacher or student performance is form-focused rather than meaning-based. That is, while *enacting* constitutes language as medium, *displaying* represents language as object. However, because all language, whether form or meaning based, cannot by its nature but mean, there results a duality. For the teacher, *display* happens when she chooses to *display* linguistic features of the target language while working within the target language (and sometimes within the first language). For students, this may happen through *teacher questioning of students*, where students are led to *display* their knowledge or lack of it (as well as, following the 'hidden curriculum', being led to *display* conformity or nonconformity to the learning role required of them).

In this type of performance, the speaker's role continues to present her/his own voice inasmuch as s/he speaks words which s/he has created. In so doing, a speaker builds upon her/his existing relationships with teacher and peers, which

in Thai classes of this nature, means relationships established in the Thai linguaculture. At the same time, duality occurs because the speaker wishes to display various kinds of knowledge in the medium of a second language. Thus in *displaying*, the speaker's voice is located towards the identity end of the cline of voice; however, it may be constrained both linguistically and situationally from the 'fullness' of range offered by *enacting* as described above.

Verbal playing

This third kind of performance may be seen to feature in daily life when people are positioned as being other than the way they are for purposes which include amusement and social inclusion/exclusion. Some kinds of verbal playing may also be described as 'double-voicing' (Bakhtin, 1981), wherein are found both a 'self' and a 'parodied self'. As noted in Chapter 2, the linguistic creativity of everyday verbal playing has only recently been documented as considerably broader and deeper than might be assumed (Carter, 2004), and there are very few studies of verbal play in EFL contexts, with exceptions being Sullivan's Vietnam-based work (Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996; Sullivan, 2000). Along the cline of identity, verbal playing is placed, Janus-like, at a mid-way point.

Acting

This category of performance comes from theatre – traditionally constituted by that kind of art/entertainment which is created for and delivered ('staged') to a 'public'. Such staged productions are also undertaken by schools/universities in the form of plays or musicals in Thailand as they are in Australia.

Acting may be found in classroom activities such as 'role-play' and 'improvisation' (Maley & Duff, 1982). In that context, there is a range of activity types, but in all cases, acting requires the presentation of 'other' than the self, and so is ranged toward the alterity end of the cline of voice.

Animating

This kind of performance refers to the verbalising of the written word, which in daily life is usually confined to situations such as newsreading or reading aloud to a child.

In language classrooms, *animating* has been already described in this study as AET, Animating English Text, wherein the teacher simply presents the written form of the language in spoken mode. But it may also refer to the process of students 'reading around the class', as well as to students reading aloud the dialogues presented in various EL textbooks. In the present study, as described in Chapter 6, *animating* was also seen in the form of whole class 'chorus reading'. *Animating* can be seen as incipient of *acting* as described above, in that it represents, as it were, just the 'reading' of a role. It produces performance in its most 'alterous' voice.

In sum, there has been established here a descriptive framework consisting of five relevant 'takes' on performance, which run from *enacting* to *displaying*, *(verbal) playing*, *acting* and *animating*. This framework will now be further examined by drawing briefly upon the psychology of consciousness, and the linguistic construct of tenor, after which it will be applied to the classrooms observed in his study.

Consciousness

The five identified types of performance may usefully be distinguished by their relative 'consciousness' of self. While *enacting* as described here is a process generally unconscious, it may also be drawn into consciousness in a number of ways, which include self-reflexivity, as well as more public forms of 'consciousness-raising' (afforded by discussion of, for example, gender or other socially-constructed beliefs). In *displaying*, the participant may be aware of projecting what is thought to be relevant/acceptable to an audience either present, as in the classroom, or mediated electronically. In *playing*, the participant consciously adopts or is ascribed a role or situation but without making use of the pre-programmed words of another. In *acting*, another character is presented through some kind of script. Finally, in *animating*, there is little to no consciousness of a personal identity: one is the mouthpiece for another's written words.

Tenor

The *enacting* of personal identity, which is as much ‘about others’ as it is ‘about self’, may be seen to give scope to the spectrum of tenor options which is available in our daily lives: in every languaging are enacted roles of speaker and interlocutor; and in every languaging, we can be seen to play a severalty of roles (teacher, male, Thai, for example). In the four remaining processes, however, there may be seen additional and specific *dualities* of role which are characteristic of language classrooms. In the case of *displaying*, when teacher and students communicate about L2 as well as through L2, there is maintained one’s existing and ongoing L1 role repertoire, and at the same time, there is a move into what is feasible (in terms of proficiency) and/or desirable (in terms of self and culture) to be projected in L2 performance. As indicated previously, this may result in both openings and closings of role. The remaining three performance processes, *playing*, *acting*, and *animating* also exert duality, but in differing ways which constitute increasingly distant tenor. All three serve to ‘present *enacting*’ – that is, they are frames of frames, but whereas the *player* still has the freedom to create her/his own words, the *actor* and *animator* are increasingly circumscribed by pre-existing words (although having some licence in the manner of their delivery).

Part 3 Performance in lessons observed: Teachers

The Table 9.2 presented in Part 2 of this chapter comprised three categories: Hastings and Manning’s identity/alterity cline of *voice*, Goffman’s *figure*, and the five performance processes identified. Table 9.3 below expands the former table, first to add the broader context of Goffman’s framework, and second, to integrate the four teaching moves previously identified in Chapter 8 of this study.

It may be noted that in the earlier Table 9.2, two of Goffman’s categories of *figure* were drawn upon. However, Goffman’s original framework comprises five such categories, and these have been included in the following Table 9.3 for the purpose of completion. In the present study of classroom talk, analysis has

been necessarily confined to Goffman's first two categories: *natural* and *staged*. That is, Goffman's third and fourth categories – *printed* and *cited* – would be accounted for within students' writing processes. (And the fifth category – *mockeries/say-fors*, which consists of 'mocking imitations of foreigners and others' [Hastings & Manning, 2004: 18] is a category unlikely to feature in classrooms.)

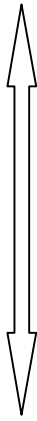
types of performance	pedagogic moves				figure Goffman	voice Hastings & Manning
	AET	CET	SI	ET		
<i>enacting</i>	-	-	✓	✓	(A) natural <i>presenting oneself</i>	identity  alterity
<i>displaying</i>	-	✓	✓	-		
<i>verbal playing</i>	-	✓	✓	✓		
<i>acting</i>	✓	-	-	-	(B) staged <i>presenting another</i>	
<i>animating</i>	✓	-	-	-	(C) printed (D) cited (E) mockeries/ say-fors	

Table 9.3 Performance processes, figure and voice related to pedagogic function

Following the relationships established in the above Table 9.3, the five categories of performance process will first be briefly summarised as they were seen to occur in the lessons observed, after which the appearance of each of these categories will be examined in turn.

Overall, it was found that of the performance types identified here, three were found to be present in most lessons, and were frequently observed to occur in the order of *animating*, followed by *displaying*, and then *enacting*, with the latter two processes often interspersed. Such patterns could occur in micro fashion, within a few seconds, or in larger steps constituting several minutes, or whole segments of lessons. In all such cases, this sequence gives a common pattern of the teacher moving back and forth from alterity to identity in her presentation

of self; in Goffman's terms, from staged to natural; in Hallidayan terms, from distant to familiar tenor; or, as we may also say, *from less kn(own) to kn(own)*. The identification of this pattern points again to the intricacy and embeddedness which characterise L1/L2 blending; it illuminates the dialectical quality of L1-L2 performance; and demonstrates what this affords for moving into third spaces. Moreover, we can now see the ways in which interpersonal meanings are transmuted through performance, and how it is their bilingual nature here which 'has made all the difference'.

Each performance process will now be examined in respect of lessons observed, also drawing when appropriate upon the pedagogic moves described in the previous chapter.

Performance processes

Enacting and Displaying

As previously indicated, *enacting* is regarded as the unmarked realisation of self which occurs when communication is focused upon meaning. It is important to note how enacting also varies according to context, and in this respect, I would first like to briefly contrast the effects of *classroom* and *non-classroom* settings on Thai teachers' enactment of English in this study. I would first recall that these teachers' EL proficiency was at expert speaker level, which clearly would open up the second language for performance of a range of roles. When Thai teachers spoke with me in English outside the classroom, in situations of either formal interview or casual conversation, I believe that they were indeed *enacting* a range of roles for various interpersonal purposes through their second language. However, in the L2 classroom, there were three major factors of difference which circumscribed the tenor of communication in English. First, it appears that when Thai teachers spoke to Thai students in English, the situation was generally perceived as 'artificial'; as being a classroom device. As one teacher put it, *If we speak English amongst Thai it's not natural – we are pretending* (Dr Patcharin); and as another said of the English parts of lessons: *It's not the real you, not the real students, not the real teacher* (Ajarn Nanda). Secondly, there is the didactic function of classroom discourse itself which differs from the phatic and other functions observable in conversation whether

casual or academic: in these language classrooms, English was both object and means of communication, and performance was often thus constrained: *it's more planned rather than just spontaneous* (Ajarn Somchay). Thirdly, possibilities for teachers to *enact* in English were limited simply by students' relatively low EL proficiency levels in a majority of – though not all – classes observed. As Dr Patcharin noted: *it takes time to find the words ... [and] it makes me uncomfortable [because] I don't know if students understand or not.*

In these ways, then, classroom discourse and non-classroom discourse were seen to differently shape *enacting* L2 for Thai teachers in this study. However, as indicated earlier, the result was not that no such enacting occurred in the classes observed, but rather that it was confined to higher proficiency classes, and generally within the 'dialoguing' sub-type of the pedagogic move called Scaffolded Interaction (SI). An example is shown here from Dr Patcharin's class:

Teacher	Students
English	English
The acceptance stage. The acceptance stage. OK, the acceptance stage. OK. How will you feel in this stage?	
	You don't want to go back home.
You don't want to go back home! [loud] Why not! Uh?! Why! [L] Why don't you want to go back home? [L] Okay, say something! [L].	

Text 9.1 Dr Patcharin

It may be recalled from Chapter 7 that the topic of this lesson concerned the stages of going overseas to live and returning to the home country. At this point, the teacher's first question about the 'acceptance stage' was designed to scaffold students' L2 interaction by the process of Prompting: that is, she was encouraging students to provide the kinds of language just taught – in this case, adjectives such as 'excited', 'lonely', and so on. Such a response would be regarded as the *displaying* of students' L2 knowledge. But instead, a student

chose to ‘Dialogue’ with the teacher by offering not one of the adjectives required by the exercise, but a ‘real’ and ‘personal’ response. In this sense, we may say that the student was ‘*enacting* L2’. And the teacher in turn, instead of proceeding with her *display* of the required practice vocabulary, *enacted* a ‘real’ response of interest and surprise.

Another example is shown from Ajarn Murray’s class, which is of interest because it too demonstrates the co-occurrence of *enacting* and *displaying*, but this time across two languages.

Type of performance	Teacher: English	Teacher: Thai
<i>enacting</i>	(1) Bedroom: you forgot something important.	
<i>displaying</i>		(2) ถุงยางอนามัยเรียกว่าอะไรน่ะ <u>How do you say condom?</u>
	(3) C...o...n...d...o...m....	
<i>enacting</i>	(4) You must remember your condoms. Every time. (R) You must remember. Condoms are good.	

Table 9.4 *Enacting and displaying across two languages, Ajarn Murray*

Here, in the first of the teacher’s four moves, he *enacts* a meaning-based communication in L2. In the second move, he takes on a didactic function and *displays* Thai to focus upon L2 as object. In the third move, the teacher continues the pedagogic *display* by spelling a key word in English. In his fourth move, the teacher then returns to *enacting* L2, where, with a safer sex message, the performance now becomes meaning-based as distinct from form-focussed. This last move is also of interest in that we see the teacher extending ‘classroom talk’ into real-life discourses where not only are public health issues promoted, but he elects to affirm his educative role as broader than that of ‘language’ teacher.

In this study overall, *displaying* was principally seen to occur in the identified pedagogic move of Creating English Text (CET), when a teacher wished to exemplify an English form or function, but this process could also occur in SI for the same purpose (and even, at times in Explaining Thai [ET], when Thai was used to display English as object of communication). Complementarily, the *enacting* of existing role relations by means of the L1 served as a home from which ‘entries’ could be made into the less familiar L2. Again, what was evident throughout the study, and as described in Chapter 7, was the embeddedness of these new L2 speakings in L1, not only in the rapidly deployed lesson protocols earlier described, but in the ways that teachers seamlessly played a multiplicity and diversity of roles in their lessons.

Verbal Playing

This kind of performance gives a teacher the latitude to ‘pretend’ that s/he, students, or the situation which they are in, are other than they are perceived to be. A dimension of *humour* can then be created, from the incongruity between what is (the ‘real’ us) and what is not (how we are ‘positioned’ as being). This process was seen to occur in both Thai and English. The first example is shown in Thai only, taken from Dr Chai’s class, where he comments upon students’ attempt to direct one another to make papaya salad:

เดี๋ยวพอหมดวิชานี้ เปิดร้านส้มตำเลย ออกไปเลย

After you’ve done this subject, you’ll be able to open up a papaya salad stall.

Text 9.2 Dr Chai

Another example, occurring in English only, is taken from Ajarn Murray’s class. Here, the teacher is commenting on some unusual items appearing on students’ list of bathroom vocabulary, including ‘telephone’ and ‘hairdryer’:

Don’t forget, when you use the telephone in the bath, you should also use the hairdryer. Don’t forget!

Text 9.3 Ajarn Murray

As discussed earlier in Chapter 7, if we examine the semantic connections made in the two examples above, we may see that *playing* was created by the

tensions formed between the simultaneous creation of two realities. That is, first there is the *enacting* of social relations to realise relatively expected, known, congruent identities. Second, there is the *playing* with social relations to realise relatively unexpected, less known, non-congruent identities. This dialectic process represents a move from *verbalisation* to *symbolic representation*, recalling Hasan's terms (1985), and in this way, the humour of verbal art can serve, as do metaphor and analogy, to transmute meanings.

In another example, when students reported back from their group work, and were asked by the teacher which room of the house they wished to begin with, they responded 'bedroom', which prompted the teacher's response of 'Bedroom – it must be said first'. Here is *enacted* first a congruent meaning of bedroom, which had been listed by students as one of the rooms of a house; then a non-congruent meaning is *played* by the teacher so that the bedroom becomes a site of sexual activity; and out of this tension comes the discursive positioning of students as having placed this particular first in their report-back because of their special interest in it, an interest which would be counter to the prevailing discourse of modesty in Thai culture.

Acting

In the lessons observed at this site, processes of acting in the sense of role-play or improvisation were not observed to happen. This may have been the case because such activities are associated with younger learners, and/those of lower-level proficiency, or that they are more likely to be found in the hands of native-speaking English teachers, or in ESL classes of a 'humanistic' type. One consequence is the lack of opportunity for students to practise the physical embodiment of L2, an experience seen by some as crucial in entering a second language (e.g. Migdalek, 2003). This absence is a matter of interest in terms of ELT methodology, but was not one which could be pursued here.

It was of note that beyond the classroom, however, the English Department at Burapha did stage student productions in English each year: two mentioned to me were 'Romeo and Juliet', and 'My Fair Lady'.

Animating

As indicated earlier, the term has been used in this study to refer to a re-channeling of mode from written to spoken within the target language of English. There is, however, never a one-to-one correspondence between the two language modes: the move into speech cannot but offer a different range of meanings because of the prosodic information expressed by intonation and rhythm; the paralinguistic features of pitch, volume, timbre; and indeed the social indicators conveyed through spoken dialect. Nevertheless, this is still a 'reading' of another's words, where the 'other' is normally a published EFL textbook, and this results in a process which is at quite a distance from a representation of the self. As indicated in Chapter 8, this process is of particular importance in the EFL classroom, and the metaphor of *animating* – bringing to life – seems an apt one. The most salient example in the analysis of the lessons observed, though not typical of other classes, was in the teaching of Ajarn Nanda, where as noted in Chapter 7, the teacher's performance of written texts was indeed 'highly animated' in terms of vocal range and dynamics, resulting in an enhanced affective dimension being realised for the texts under focus. In this sense, it can be seen that *animating* may shade into *acting*.

Part 4 Performance in lessons observed: Students

As indicated earlier, while *teacher talk* is the focus of this study, when examining the nature of performance in L1 and L2, there emerged an associated issue concerning *student talk*, or lack thereof, and this will now be pursued. As was documented in Chapter 7, on a majority of occasions when teachers attempted to lead students to perform L2, the latter were reticent to respond. This phenomenon was examined in detail in lessons given by Dr Patcharin and Ajarn Rajavadee, and was an occurrence lamented by every participating teacher. Moreover, issues of verbal reticence amongst Thai students, as well as those of 'Confucian Heritage', and indeed 'Asian' students generally have been extensively documented in the literature, although the validity of many interpretations has been contested here. It is now proposed

that a performance analysis may help to illuminate verbal reticence on the part of Thai FL students.

It is important to note that as well as requiring analysis at 'micro' levels of classroom interaction, this issue also needs to be considered in terms of 'macro' factors such as language proficiency, elective/non elective study and the role of prescribed textbooks. And so, in all three *English Major* classes (Dr Bua, Ajarn Somchay and Ajarn Nanda), verbal reticence in teacher-led interaction was less often seen. This may suggest that a sense of L2 alterity may diminish simply on greater acquaintance; and that students' choice to engage in study of English will additionally serve to increase their investment in the learning process. Other macro factors will be further discussed in Chapter 10, in terms of how textbooks were seen to directly shape learning opportunities for students, and in Chapter 11, in terms of how the bigger FL context impacts upon student attitudes towards language learning.

It should be noted that in the lessons observed, audio-recording of student talk was only captured in teacher-fronted questioning. The audio-recording of students' voices had not been planned, and is often unclear. However, this limited data is considered to complement the focus on the teacher, and will be additionally backed up with some comments on the nature and extent of student group work as witnessed in the study.

The five performance processes identified above will now be discussed in turn for what each can offer in understanding and responding to students' verbal reticence in oral L2 production, and this will be done in a sequence which moves from alterity to identity in voice.

Performance processes

Animating

It is suggested that the least identity-constructing and therefore least potentially inhibiting kind of performance is that of Animating. For the students at Isara, this kind of performance appears to have been particularly non-threatening because

it took the form of a choral rather than individual animation of written text. (Similar outcomes might be obtained from, for example, the recitation of Jazz Chants, or the singing of songs.) Here, students can 'dip a toe' into the L2 without threat to self or group identity – provided that they do not too readily relinquish the sounds of Thai in their English pronunciation, as will be discussed below. As reported in Chapter 7, in their animation of the texts in this study, students were observed to be confident and relaxed in manner.

Acting

Acting, as noted, did not appear in the present study. As indicated earlier (Goffman, 1974), it has been asserted that acting requires the taking on of another person's words and/or persona and that as such, it may be seen as representing less of the 'self' (Hastings & Manning, 2004). In its most typical classroom forms of role-play and improvisation, there are conflicting views of the impact of acting upon verbal reticence. On the one hand, Horwitz (1986), Foss and Reitzel (1988), and others, recommend the use of role play as a strategy to encourage students' oral participation in the target language. Young, on the other hand, cites role-play as a 'highly anxiety-provoking' technique (1991: 433). I would suggest, upon the basis of experience, that genres of role-play are particularly culturally-embedded, and that this technique emanates from and remains largely confined to Western contexts of EFL and FLT. Its absence in this Thai context was not unexpected by me.

Verbal Playing

The observation of students' involvement in verbal playing was one of the pleasures of this study. While learning cannot always be 'fun', any more than life can, there is nevertheless a highly significant presence of language play in our daily interactions. In the lessons where verbal play was particularly seen to occur, there were notably high levels of energy, participation and positive affect observed amongst students and teacher. In this performance process, two outcomes were afforded. First, as has been described earlier, students were enabled to be positioned or to position themselves in roles which were 'other' than those prescribed by conventional discourses. Second, students were

enabled to 'play' with power; for example to be teased by the teacher and to respond ironically (a process which also happened vice versa, but respectfully done). While students in this class still did not produce extended L2 utterances in their playing, there was not only an absence of verbal reticence on these occasions, but an eagerness to contribute orally in L2.

Displaying

It was documented earlier in the study that while students were usually reticent to respond to teacher-led whole class interaction, there was greater possibility of this succeeding when what was required was a more predictable structural response, whether of grammar, vocabulary or pronunciation. These were the kinds of responses stimulated by what in Chapter 8 were called the teacher's Priming and Prompting types of Scaffolded Interaction. Because the latter types construct less 'unknown', as well as less 'self', students appeared less likely to withdraw verbally at these times. However, it must be said there were still frequent occasions, as documented, when verbal reticence did manifest even in these fairly predictable interactions; and it was also notable that a number of students were observed never to respond even in this form-based interaction.

Enacting

In terms of students' verbal reticence, L2 *enacting* was clearly the most problematic aspect of pedagogy in this study. Central to a socio-cultural view of learning, and to a functional view of language are beliefs that a learner needs to engage with, participate in, appropriate the second language in order for it to become part of the learner, and for the learner to become part of it. However, in teacher-led Dialoguing, meaning-based interactions were occasionally sought but rarely gained; and in group work, while students were seen to work harmoniously and productively together, no group did so within the medium of the target language.

One other point should be raised here, which concerns student opportunities to *rehearse* their performance of L2. Thus, it was noted that in Dr Patcharin's class, which had been marked by frequent student silences to teacher questions, students did in fact respond in L2 to one particular 'dialoguing'

question: *How will you feel in the acceptance stage [of living in another country]?* But as previously indicated, the difference seems to have been that this oral exchange had been preceded by a considerable amount of 'rehearsal' through reading and writing, so that by the time it came to speak, students had practised the new language and gained confidence thereby. Similarly, in Ajarn Murray's class, students' readiness to interact with the teacher may be attributed in part to their prior experience of the topic and target language forms through having undertaken small group work in Thai. In this way we may see that rehearsal is one process which can support students' confidence in performing L2 in the classroom.

Group work

As indicated earlier, while student performance was not planned to form a part of this study, and indeed was not audio-recorded, the researcher, through his observation of conduct of student group work, was able to gain a further 'take' on student performance. Of the ten classes observed, group work took place in four; and in all four cases, the group product was some kind of written English text. The written product was *a list of words* in the case of Ajarn Murray's 'dwellings/rooms' lesson, *a recipe* in Dr Chai's cooking class, *answers* to a Three Level Guide in Ajarn Nuteau's reading lesson, and *short texts* formed through the creative application of categories of temperament to real life in Dr Bua's lesson. In all four classes, students completed the task entirely in Thai. As has been discussed in the accounts of individual lessons documented in Chapter 7, each teacher gave considered reasons for setting up group tasks in L1. Two teachers had explicit educational goals which were cognitive and social, rather than L2 linguistic; and two teachers had L2 linguistic goals which they believed were better reached via the first language.

What was happening in these four uses of group work was the *enacting* of social relations in Thai, for the purpose of *displaying* a written text in the target language. In these activities, it may be said that students' field meanings in L1 were developed, as was their entry into the written mode of L2 text. Similarly, their L1 tenor meanings were also developed. However, it cannot be said that students' enculturation into L2 tenor was equally developed through these

activities, since such meanings were confined to the written text produced, rather than explored through L2 verbal interaction with other people. Characteristically for the L2 learner, it is meanings of tenor which are less developed than other parts of the second language, and lack of confidence in this respect may be another reason for the reticence of Thai students to perform in the medium of the target language. The favouring of L1 over L2 for group work also highlights the often differing aims and practices of *foreign language* pedagogy and *second language* pedagogy, for the heart of CLT is often seen to lie in student production of L2 through pair and group activities. The differences between these two domains of language teaching will be further explored in Chapter 11 of this study.

In the following section, further analysis will be conducted in order to explore possible reasons for student reticence to perform in L2.

Part 5 Student reticence

In attempting to gain further understanding of students' reluctance to perform L2, I now draw together a number of perspectives which are rarely presented in an integrated way. First, I will look at the phonetic realisation of students' L2 speech and at what this suggests for the performance of self. Then, consideration will be given to 'foreign language anxiety'. Following this, I will examine the nature and role of students' 'invisible' performance of L2 in the form of Inner Speech.

Phonology

Second language students' pronunciation of the target language is often investigated in phonetic terms, indicating the ways in which learners' 'interlanguage' may fall short of the target language (e.g. Swan & Smith, 2001). Such approaches, while of considerable value in explaining the physiological and perceptual dimensions of learner phonology, also have their limitations. For

as Jenkins (1998) has pointed out, a broader view of the learner and their social context will also consider the extent to which it is appropriate or feasible for learners to aim for (Inner Circle) native speaker pronunciation targets, and will examine how L2 pronunciation contributes to the ways in which a learner may wish to represent her/himself in the medium of a foreign tongue. And as Poynton asserts:

The sound of the voice..., the accent it speaks in, the amount of aural space it occupies and its general appeal are as much as what creates...identities as the content of what is said. (1996: 109).

In this respect, it may be said that after changing the way we look, changing the way we sound represents the most radical shift in the identity we present to the world, and to ourselves (Forman, 1999).

It may be useful to examine Thai students' L2 pronunciation through the lens of *displaying* and *enacting* as outlined above. For although Thai students are speaking English in the classroom for the purpose of learning English, this practice is embedded in their existing social sense of themselves in relation to their peers: they may be said to be *displaying* their knowledge of English while retaining an articulatory frame of Thai. It could be that to adopt a consciously American/British pronunciation would signify a move towards *enacting* the second language, that is, towards 'identity-making'. This is something which, as Ajarn Rajavadee noted, could be seen by other students as *showing off*, and would therefore be avoided. The result has been documented by Smyth (2001: 344), who notes that for many Thai learners, it is: 'a perfectly normal and legitimate strategy to pronounce English words in a Thai way; to pronounce them any other way risks not being understood and sounding pretentious'. Smyth also suggests that there is a 'peculiar reluctance amongst many Thai speakers to shed their accent' (ibid). However, similar social restraints upon L2 pronunciation have been documented in respect of, for example, Hong Kong Chinese learners of English (Tsui, 1996); and my memories of school French are that any student's attempt to produce an 'authentic' French accent would be

met with derision from one's peers. This issue is thus not considered to be localised to Thailand.

Affect and Foreign Language Anxiety

Vygotsky asserted that 'the tendency to focus on thought without reference to the affective/volitional web that embeds it was a fundamental flaw of traditional psychology' (1986: 10). And as previously indicated, Halliday describes how language always both construes experience and enacts personal relations. The learning of language, then, may be seen as affectively coded at the level of system, performance, and indeed down to the individual word (Stevick, 1996).

The role of affect in L2 learning, with particular focus on classroom implications, has been explored at length in a volume edited by Arnold (1999a). A focus on affect, in the shape of concerns with ways of lessening or removing anxiety from L2 learning, was also a part of early 'humanistic' methods in the West in the 1970s (e.g. Suggestopaedia, The Silent Way, Community Language Learning, as summarised by Stevick, 1980). A significant part of the Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1982) and the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) was the notion of an Affective Filter which could block 'input' and therefore impede 'acquisition'. However, it was only in 1986 that a particular anxiety associated with foreign language learning was identified by Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, who drew upon the notion of 'performance anxiety', with its three components of Communication Apprehension, Test Anxiety, and Fear of Negative Evaluation, and extended it to *foreign language anxiety*, which they defined as:

a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process. (p. 128).

Horwitz et al suggest that what distinguishes FL anxiety from other academic anxieties such as maths is:

the disparity between the 'true' self as known to the language learner and the more limited self as can be presented at any given moment in the foreign language ... Probably no other field of study implicates self-concept and self-expression to the degree that language study does. (ibid.)

This observation is relevant to the finding of the present study that *enacting* within L2 was rarely seen, and points to the more limited L2 possibilities which appeared to be available to students both in linguistic and psycho-social terms.

Other findings of both this seminal paper by Horwitz et al and later research into FL anxiety are in a sense not unexpected. They include the salience of speaking as a source of anxiety (Koch & Terrell, 1991; Horwitz, 1995; Hilleson, 1996); the negative correlation between anxiety and various measure of achievement (Young, 1991; Sánchez-Herrero & Sánchez, 1992; Aida, 1994), and links between anxiety and perception of difficulty of the TL (Horwitz, 1989).

Clearly, these studies have been conducted within a Western psychological framework which focusses principally upon the learner and pedagogy, and are seen to be less concerned with broader socio-cultural factors. However, to my knowledge, there are no studies published in English which investigate foreign language anxiety and possible cultural dimensions in relation to Thai learners.

As previously discussed, while there are differences between Thailand and the Confucian Heritage Cultures (CHC) which compose many of its neighbours, there may nevertheless exist greater commonalities than would be the case between Thai and Western cultures. Existing research into Hong Kong learners of EFL may therefore be of relevance at this point. Tsui's (1996) study of reticence and anxiety builds upon earlier research not only from the West as outlined above, but also from China and Hong Kong (Liu, 1989; Wu, 1991; cited pp. 156-157). In her study of thirty-eight Hong Kong Chinese EFL teachers, Tsui found that 70% nominated student reticence as being a major pedagogic concern; she asserts that this issue is of particular concern in respect of Asian students 'who are generally considered to be more reticent than their Western counterparts' (p. 185). Possible causes of verbal reticence amongst Chinese

students are explored by Tsui, and strategies for amelioration were trialled. In terms of the latter, it was notable that techniques which sought to vary the extent and nature of teacher questioning were found to offer little improvement in student response. However, one technique did prove to be of significant benefit, and this was the setting up of student pair and group work as a prelude to whole-class teacher-fronted interaction (much as was found to have been successful in the present study). Tsui valuably pinpoints a rarely explored dimension of verbal reticence when she notes that 'support from peers is just as important as support from the teacher in creating an anxiety-free atmosphere' (p. 163); clearly, student performances in class are not only produced for the teacher.

While there may be some commonalities between CHC and Thai classroom cultures, there are also differences, however. Three major points in Tsui's 1996 study struck me both in their difference from my experience of Thai education, and also for their presumed ordinariness, given the relative lack of authorial comment which they engendered. First, it was common practice in the Chinese classrooms described for teachers to nominate individual students to reply to teacher questions; second, when called upon to respond, students were required to stand up. Neither of these practices was observed to happen in the Thai classrooms of this study. Thirdly, in an attempt to extend wait-time, one teacher in Tsui's study reported a two-minute silence which attended one student's response (against which the six-second record of my study barely registers).

Thus it is suggested that while there may be commonalities across Western and Eastern cultures in respect of some conditions producing verbal reticence, and that there are likely to be some particular commonalities between CHC and Thai classroom cultures, there may also be significant differences in the Thai context. In particular, it seems likely that, as discussed in Chapter 5, Thai students' classroom performance may be influenced by cultural motifs relating to 'self', 'social harmony' and 'face'. It may also be the case that Thai scholars can suggest alternative or additional constructs for what in the West is seen as 'anxiety' and what has been applied to learning as 'performance anxiety'.

Inner speech

It was noted earlier in this study that a predominant view of the research literature, and indeed one held by many teachers in this study, is that Asian learners are 'passive'. I again wish to firmly contest this notion, and to assert that equating silence with passivity is to miss a significant part of what may be happening in the learning process. Jin and Cortazzi's 1998 study is illuminating in this respect, which found that Chinese EFL students saw themselves as active in class 'in the sense that they mentally interacted with the teaching intensively and co-operated with teachers' (p. 104). Their finding corroborates an earlier exploration by Stevick, who records that staged periods of silence in his lessons were reported by learners to be 'in fact moments of intense mental activity' (1980: 165), and has been affirmed in a recent study by Ellwood (2004), where Japanese students at interview spoke of their deep attentiveness to and mental interaction with their Australian teachers' words. However, a problem for teachers and for some researchers is that without the evidence provided by student verbalisation, it is difficult to ascertain that learning is proceeding. Clearly, knowing what goes on in students' heads would be of great value in this respect, and the phenomenon of Inner Speech has recently been taken up for this purpose.

As may be recalled from Chapter 2, Inner Speech has been described as functioning in three overlapping ways (Cohen, 1998). First there is an egocentric function, where language is compressed, elliptical, and ideationally oriented towards the self. Second is the function of enabling and enhancing cognition through inner verbalisation; and third, that of rehearsing speech to others. While the first function remains unexternalised, both second and third may either remain internal, or alternatively, may be externalized only to oneself, in which case they are known as 'private speech'.

Private speech, then, is seen as intermediate between internal (egocentric) and external (verbalised to others) speech. With respect to L1 and L2, it is suggested here that the first and second functions of Inner Speech are likely to

remain in L1 until advanced levels of L2 are attained, and that the third, rehearsal function will by definition be usually of L2 itself.

The study of Inner Speech is problematic, of course, in its 'elusive and covert nature' (de Guerrero, 2004: 90): so that regardless of how it is drawn out (by introspection or think-aloud protocols, for example), once it is out, 'inner speech' is no longer in. This is a paradox sidestepped by Ohta's 2001 study of the *private speech* of seven first and second year American university students of Japanese as a foreign language. Here, through judicious audio and video taping, students' muttered, whispered, or sotto voce self-utterances in the classroom were captured verbatim; and while this kind of language clearly does not function in the same way as 'inner speech', it nevertheless offers a valuable window into learners' minds.

Ohta found there to be great variability in the use of private speech in these pre-intermediate learners, ranging from two to fifty four occurrences in a lesson. It was also found that these utterances were almost all in the target language of Japanese; that is, as might be anticipated, they apparently fulfilled the (third) L2 rehearsal rather than the (second) L1 cognitive function. Of particular value for the present study was Ohta's finding that during teacher-fronted lessons:

each learner is ... actively repeating, manipulating, monitoring, correcting, and expanding the language of others, such that he or she may actually be able to 'jump in' to answer, fill in blanks, finish sentences, or correct other participants (2001: 72).

(It should be pointed out that the above comment refers to students' private capacity to 'jump in'; that is, a vicarious participation, rather than actual.) Ohta concluded that learners were in fact *active* in using the L2 in these ways, and notes that teacher-fronted protocols (such as those observed in my own study) constituted, perhaps surprisingly, 'a unique space in which learners can focus on their own language use, working to create language without the pressure of ordinary social interaction' (p. 66), a finding which is strongly supported in de Courcy's study of French language learning in Australian classrooms (1993),

and which is echoed by van Lier's (1996) observations regarding teacher-fronted interaction as discussed in Chapter 8.

The concept of *rehearsal* as mentioned earlier in this chapter is also of value here in describing the mental activity engaged in by learners as they reflect on others' speech or prepare their own. It is of note that in Ohta's paper, the rehearsal function of private speech was found to be not only 'repeating', but also 'manipulating, monitoring, correcting, and expanding the language of others'. And recently, de Guerrero has demonstrated through her 'stimulated recall' study of inner speech how 'it is through subvocal or mental repetition that learners may begin to get a grasp on the second language' (2004: 103).

It appears that there may be both 'repetitive' and creative dimensions to rehearsal which to some degree overlap with the functions of performance. In this case, rehearsal might be usefully regarded as a kind of 'inner performance' which would then suggest that the term 'rehearsal' itself might benefit from a broader reconceptualisation and renaming.

In seeking to apply some of the insights gained from Inner Speech to L2 pedagogy, Tomlinson (2003) proposes that rather than accepting the dominance of L1 in their inner speech, learners may be trained to use more of L2 for this purpose from an early stage in their study. Arnold also draws our attention to research into sport psychology which has affirmed the value of the mental rehearsal even of physical skills (Vernacchia & Cooke, 1993, in Arnold, 1999b: 268). Additional insights into the connections between mental rehearsal and performance may be gained from Zen approaches to sport psychology such as the various 'Inner Game' texts (Gallwey, 1975/1986), which aim to deal with 'lapses in concentration, nervousness, self-doubt and self-condemnation' (p. 13). It does appear that although varieties of Inner Speech vary in their linguistic 'formedness', large parts are verbal, and could possibly become more verbal. Given the continuous nature of Inner Speech, it may even be said that such performance is more frequent than that of external speech; and I would suggest that that we are yet to tap this potential for supporting L2 development.

Lastly, from a teacher's point of view, there is also value in these various studies of inner and private speech for the assurance they provide that, all things being equal, there is no good reason to doubt that when learners appear to be 'on task' in language learning, they are likely to be so; and indeed, that they may be particularly 'engaged', and 'active' in the process, *even when there may be little or no verbal evidence*. This is a notion further supported by introspective accounts of language learning (e.g. Schumann & Schumann, 1977) as well as studies using think-aloud protocols (e.g. Wang & Wen, 2002).

Conclusion

In this chapter, classroom *performance processes* have been described and mapped onto the *pedagogic moves* established in the previous Chapter 8. Recalling that in the Hallidayan model of language, text is always composed of both ideational and interpersonal meanings, this chapter has demonstrated the constant enactment of the *interpersonal* in language pedagogy, and the implications for voice and identity. Three main points are of note.

First, again we see the power of language to co-constitute 'who we are', which contrasts with a structural, 'code' view of language (as in 'code-switching'); for it is through 'innumerable small momenta', to borrow Whorf's words (in Halliday, 1992/2003: 389) that are (per)formed new social roles and relations, and are transmuted new interpersonal meanings. Secondly, language learning is seen to differ from other kinds of learning in its public performance dimension, which produces an intensity of *affect* which differs from other kinds of learning in degree of impact on the self, and which may be joyful, liberating, anxiety-provoking, or silencing. Thirdly, the role and power of an invisible or partly visible Inner Speech has been nominated as playing a crucial role both in assisting our understanding of second language development and in potentially offering ways forward in terms of pedagogical application.

However, it has been seen that an issue of students' L2 verbal reticence remains. For even given maximum mental involvement in learning, there is no way that one can learn to *perform* a second language – in the sense used here of not only representing experience but in enacting interpersonal relations –

without at some point *speaking* it. As previously noted, when examining this issue, attention must also be paid beyond the classroom to examining the 'macro' factors in which the classroom is located. Such factors will include consideration of what may constitute appropriate texts and achievable objectives in the study of FLs, what kinds of proficiency for what proportion of students are feasible given limited contact hours, and sociolinguistic dimensions such as attitudes towards the target language/culture and student beliefs about learning FLs. These macro dimensions will now be explored in the following Chapters 10 and 11.

Chapter 10

Curriculum: Textbooks

- Part 1 The role of the textbook in EFL/FLT
- Part 2 Critiques of EFL/FLT textbooks
- Part 3 EFL textbook use in this study: Thai teachers' views
- Part 4 EFL textbook use in this study: *Passages* series
- Part 5 Approach to grammar; Use of visual images
- Part 6 Accessibility and mediation

So far in this study, following the initial pedagogic analysis of Chapter 7, I have looked at the impact of L1 and L2 in conveying *meaning* across language/cultures (Chapter 8), and at how speaker roles are enacted in the *performance* of L1 and L2 (Chapter 9). Now, the discussion moves to *curriculum*, for in the course of investigating L1 and L2 use in this study, it emerged as vital to bring into the picture what is taught as well as how it is taught.

In many EFL contexts, including this one, the curriculum is the textbook. That is, textbooks do not represent simply one resource amongst many: they are central to pedagogy, and appraisal of their effects when utilised by non-native, bilingual teachers is fundamental to an understanding of Thai EFL. Here, because one particular textbook was used in three of the classes observed, and because this publication was taught to all 1,900 Year 1 students in the compulsory English subject at Isara, it has been taken as a worthy focus of attention.

This chapter thus examines what happens when a Thai teacher is presenting to Thai students published texts which are both exclusively monolingual in the target language (Language 2), and exclusively from foreign sources (Culture 2). An analysis is conducted both of *the appropriacy/relevance of the textbook* to this context – its language, culture and pedagogy – and of *the teacher as mediator* of

published texts. And so this chapter is again concerned with the transmuting of meanings, and the use of L1 and L2 in this process, but now with the artefact of the textbook as a central focus.

Part 1 The role of the textbook in EFL/FLT

While the undergraduate curriculum is defined at Isara and other Thai universities in terms of a sequence of subjects, the selection of textbooks for each subject is made by the Department itself, with scope for teachers' individual development of materials and teaching techniques. In the present study, there were two classes observed where the teacher had introduced innovative approaches which either did without a published textbook (Dr Chai's experiential learning related to cooking), or related only tangentially to that prescribed (Ajarn Murray's verbal play). All the remaining teachers closely followed various commercially published textbooks, and this is the usual pattern of EFL in Thailand, as for that matter of FLT in Australia.

The role of the textbook in learning has been explored over many years, with a significant early study characterising its authority as 'beyond criticism' (Luke, de Castell & Luke, 1983); and another confirming that the textbook is 'the basic medium of education' (Dendrinos, 1992: 13). Cortazzi and Jin (1999: 200) note that textbooks are seen as 'embodying current research and theory', and that these publications represent 'a social construction that may be imposed on teachers and students and that indirectly constructs their view of a culture'. Kubota (2003: 81) similarly refers to a common assumption that 'textbooks convey accurate facts about the target culture and language'.

The role played by textbooks is particularly significant in learning contexts where the target language is not widely used, that is, in EFL and FLT contexts, and where, as indicated above, the textbook typically is the curriculum. As previously

noted, while English in Thailand has spread to media outlets of music-video, satellite television, movies and so on, such native-speaking texts will generally be comprehensible only to the most advanced learners of a second language, and indeed, are not generally found to be accessible for language learning purposes. Moreover, in Thailand, once outside the capital and various tourist locations, personal contact with English speakers is limited, and this was the case at Isara. The EFL teacher's role then becomes even more prominent in the learning process, and with this intensified responsibility to one's students comes a need to be able to rely upon a textbook as a source of authority for accuracy, fluency, and cultural information.

It must be acknowledged that the writing of any text does not necessarily determine the way it is read, if we regard reading as an interactive, co-creative process. Research into how teachers actually use textbooks in class is rare, but attention will be paid to an important study by Sunderland, Cowley, Leontzakou and Shattuck (2001: 277), which examines the ways in which gender-inclusive texts can be 'endorsed', 'ignored', or 'subverted' by classroom teachers, either intentionally or unintentionally. This study will be drawn upon here both in order to illuminate ways in which EFL concerns may differ from those of ESL, and also to prepare for a later discussion about the ways in which Thai teachers do or do not mediate the texts prescribed for use.

It must first be said that the paper by Sunderland et al. is in some ways as interesting for what it does not say as what it does; for while the focus upon *gender* in language pedagogy is welcome and insightful, there is a lack of consideration given to the equally important role of *culture*, as well as to the intersections of gender and culture. In particular, the paper does not address the different positioning of teachers who are native speakers or non-native speakers of the target language, nor the different tenor pertaining to a teacher who shares a linguaculture with her students compared with a teacher who does not. All these factors will shape what is talked about, and how such talk may be achieved in the

language classroom. Indeed, the background languages of cooperating teachers in the Sunderland paper are not stated. This omission bears out Block's survey of papers published in major SLA and Applied Linguistics journals over the years 1998-2001, where it was found that information about participants' backgrounds was minimally provided; information relating to language backgrounds rarely so; and that when information was supplied, it was in any case not then related to the research in question (2003: 45-47).

Sunderland et al.'s study is located in three sites: Greece, England and Portugal. We may conclude that the teachers located in Greece were Greek-speaking by virtue of their interviews having been conducted in that language; the FL teachers of German in England are likely to have been English NS; the British Council EFL teachers in Portugal are also likely to have been English NS. These are only assumptions, but whether correct or not, it is this kind of information we need in order to begin to understand the ways in which gender, culture and language intersected in those particular classrooms, and in foreign language classrooms generally.

There is a further limitation to much SLA research which is exemplified in the Sunderland paper: an exclusive focus upon European languages and cultures, the latter which for all their diversity also possess profound commonalities. Such discussions may appear to be of less relevance to NNS teachers in Expanding Circle contexts, whose more immediate concerns may be with *making sense* of the language and culture of foreign texts in their role as predominant or sole mediator for their students.

It was reported by Dendrinos in her study of 200 non-native FL teachers in seven countries of the European Community that even within the European context, NNS teachers felt 'inferior' to native speakers and 'insecure' with the foreign language they were teaching (1992: 50), a finding echoed by Seidlhofer's study of NNS Austrian EFL teachers (1996). Dendrinos attributes to these feelings of insecurity

her teachers' predominant reliance upon the textbook as curriculum: 'They feel safer with the basic guidelines of their book, they usually follow it from beginning to end, and they do not intervene with the sequence of the units of knowledge' (ibid.). This finding resonates with attitudes displayed by Thai teachers in the present study, one of whom commented: *The textbook has been written and trialled by native speakers, so we just follow what it says in the text* (Ajarn Rajavadee). Also highly significant in the Thai context is that such textbooks are monolingual in English, which may also contribute to teachers' lack of confidence in mediating the text as proposed by Sunderland and others – for even relatively expert L2 speakers may not be sure that they have grasped in full an L2 text's lexicogrammatical and discoursal meanings. To borrow the terms of Sunderland et al., we may say then that in the current study, teachers tended to 'unintentionally endorse', rather than 'ignore' or 'subvert' the culturally-bound content of textbooks used.

Part 2 Critiques of EFL/FLT textbooks

In the 1970s and 1980s, a significant body of literature developed which critiqued the monocultural, classist, sexist and racist nature of commercial textbooks (e.g., Hartman & Judd, 1978; Freebody & Baker, 1985; Wald, 1988; Clarke & Clarke, 1990). In the 1990s, publishers and authors developed policies and practices aimed at representing greater inclusivity and diversity in their textbooks: in 1997, Jones, Kitetu and Sunderland studied three contemporary EFL textbooks and could confirm that progress had visibly been made. Sunderland's 1994 paper included the reprint of a booklet produced by the group 'Women in EFL Materials' entitled *On Balance: Guidelines for Representation for Women and Men in English Language Teaching Materials*, which had been accepted by the ELT Publishers' Association in the UK. Perhaps resulting from pressure on publishers to consider cultural appropriacy, Gray (2002: 159) refers to editors' prevailing 'PARSNIP'

principle, which excluded from publication areas concerned with 'politics, alcohol, religion, sex, narcotics, isms and pork'.

When we look at the research literature concerning textbooks, it is notable that while there are commonalities of critique which relate to both EL and FL textbooks in terms of their ideological representations, beyond this, there are additional issues which impact differently on the EL and FL parts of the language teaching profession. Perceptions of textbooks – and therefore curriculum – which are specific to each of these two domains will now be briefly outlined.

In ELT, Brown (1990) added to earlier criticism of the portrayal of race and gender by pointing to the materialist values common to commercial textbooks, a concern echoed by Rinvoluceri's humanist approach (1999). Wajnryb critiqued British and Australian textbooks for their portrayal of a 'very, very thin slice of a clean, affluent social environment' (1997), as well as for their pedagogy: 'life was not meant to be an adjacency pair ... where the second half of the couplet always works in its preferred response form' (ibid.). Gray also provides a broad and critical account of how EFL textbooks represent the English-speaking world, noting publishers' 'contradictory commercial, pedagogic and ethical interests' (2002: 2).

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) trace various approaches to representing 'culture' in commercial textbooks which may be placed in three broad categories. The first, which composes the great majority of existing publications, focusses upon the *target culture*, whether specifically Anglo-American, or amorphously 'Western'. For the second, Cortazzi and Jin draw attention to the relatively few publications which are based upon students' *source culture*. They critique some earlier publications written for Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Venezuela, because although these fulfilled the desirable criterion of presenting unfamiliar language through familiar content, the exclusively source culture of these texts provide students with 'little opportunity to engage in a dialogue with the text to identify and confirm their own cultural identity, or to ascertain its similarities and difference with that of another cultural

group' (1999: 207). McKay, however, refers more positively to source culture-based EFL materials written for Morocco and Chile (2003: 10-11). A third approach may be described as an *intercultural* one. This can be seen in materials written by Tomalin and Clempleski (1993), Mlynarczyk and Habers (1998), or Utley (2004), which offer comparative examination of general cultural patterns and/or non-target culture voices; it is less often found in texts such as 'J-Talk' (Lee, Yoshida & Ziolkowski, 2000) which are based upon direct comparisons between the target culture (English) and local culture (Japan).

As noted above, and as will be seen later in this chapter, by far the dominant approach taken in EFL textbooks has been the first listed above, which exclusively focuses upon target Anglo-American culture. In an oft-cited paper, Alptekin (1993) points to the problems inherent in such textbooks in their attempt to present new language at the same time as new cultural content, supporting his critique with psychological theories of Schema and educational theories of Reading (Carrell, 1984; Friedlander, 1990); and calling instead for the building of 'conceptual bridges between the culturally familiar and the unfamiliar (p. 141). But nearly ten years later, the author repeats and amplifies his call (2002: 63), asserting the need for textbooks 'to involve local and international contexts that are familiar and relevant to language learners' lives', and additionally supporting the presentation of:

... discourse samples pertaining to native and non-native speaker interaction
... Discourse displaying exclusive native speaker use should be kept to a minimum, as it is chiefly irrelevant for many learners in terms of potential use in authentic settings.

The latter point had similarly been made by Dendrinis in 1992, when she pointed out that in the European context, most EFL learners 'will be using English in their own countries to communicate with speakers for whom English is also a foreign language' (p. 41). Clearly, this is a trend which has only intensified with global interdependence and mobility, and Thailand in its ASEAN context is no exception. But most ELT textbooks remain international and monolingual, whose goal remains

the accessing of the 'centre' English-speaking culture, and which rarely acknowledge the local cultures which EFL students by definition bring to their learning. And when 'other' cultures are represented in ELT textbooks, this still generally happens in assimilationist, exoticising or trivialising ways, with little depth and even less problematising of cultural values. In the textbook to be discussed later in this chapter, for example, the world beyond the USA is represented in fourteen pages out of one hundred and eighteen, in two units. One unit is called *Fascinating Destinations* (pp. 18-25); the following extract gives an idea of its purview:

Here is some additional information about the cities on page 18. Join these sentences with non-defining relative clauses. Then compare with a partner.

(2) People often visit Kyoto in April. They can see the beautiful cherry blossoms in April.

(7) Seoul is well known for its shopping areas. Everything from antique pottery to custom-made clothing can be found there.

(Richards & Sandy, 1998: 19)

And in the unit *On the Other Side of the World* (pp. 94-101), we learn, amongst other things, that 'If you're culturally aware, you'll find it easier to accept cultural differences' (p. 100). It is also recommended that when asking for directions, travellers should:

Open your mouth and say "ahh", as if you were at the doctor's office. Follow "ahh" by the name of the place you're going to: "ahh Paris" or "ahh Madrid."

(Richards & Sandy, 1998: 101)

While in this series there is an assiduous balance of ethnicities in visual and verbal texts, together with careful gender positioning (including an image of a man washing the dishes), and while these discourses certainly represent gains on older publications, it is nevertheless the case that images are still of homogenised,

middle class, younger, heterosexual Americans, with very little evidence of ‘others’ within America, let alone in the bigger world, or in the particular worlds of the students who are using these publications.

Back in the European EFL context, Gray recently interviewed twenty-two teachers, ten of whom were native English speakers, and twelve, native speakers of Spanish/Catalan, in order to determine their views on commercial texts. Here, a major theme was the absence of the local in currently available publications, and the value to be gained by students ‘seeing their Catalan world in English’ (2002: 164). A frequent metaphor was that the EFL textbook should be a bridge between local and target culture. And this from a European perspective. How much greater distance is there between English and ‘periphery’ countries such as Thailand, in both cultural and linguistic terms; and correspondingly how much greater a need for such intercultural ‘bridging’.

Medgyes observed nearly twenty years ago that the constraints of EFL are rarely addressed by either theorists or textbook designers (1986: 111); Canagarajah offers more recent critiques (1999, 2003) of the absence of the local in EFL; and Kumaravadivelu (2003: 565) can still speak of the ‘vice-like grip the Anglo-American textbook industry has on the global ELT market’. While this situation remains at large, it should also be noted that there have been interesting exceptions, often funded through aid/development projects, where localised and bilingual textbooks have been written in-country to meet local conditions, for example in Laos (Forman, Kelly & Satewerawat, 2001).

In the Foreign Language domain, however, concerns have been rather different, and here we can see the effects of the different sociologies of the two kinds of language learning – English (ELT), and ‘the rest’ (FLT). For the economic and political power associated with the spread of English – its utility – is currently so pervasive that often no justification for its teaching/learning is required (which is not to say that critique of its effects is absent, of course). But most other foreign

languages, which do not currently hold this degree of socio-political power, are in quite different positions, where there is often a need to justify their continued existence in various educational sectors, particularly as an overall downward trend of foreign language learning continues in Australia (Morgan, 2003), as well as in the UK and USA (Peel, 2001). Partly for these pragmatic reasons, but also because of differing views held by educators, government and industry on the relative importance of vocational and humanist education, pedagogic and ethical *purposes* of FLT have been more firmly articulated and contested (as has been documented in Chapter 3 of this study, e.g. Lo Bianco, 1992; Rudd, 1994). In the profession, central to the rationale for FLT since the early 1990s have been three notions of first, the *intercultural speaker* and her/his competence, both in Europe (Byram & Esarte-Sarries, 1991), and to a lesser extent in North America (Kramersch, 1993) and Australia (Lo Bianco et al., 1999); second, the notion of the *tertiary socialisation* offered by a second language/culture (i.e., that following on from home and school – Byram, 1997); and third, the goal of achieving *mutual representation* in teaching materials and textbooks, which would aim to ‘depict culture both from observer’s and informant’s perspectives’ (Feng & Byram, 2002: 61). Further explorations of the intercultural are found in a volume edited by Byram and Fleming (1998), in which nine authors address the use of ethnography in intercultural FL pedagogy, and a further five, the use of drama. Interculturality is thus well developed in the FLT domain and in a number of textbooks; Kubota (2003: 8) positively cites Peterson’s *Adventures in Japanese* (2000) as one example.

If we return to the EL field, however, it is notable that, with early exceptions of Stern (1992: 218 – ‘the bicultural learner’) and Kramersch (1993), it is not until Feng and Byram (2002) and Corbett (2003) that we see the notion of the intercultural speaker starting to gain currency. Corbett in particular explores the significance of this development for EL teachers, pointing out that in an intercultural perspective, non-native teachers ‘become particularly valued for their own ability to move between the home and target cultures’ (2003: 4), and that the curriculum becomes

'a process of mediation, whereby the home culture is explored and explained to members of the Anglophone culture, and Anglophone culture is also investigated critically' (ibid., p. 208). Textbooks are now to be targeted at specific communities; they should result from collaboration between native and non-native speakers of the source and target languages; and should include ethnographic approaches to learning (see Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan & Street, 2001). The key issue of who writes EFL textbooks has been taken up in some detail by Feng and Byram in their 2002 examination of university level ELT in China.

In the Thai context, there is one important study into the teaching of culture through EFL which examines textbooks currently in use (Wongbiasaj & McDonough, 1996; further developed by Wongbiasaj, 2003). It was found that in the absence of the local, the EFL texts surveyed were 'not appropriate' (p. 17) and 'irrelevant to the Thai context' (p. 18) The authors describe an innovative EFL program which they have implemented at Chiang Mai university in Northern Thailand which exemplifies the intercultural approach described above, for students are guided to make intercultural explorations by starting with an analysis of the cultural features of Thai soap operas and movies, and moving to investigate ways in which these compare with similar American genres.

These few alternative voices and programs outlined above, will, however, be seen to stand in strong distinction to the texts which happened to be used in the present study, some of which will now be investigated further.

Part 3 EFL textbook use in this study: Thai teachers' views

As noted above, for all but two of the lessons observed here, the textbook constituted the curriculum. Its role, then, in the Thai EFL context takes on a prominence greater than it does in most Australian ESL contexts, where a single coursebook would not usually be followed, and where teachers are more likely to have access to a range of resources as well as the means to readily photocopy parts of them. Moreover, a native speaking teacher is likely to have the additional resource of being able to spontaneously create her own texts, spoken and written, in the target language, whereas a second language speaker may have less facility to achieve this. Despite these differences in context, however, both fields are serviced by the same commercial publications. To my knowledge, and according to respondents in this study, the international textbooks used in Thailand are available only in the target language, being written by native speakers, and for a 'generic' market.

The textbooks used here have high status in a number of ways: they are in the written mode, in published form, and monolingual in the perceived-to-be prestigious target language. This means that students and teachers alike will tend to ascribe linguistic and cultural authority to such artifacts. However, it also means that with no bilingual support available, the teacher will be left to her own devices to interpret and mediate as best she can the language and culture therein. Following the approach proposed by Sunderland et al. (1994), it may be questioned: why does the teacher herself not intervene in the text, in order, for example, to introduce cross-cultural comparisons? This is logical, but represents a difficult step in most EFL contexts, where deviation from the textbook is rarely encountered for at least three reasons. First, there is the prestige of foreign publications, which are *written by native speakers of English with information from their own country* (Dr Patcharin). Because of this, the FL teacher may feel that s/he does not have legitimate authority or 'cultural capital' to make such explorations.

Second, teachers need to work through set books synchronously in order to ‘cover’ the material prescribed and achieve parity amongst students enrolled in the program: *The same course means the same text, methods, text and evaluation criteria* (Ajarn Laksana). Thirdly, there is the reality of heavy teaching loads and large classes: *I know what I should do for students, but I don’t have time to create the activities or the environment that will make the students learn the language more.* (Dr Patcharin). In addition to these classroom factors, there may also be systemic ones, in that universities and governments may decide to allocate funds towards the purchase of foreign publications, rather than towards the development of locally-created texts.

These constraints are clearly heavy ones, but they are not unique to the Thai EFL context. There would be very few NNS teachers of a foreign language – myself included – who would consider themselves to have sufficient authority to dispense with the ‘received’ or ‘published’ wisdom of a textbook: the stakes are too high, the risk of falling too great. It is not suggested therefore that the problem resides in textbooks per se, but rather in the forms in which they are usually met. In this study, it was interesting to note that no teacher alluded to the possibility of EFL textbooks being produced for the Thai market with bilingual explanatory materials for the teacher. My interpretation is not that such an initiative would be disfavoured, but simply that the possibility had not been entertained.

Commercial EL textbooks often appear in the form of both Student’s Book and Teacher’s Manual, but the latter is normally densely written, at a higher level of technicality and abstraction, and consequently rarely accessed by EFL teachers, who prefer to work with the more transparent Student’s Book; such was the case for the lessons observed. Given the expert but non-native status of the teachers in this study, together with the time constraints in which they worked, it is not surprising that such guides were rarely consulted. It may also be noted that in their treatment of commercial textbooks, Thai teachers in this study almost always focussed exclusively upon written passages along with identified grammar points:

other parts such as cassette listening passages and pair/group work activities were usually discarded.

Many teachers in the study commented upon the value of foreign textbooks, sometimes positively, but more often negatively. On the positive side, a number of respondents noted that being able to learn about Western culture through foreign textbooks was intrinsically valuable: *It's good that students learn about other countries* (Ajarn Rajavadee). The latter teacher also pointed out that part of what students thus learn is about how study itself is approached in other cultures; in other words, that the overseas textbook was itself a cultural genre which could reveal 'other' approaches to learning. Another positive dimension was attributed to the range of activities which textbooks offer: *Many textbooks have good exercises that stimulated me – gap-filling, for example.* (Dr Chai)

The majority of teachers, however, were more critical of EFL textbooks, both for their linguistic inaccessibility to non-native speakers: *When you take it here, [from the USA] it's still too hard.* (Dr Chai); and specifically for cultural reasons. In regard to the latter, Ajarn Laksana referred to the *Passages* series (Richards & Sandy, 1998, 2000), parts of which will be examined in more detail later in this chapter. These books were found by her to be inappropriate and inaccessible for Thai students, both in terms of language and culture. She felt that if used at all, the books should be taught by native speaking teachers rather than by Thai teachers, disclosing that *I feel like I want to cry every time I teach this book.* In regard to the same series, Dr Bua commented that the textbook sometimes *doesn't make sense* to her as a teacher. She also indicated that it was not a text appropriate for EFL learners, being *far, far away from students' prior knowledge and experience*, which meant that students *cannot assimilate to what they already know*, and that this led to lowering of students' interest and motivation. She specifically referred to a passage on 'Dating' within that book's unit on 'Relationships' as being highly inappropriate for Thai students.

Another teacher, Dr Patcharin, similarly indicated that she views the *Passages 2* textbook as *culture-bound*, asserting that the majority of activities which it presents were not feasible for use in Thailand because Thai students did not possess the assumed cultural knowledge. She agreed that it is valuable for students to learn about the world by studying American culture in these texts, but noted that it is a different matter to then expect students to be able to produce new language/ideas based on this unfamiliar content.

Ajarn Murray referred to the need for textbooks to mediate between source and target cultures:

We need more Thai and SE Asian content for the students; less focussed on America. [Students] need to learn about America ... And talk about profoundly Thai things using English; [in order] to disseminate knowledge of Thailand and Thai culture to people who don't speak Thai.

Dr Patcharin held a similar view, and commented on the 'global' American content of ELT textbooks as follows:

We learn about Western countries, but we don't learn the language to describe Thailand at all ...

Such comments are salutary in their agency, for so naturalised are Western discourses of Anglicism and monolingualism that the concomitant devaluing of local languages and cultures is often barely noticed until challenged in this way. It is strikingly clear, as the above teachers point out, that when Thai people communicate with foreigners (whether non-Thai speaking Asian neighbours, or 'native' English speakers) Thai people will be constantly representing, explaining, comparing various dimensions of Thai life, right from the most quotidian concerns of how to 'meet, greet and eat', up to, for example, domains of politics, education, religion.

Cultural hegemony and exclusivity indeed dominated the texts observed in this study. That is, writers did not appear to have considered what it means to a learner to enter into a second language/culture, to thereby potentially move into a 'third space', and from there to re-read the first language/culture. Clearly, a starting point for accessing cross-cultural texts, which are what *all* target language texts represent to a second language learner, can be to contrast what is known and less known to learners. In so doing, the learner not only learns about the target culture, *but about her/his own culture*. This intercultural perspective is one, moreover, which accords with well-accepted theories of both schema and reading pedagogy, as previously noted by Alptekin (1993). But the perspectives of Dr Patcharin and Ajarn Murray as cited above are ones rarely found in the commercial EFL field, which generally assumes an international market of students who are already studying in, or plan to visit, principally, the USA or the UK. It is also the case that intercultural competence can barely be developed if the foreign language texts experienced are not only confined to the target culture, but to a non-diverse, sanitised, Disneyfied version of the target culture. Any language teaching text which is unilateral, monocultural and monolingual must therefore be considered to be inaccurate in its cultural representation, and deserves to be questioned for its potentially imperialist assumptions.

Part 4 EFL textbook use in this study: *Passages* series

This section will examine more closely three lessons, parts of which were analysed in Chapter 7, based on the two set texts for that year's *Foundations English* classes at Isara, *Passages 1* and *Passage 2* (Richards & Sandy, 1998, 2000). It may be recalled that this subject is compulsory for first year students, and was streamed into two levels. These books were therefore taught to twenty eight classes of some 1,900 students in 2002.

Text 1: The Art of Complaining**Passages 1**

Dr Patcharin

This text, which is reproduced in Appendix V, formed a part of the lesson examined in Chapter 7 (Teacher 5). It may be recalled that the teacher had experienced considerable reticence on the part of students to offer verbal contributions on the topic. I would now like to consider the cultural appropriacy and relevance of the text to local students' needs and interests.

The passage in question presents a cosmopolitan, affluent lifestyle which includes overseas travel and staying at hotels with ocean views. However, while there is wealth in Thailand, much of this is concentrated in few hands, and mainly in Bangkok. More than seventy percent of the population follow a near-subsistence rural lifestyle. In 2004, even university teachers earn the equivalent of only \$A400 per month; and the great majority of university students, particularly in the provinces, lead simple, frugal lives. At one point in this lesson, the teacher established that no student in the class had travelled outside Thailand, and that none had travelled by plane. In these respects, this textbook is, as Dr Bua had put it, *far, far away from students' prior knowledge and experience*.

This text presents discourses of Western consumerism and individualism, exemplifying what Brown (1990: 13) called 'cosmopolitan' English culture: that which 'assumes a materialist set of values in which international travel, not being bored, positively being entertained, having leisure and above all spending money ... are the norm'. The text also promotes 'assertiveness', addressing readers directly, and advising key processes of demanding, insisting and complaining. But apart from the fact that these young Thai people are mostly unlikely to engage in overseas travel of this kind, any second language learner (whether of ESL, or even more markedly, of EFL background) will be positioned quite differently from a native speaker if wishing to engage in a 'consumer complaint' in the foreign language/culture. The differential factors of power, affect and solidarity which influence who speaks, when, and how, are not addressed. Nor is it mooted that

there exist other cultures where ‘complaining’ might be done in different ways, as is in fact significantly the case in Thailand where processes of *demanding*, *insisting* and *complaining* are not only inappropriate in such direct forms, but indeed are proscribed.

It may be argued that this passage serves a purpose of presenting a slice of American life. However, an intercultural view of learning would assert that a more valuable aim would be the making explicit of this kind of speech act both in the target culture and comparatively in the source culture. That is, if we accept for the moment that the topic of ‘complaining’ is an appropriate one, then a useful lesson aim could be to demonstrate to overseas students how English speakers visiting Thailand might ‘complain’, and to contrast this with local customs; and thence to explore third spaces in which Thai people who go to the West might as ‘visitors’ then appropriately use English to complain (or avoid complaining). A broader view would additionally examine how complaining is conducted in the medium of English as a lingua franca in, say the ASEAN contexts of SE Asia. Fundamental in such processes is the making explicit of students’ rich, but possibly as yet unarticulated semantic/pragmatic knowledge of the first culture in order to construct understandings of the second culture. As it is, if a Thai student were to ‘apply’ the mode of complaining advised here either in America or Thailand, s/he would be likely to get into deep trouble.

As described in Chapter 7, in her teaching of this text, the teacher followed a form of the Bilingual Blend Protocol which ensured that every word of the English written text was translated into students’ L1 through moves consisting principally of *Animating English Text*, followed by *Explaining in Thai* (with only occasional uses of *Creating English Text*, and *Scaffolded Interaction* of the prompting type). Thus it may be said that L2 meanings had, at lexical and grammatical levels, been conveyed by the expert hands of the teacher into students’ existing L1 semantics. But such knowledge is only a part of the picture, of course, and *functional* meanings were not likely to have been conveyed. In other words, at the end of this

lesson, students would have developed their formal knowledge of the lexis and grammar of L2 through the detailed language focus of the teacher, but they would not have developed their capacity to enact the social practice of ‘complaining’ in the target American culture. Nor would students have developed the intercultural understanding which would enable them to reflect upon and make explicit the ways in which complaining is realised in Thai culture. The point here, then, is that if a text is too far away from students’ existing cultural knowledge, even the linguistic expertise of a bilingual teacher in providing a translation into students’ L1 will not necessarily advance students’ functional L2 development.

In this lesson it may be said, following Sunderland et al. (2001), that the teacher has ‘ignored’ or ‘endorsed’ the discourses of this text by omitting to ‘talk around it’. Possible reasons for the lack of mediation on the part of the teacher in this context may, as suggested earlier, relate to the authority of the text, the need to synchronously complete a common syllabus, the demands of time for preparation, and professional confidence. The teacher herself nominated only one of these reasons at interview:

I know what I should do for students, but I don’t have time to create the activities or the environment that will make the students learn the language more. (Dr Patcharin)

What has been demonstrated here, therefore, is the limitation of L1 as a tool for transmuting meaning in the face of two obstacles: the first was that of a textbook which is monocultural, monolingual, and far from students’ life experiences; the second, a teacher’s role which did not – for whatever reasons – diverge from the authority of that textbook in order to mediate student understandings.

The following text formed a part of the lesson examined in Chapter 7 (Teacher 7). It is revisited in greater detail here in order to examine the 'authoritativeness' of the EFL textbook, the problems of its monolingual nature, and the ways in which this teacher differently used both L1/L2 and localisation of meanings in order to mediate the text. This particular passage, reproduced below, had been focussed on at length by the teacher, but when students reported back after their associated group work, it was apparent that they had been led into misunderstanding the meaning of the psychological terms introduced, to the extent that their representation of the key terms was at variance with core meanings.

Another important way in which people differ is temperament. Your temperament is the distinctive way you think, feel, and react to the world. All of us have our own individual temperaments. However, experts have found that it is easier to understand the differences in temperament by classifying people into four categories:

Optimists. People with this temperament must be free and not tied down. They're impulsive, they enjoy the immediate and they like working with things. The optimist is generous and cheerful and enjoys action for action's sake.

Realists. People with this temperament like to belong to groups. They have a strong sense of obligation and are committed to society's standards. The realist is serious, likes order, and finds tradition important.

Pragmatists. People with this temperament like to control things and want to be highly competitive. The pragmatist is self-critical, strives for excellence, focuses on the future, and is highly creative.

Idealists. People with this temperament want to know the meaning of things. They appreciate others and get along well with people of all temperaments. The idealist is romantic, writes fluently, and values integrity.

Source: Ludden, L LaVerne, 1998, *Job Savvy: how to be a success at work*

In Richards, J and Sandy, C, 2000, *Passages 2* (Student's Book), 2000: 109

I will now outline the way the lesson unfolded and, where relevant, my own responses.

When I observed the teacher introducing this text in class, my first impression was that the four categories of temperament did not make sense. That is, according to the cultural and linguistic knowledge I have of English, these key terms were not correctly defined. It was with some unease that I witnessed the teacher attempting to make the four descriptions match the four key terms. As she was so doing, I thought through my own understanding, and will quote one example of my own thoughts, relating to 'pragmatic', as follows:

Practical, realistic, looking for a way to act which may not be perfect, but which will provide a solution. Generally a positive term, and could be contrasted with 'idealistic', the latter which is also generally positive, but which may denote 'positive but impractical'.

Later, in order to check how other native speakers might understand the four key category words in this text, I constructed a cloze of the passage in question which deleted only those four words, and at my doctoral presentation at the University of Technology, Sydney in November 2003, took the opportunity to ask the academics present to complete the four clozed terms. None were able to do so; nor could they even when the four terms were supplied in random order. A brief survey of the literature relating to personality type was also undertaken, which failed to match these particular terms to any of the standard descriptors, such as those used by, for example, Jung, Myers-Briggs, Kolb, or Keirsey.

To return to the lesson: following the teacher's explication of the text, where, as earlier described in Chapter 7, she had drawn upon local and global figures known to students in order to mediate the textbook content, students were placed into four groups, each of which was allocated one of the four categories of *temperament* and the relevant paragraph from the 'Value of Difference' article. The students' task was to check their understanding of the extract, form their own description of the

key term in English, and to relate it to an actual person or persons. As previously noted, students had been given the choice of English or Thai for the collaborative activity; all used Thai. One student from each group was required to report back to the class as a whole, for which purpose s/he moved to the front of the room. The following extract picks up part of the report-back stage.

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
		The pragmatist want to be the leader of the group, and they competitive, and it's, they're critical and want, um, want to be the number one of the group and serious and ... mm something that that they do.	
Uh-huh			
		Yes	
Okay, thank you. Class, give him a big hand. [applause]			

Text 10.1 Dr Bua

Given the construct of the written passage, then, it is not surprising that the student group's reconstruction of 'pragmatic' was of someone who *wanted to be the leader of a group*, and *want to be the number one*. Later in the feedback episode transcribed above, the teacher asked which personality students had found to match this temperament: they responded *Bin Laden*.

As indicated, then, the L2 written text was semantically incoherent. Upon further investigation, it was possible to trace three steps of intertextuality which caused this. The final version (called here Text 3), as it appears in the Richards and Sandy textbook *Passages Two*, was sourced there to what will be called Text 2, *Job Savvy: how to be a success at work* by Ludden (1998). The Ludden text in turn refers as its source to what will be called Text 1, the Keirse and Bates 1978 classic: *Please understand me: Character and temperament types*.

Text 3, (Richards & Sandy), paraphrases quite closely Text 2, (Ludden). However, Text 2 (Ludden), while acknowledging the ideas of Text 1 (Keirsey & Bates), indicates that now the four temperament types have been ‘assigned different names’ (p. 120). The changes which were made by Ludden are set out in Figure 10.1 below, in the far right hand column; on the left are the four original terms, together with key descriptors extracted from the original Text 1 (Keirsey & Bates).

<i>Text 1 – Keirsey & Bates</i>			<i>Text 2 – Ludden</i> <i>Text 3 – Richards & Sandy</i>	
	Type	descriptor	page	Type
1	Dionysian	‘must be free’	31	Optimist
2	Epimethan	exist ‘to be useful to the social units they belong to in society’	39	Realist
3	Promethean	‘the desire for powers’ [as in competence, skill]	47	Pragmatist
4	Apollonian	‘the search for self’	58	Idealist

Table 10.1 Keirsey & Bates descriptors related to Ludden, and to Richards & Sandy

In the first place, it is immediately clear why the writer of a popular textbook about ‘Job Savvy’ might wish to make changes to the Keirsey-Bates terms derived from Greek mythology. But the problem is that the new terms substituted in Text 2 (and copied in Text 3) are not closely related to the originals. This may be seen in category 1, the Dionysian, for example. To an educated speaker of English, the term could suggest energy, action, freedom, lack of inhibition, pleasure, warmth, with a nod to alcohol. The descriptor of ‘optimistic’ is thus quite tangential in meaning; and indeed, in eight pages of Keirsey and Bates’ analysis of the Dionysian type, reference to optimism appears but once, and passingly (p. 33).

Mention will also be made of the third type, Promethean/Pragmatist, as the term ‘pragmatic’ had occupied quite a deal of teaching time in the lesson observed, and proved to be problematic when students attempted to use it. Keirsey and Bates

analyse this type as desiring ‘powers’, in a sense, therefore, not of ‘power over others’ but of striving for competence, skill and applied understanding. Again, there is but one fleeting allusion to the descriptor ‘pragmatic’ in ten pages of the Keirsey-Bates text, as follows: [for the Promethean type] ‘The pronouncement must stand on its own merits, tried in the courts of coherence, verification, and pragmatics’ (p. 49).

There is of course nothing surprising in meaning *changing* intertextually; this is to be expected in the invention of knowledge, and in fact Keirsey and Bates trace their own intellectual debt to Myers and Briggs, and preceding those writers to Jung himself. However, in the journey of these texts from 1 → 2 → 3, meaning has not been developed but distorted at each step. First, Text 2 (Ludden) made an idiosyncratic substitution for each of the four crucially-important temperament classifications. And then, when Text 2 was incorporated into an ESL textbook apparently aimed at learners in the 5-6 IELTS bands, no account appears to have been taken of such learners’ existing levels of linguistic and cultural understanding. It is difficult to understand why this text’s lack of coherence was not picked up in the process of writing, editing or piloting the textbook.

How does such a dislocation of meaning impact upon the expert but non-native teacher of EFL and her students? Normally, the meaning of a monolingual L2 text can be derived in part from the internal and external contexts in which it occurs, as well as from reference to authority, which may be in the form of another speaker of that language, or more commonly through recourse to bilingual and/or monolingual dictionaries. That is, even when an L2 text is difficult to understand, it is usually accessible to the EFL teacher providing that it is coherent and cohesive, and bears some relationship to the teacher's existing knowledge. However, when textual definitions are provided as here, but are themselves inaccurate, it will not be possible for meanings to successfully transmute from one language to another. Thus, in the lesson observed, while it was clear that students had developed their L2 through the process of engaging in it with the teacher and with each other

through a variety of interesting and appropriate activities, when it came to the actual language teaching point, that is, a series of key personality descriptors in the target language, the teacher and her students had been led by the published textbook into misunderstanding.

Text 3: Grammar: *Mixed Conditionals* Ajarn Rajavadee

This episode is part of a lesson analysed in Chapter 7 (Teacher 6); see Appendix VI. It is selected for further analysis here for several reasons: it demonstrates again the extent to which FL teaching is determined by the textbook/curriculum, what may happen when a textbook misguides teaching/learning, and how the teacher's use of L1 and L2 may address such a situation. This particular episode is of additional significance because in Thai EFL, grammar is still central to teaching, and there exist few evaluations of the effectiveness of EFL textbooks in presenting grammatical explanations exclusively through the target language. In 1992, Dendrinos critiqued EFL textbooks written in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Carrier & Haines, 1987), finding that presentation of grammar was characterised by 'ambiguity, obscurity of meaning, ellipsis' (p. 69). It will be argued here that in respect of the 1998 and 2000 textbooks under discussion, little has changed.

The episode examined here lasted for thirty-seven minutes and was conducted almost entirely in Thai, with English used only for textual examples. And yet, as reported in Chapter 7, the end result was that despite all the mediating that the teacher could muster, when the students came to undertake the textbook exercise based on that teaching point, they were unable to do so successfully. It is for these reasons that I will now provide a fairly detailed analysis of grammatical structures and the ways they were presented in this lesson.

The textbook focus was 'Mixed Conditionals'. Conditional forms of the verb are a staple of EFL classrooms, and are disproportionately represented in multiple choice type grammar tests such as the TOEFL, and other tests conducted locally in Thailand. Students were already familiar with conditional forms; the teacher

commented at the start of the episode: *I believe you have studied this since you were in High School.*

Before tackling the textbook itself, the teacher reviewed the forms of the ‘three conditionals’, drawing upon her own examples. Extracts from the teacher’s commentary are reproduced below.

1st conditional

Teacher	
English	Thai
If it rains, I won't go out [also written on the blackboard]	
	อันนี้เราใช้ในกรณีไหนคะ <u>When do we use this?</u> อันนี้คือ เป็นไปได้ <u>When it's possible.</u>

Text 10.2: Ajarn Rajavadee

2nd conditional

Teacher	
English	Thai
If I were a millionaire, I would buy ten cars. [also written on the blackboard]	
	เพราะฉะนั้น ครูไม่ใช่ millionaire ใช่ไหมคะ เพราะฉะนั้น อันนี้เป็น condition ที่สอง <u>Actually, I am not a millionaire, right? So, this is the second condition.</u>
	เพราะฉะนั้น ช่วงเวลาที่เรากับ condition ที่สองนี้ เรากับเหตุการณ์ที่...อะไรคะ...ปัจจุบัน

	So, [how about] the period of time for which we use the second condition; when do we use it? [For the Present].
	ถ้าเราสมมุติในเหตุการณ์ที่เป็น present time แล้วก็ป็นเหตุการณ์ที่เราคิดขึ้นมาเอง นะคะ สมมุติขึ้นมาเอง นะคะ [We use this] if it is an event that happens in the present time, and comes from our imagination.

Text 10.3 Ajarn Rajavadee

3rd conditional

Teacher	
English	Thai
If I had come earlier yesterday, I wouldn't have missed my exam. [also written on the blackboard]	
	เป็นจริงไหม...ไม่จริง แล้วป็นสิ่งที่เกิดหรือยัง เกิดขึ้นหรือเปล่านะ <u>Is it real? No. Has it happened yet or not yet?...</u>
	เพราะฉะนั้น อันนี้ เป็นสิ่งที่เราสมมุติขึ้นมาจาก เหตุการณ์ความจริงที่มันไม่ได้ป็นไปตามอย่างนั้น <u>It's come from our imagination. We suppose/imagine that the event happened and it did not happen as we wanted it to....</u>
	If-clause จะใช้กับ past perfect ใช้ไหมคะ ส่วนที่เป็น result-clause นะคะ ก็จะเป็น subject ใช้กับ modal verb นะคะ แล้วก็บอกด้วย present perfect <u>Past perfect tense is used in the if-clause, right? And the result-clause is comprised of subject plus modal verb. This gives present perfect tense in the result clause.</u>

Text 10.4 Ajarn Rajavadee

I present below a diagrammatic summary of the teacher’s structural explanation in order to show both how it accords with conventional teaching of these forms, and also to enable a later comparison between the examples provided by the teacher and by the textbook.

<i>If-clause</i>	Verb form			<i>Main clause</i>	Verb form			
	Pre-sent	Past	Past in past		Modal <i>would</i>	Pre-sent	Fut-ure	Pre-sent perfect
(1) If it rains,	✓			I won't go out.			✓	
(2) If I were a millionaire,		✓		I would buy ten cars.	✓	✓		
(3) If I had come earlier yesterday,			✓	I wouldn't have missed my exam.	✓			✓

Table 10.2 Traditional classification of three conditional types

Mixed Conditionals

After working through section 1B of the textbook (but as teacher-fronted rather than as pair work), the teacher turned to Exercise 3A, a transformation drill set out as questions which require the re-writing of a series of sentences. The first question is as follows:

Question 1

Mark and Steve didn't make a hotel reservation, so they're spending the night in a train station.

The response to the first question is modelled in the textbook. It is represented in italics in Figure 10.3 below, along with my own summary of the grammatical transformations which it requires.

	1 st clause	2 nd clause
	Mark and Steve didn't make a hotel reservation, → <i>If Mark and Steve had made a hotel reservation,</i>	so they're spending the night in a train station. → <i>they wouldn't be spending the night in a train station</i>
Syntax	main clause → subordinate clause	subordinate clause → main clause
Con-junction	add if	remove so
Polarity	negative → positive	positive → negative
Verb	past → past in past	present continuous → modal + present continuous

Table 10.3 Analysis of model answer to Q. 1, Exercise B (3) Passages 1, p 99

This answer to Question 1 accords with examples (1) and (3) in the textbook.

Students are then required to complete the remaining questions. I will now examine the first of these:

Question 2

My mother doesn't speak any English, so she was afraid to explore New York.

In the following table, I set out three possible answers to Question 2. **Option (a)** would be to follow the model of the answer to Question 1, regardless (or possibly un-noticing) of the fact that the original verb tenses differ. This would result in two shifts of tense backwards in the first clause, ie from present to past to past in the past.

Alternatively, students could create **Option (b)**, ie a one-step shift of tense from present to past, rather than from present to past in the past.

But the answer actually provided by the Thai teacher in class was **Option (c)**, which replaces 'spoke' with the more appropriate modalised form 'could speak'.

All three options are analysed grammatically as follows.

	1 st clause	2 nd clause
	My mother doesn't speak any English, → <i>(a) If my mother had spoken some English,</i> <i>(b) If my mother spoke some English,</i> <i>(c) If my mother could speak some English,</i>	so she was afraid to explore New York. → <i>(a) she would not have been afraid to explore New York.</i> <i>(b) she would not be afraid to explore New York.</i> <i>(c) she would not be afraid to explore New York.</i>
Syntax	main clause → subordinate clause	subordinate clause → main clause
Con-junction	add if	remove so
Polarity	negative → positive	positive → negative
Verb	(a) past in past (b) past (c) modalised past	(a) modal + present perfect (b) modal + simple present (c) modal + simple present

Table 10.4 Three possible answers to Q. 2, Exercise 3 (A), Passages 1, p 99

Which of these answers is 'correct'? In fact, in my view, each one could be acceptable, given the reduced context of the exercise. But after undertaking the above analysis, I consulted the *Teacher's Manual* in order to check the answer provided there. It gave an option which differed from all three above, and which I will call **Option (d)**.

If my mother spoke some English, she wouldn't have been afraid to explore New York on her own.

The following Table 10.5 reproduces the last row of Table 10.4 above and incorporates Option (d).

	1 st clause	2 nd clause
Verb	(a) past in past (b) past (c) modalised past (d) past	(a) modal + present perfect (b) modal + simple present (c) modal + simple present (d) modal + present perfect

Table 10.5 Four possible answers to Q. 2, Exercise 3 (A), Passages 1, p 99

My reading of (d) is that it represents a US dialect variation, where the *simple past* may often replace the *past in past* which is more often found in Australian and British English. And so, it appears that this (unacknowledged) dialect variation has skewed whatever patterns were hitherto provided by the textbook.

It came as no surprise to see that when students proceeded to complete this exercise individually in writing, and then read their answers aloud to the teacher, no responses were correct. In my later discussion with Ajarn Rajavadee about this lesson, she regretted the difficulty that had occurred in this part of that lesson, suggesting that *Maybe I followed the textbook too closely*, and commenting wryly that *The student is the victim!* In our broader discussion of the textbook, she also disclosed that *We won't use that book again...It does not serve our purpose...It's not relevant to the students' purpose.*

Part 5 Approach to grammar; Use of visual images

There are two subsidiary features of the textbook which contributed to its inaccessibility, and these will now be discussed in relation to Ajarn Rajavadee's class: they are the *grammatical approach* adopted, and the use of *visual images*. It will be seen that both features, being foundational to the text's organisation, were relatively impervious to teacher mediation.

Approach to grammar

As noted earlier, the approach to language taken in this thesis has been a functional rather than structural one, on the basis that meaning is realised through form, rather than being 'expressed' through form. (A distinction here should perhaps be made here between 'functional' in the Hallidayan sense of text-based, social semiotics, and 'functional' in the early communicative sense of speech acts taken out of context, often with limited tenor, and no mode specification. It is clearly the former which I follow.) By the same token, the approach to pedagogy in this study has been one which holds that building upon meaning in context of situation and culture is likely to optimise learning outcomes for students.

The grammar segment in *Passages* is presented structurally, with a focus on form over function, and in a limited, sentence-based context, rather than functionally, where meaning may be deduced or deconstructed from a rich context in which language plays one part. The problem seen in this part of Ajarn Rajavadee's lesson is that the area of conditionality, which we may regard as part of the system of modality in English, is a rich and complex one which cannot be done justice by a structural approach. Not only does any de-contextualised grammatical teaching diminish L2 meanings and increase the learning burden, but the presentation of these three 'conditional' patterns as transformations is misleading, because although we may discern *structural* relationships amongst the three forms, there is not a corresponding *functional* relationship. Further, when it comes to 'mixed conditionals', it is no accident that such a category is rarely addressed in EL textbooks, and for two reasons: first, such patterns are rare and subtle in meaning; and second, because they are almost impossible to regularise, being particularly sensitive to the context of tenor relations. By treating structure apart from function, as happens in these textbook examples, both understanding and application are impoverished, if not lost.

As the detailed analysis in Lesson 3 above shows, this was the unfortunate outcome for Ajarn Rajavadee's class. Again, it should be noted that while the teacher did attempt to mediate the text extensively through the use of L1 and the provision of her own grammatical examples, she nevertheless did so as a support to rather than a replacement for the progression of models and exercises provided in the text (thus bearing out Dendrinos's earlier observation as to the thoroughness and fixity with which textbooks are generally approached).

Visual Images

Here I examine the degree of correspondence between visual and written text, in other words, the semiosis of textbook illustrations and verbal captions, in order to explore the extent to which multi-modality can help or hinder the accessing of a monolingual text by bilingual teachers/ learners.

It was believed for many years, largely on the basis of the neurology of impairment, that the brain operated through a simple hemispheric specialisation where visual image is processed by a holistic right hemisphere and language is processed by an analytical left hemisphere (Lenneberg, 1967), and this is a view still held by some (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 198; Pinker, 1994: 299). While investigation of this topic is beyond the scope of the present study, it can be noted that the view of language underlying earlier accounts of the brain may be regarded as narrowly representational or ideational, and that language has been more recently recognised as being distributed over both hemispheres (Deacon, 1998, discussed in Thibault, 2004, pp. 190-192; see also Cowley, 2002). Moreover, Thibault (2004) has drawn upon a systemic-linguistic framework to propose that while the left hemisphere is indeed specialised for *ideational* meanings, in the right hemisphere are located *interpersonal* and *textual* meanings; and that such metafunctions relate to all semiosis, not only that of language. The relationships amongst semiotic systems have additionally been explored by Kress and Van Leeuwen who point to verbal and visual texts as possessing 'broad cultural congruence' with each other, along with possibilities of non-congruent encoding (1996: 17). Multimodal texts,

then, such as the captioned illustrations shown here, create what O'Halloran calls a dialectic of intersemiosis, the 'movement back and forth' between semiotic resources (2003: 356), which produces what Lemke (1998) has referred to as the 'multiplicative', rather than simply additive, effect of multi-modalities.

If we consider the effects of *language* and *image* upon a viewer, it appears likely that given a bi-modality of visual and verbal, such as in the captioned illustrations under discussion, perception of the visual will be more immediate and holistic than perception of the verbal. It may be valuable, therefore, in appraising such multi-modal texts, to disaggregate them: to make one's initial viewing of a textbook illustration with the written text concealed. For it is only by concealing the written text that one can judge the extent to which the visual contributes to or detracts from semantics: whether it 'multiplies' or 'subtracts'.

To return to Ajarn Rajavadee's lesson, the textbook images which illustrate the grammar of Unit (1B) will now be considered in this way. When I look at the first picture with text concealed, I make the following interpretation: (1), that the traveller has missed his 2 pm flight, and the next 6 pm flight is delayed; and (2), that something - possibly the ticket office - is closed. These constitute, as it were, two possible events, or 'complications' in the narrative. When I then look at the verbal caption, it appears that (1) is confirmed by the text; (2) has no relevance; and that there is another 'complication' (3): that the traveller has missed an appointment. In simple tabular form, my interpretation of the relationship between the visual and the text can be expressed as follows, where convergence is indicated by ✓ ✓, and divergence by ✕.

Event	illustration	caption
1	✓	✕
2	✓	✓
3	✕	✓

Table 10.6 Relationship between visual and verbal texts, Passages 1, p 98

By performing this personal interpretation of the visual, it may be seen that there is, impressionistically, a two-thirds divergence between the propositional content of illustration and caption. This is not to suggest that the visual must of itself capture the proposition, but rather that in order to fulfill the presumed pedagogic aim here of clarifying and enriching meaning, the visual does at least need to cohere with it.

Similar analysis may be performed on the second and third illustrations, but these reveal an even greater divergence between text and image as follows. The grammar here is fundamentally concerned with a clause complex in the form of *cause* and *effect*. Such a sequence is difficult to represent visually unless a device such as a dual/split frame, or 'thought bubble' is introduced. A visual language such as Auslan can be illuminating in this respect, which represents two such clauses in different physical spaces. In these textbook images, the first illustration did support the hypotactic sequence of the caption - not by a dual image frame, but by incorporating writing (the flight information board) into the image. However, no form of duality is represented in the second and third illustrations. They do not correspond to the semantics of the caption, and thereby miss the main teaching point, which is the conditionality of one clause upon the other.

How does this kind of semantic divergence impact upon second language learners? Clearly, any picture which represents a field has the capacity to flesh out the context of situation. When meeting a multimodal text in one's *first language*, the verbal component is usually comprehensible, and therefore the picture's contribution is folded into the linguistic meaning of the text. In other words, one makes sense of the picture while making sense of the words: its 'multiplicative' effects are in play. But when meeting texts *in a second language*, the verbal component may or may not be readily comprehensible. If the verbal and visual correspond, meaning will be 'multiplied' and learning strengthened; but if they do not, as here, meaning will be ambiguated and learning weakened.

In looking at these images in the textbook, what have been examined are some 'small moments' in learning; but they are considered to be fundamental in coming to an understanding of how monolingual texts may impact upon second language learners. In particular, it appears that what may be regarded as one of the attractive and reader-friendly features of textbooks such as this, namely their richly textured and varied visual support, may in fact confuse rather than clarify meanings across languages and cultures. For what was seen to happen in this instance is the linking of one semiotic which is already limited, that is the L2 linguistic one, with a visual semiotic which is congruent *in parts* but incongruent in others. The result is a lessening in transparency of communication, because in short, it is more difficult to comprehend two dissonant meanings than to access one consonant one.

Part 6 Accessibility and mediation

I will now return to the central themes of this chapter, namely the cultural accessibility and relevance of the textbooks under discussion, and the effectiveness of mediation by Thai EFL teachers.

Cultural accessibility/relevance of textbooks

Why were these books inaccessible to teachers and learners, and largely irrelevant as forms of intercultural learning? Leaving aside for the moment the subsidiary features of approaches to language and visual image as discussed in the previous section, the central problem maybe summed up as that of *cultural self-absorption*, and this may be examined at two levels. First, if we examine the book's rationale as presented in the nine page introduction to the Teacher's Manual (which appears in abridged form in the Student's Book), it may be seen that the objectives of the course book are identified as the development of 'communication', 'grammar', and 'skills'; and that there is no mention of 'social' or 'cultural' factors, still less of

'intercultural' learning. But of course, absence of cultural reference does not mean absence of culture: here, it simply means that culture has been naturalised, with meanings of the Centre presented by the Centre to the Periphery. The Centre is American; the Periphery is amorphous. The Centre's interests are represented by the topics selected, the associated reading passages, and the monolingual nature of the product. Periphery countries are not represented as topics or in associated readings, except, as illustrated earlier, minimally as exotic destinations, and certainly not in any bilingual form. It is fair to note that the textbook provides pair-work sections which sometimes direct learners to relate the American content (e.g. the Education System) to their own country. Such activities are clearly of value in 'building the field' of the second language through 'commonsense' oral meanings. However, these meanings are of limited value to formal learning unless they are transmuted into the more valued and reflective mode of written texts. In other words, by confining such cultural comparisons to occasional oral pairwork, they remain marginal to the Amerocentric whole; and indeed, as noted earlier, pairwork activities were excised by teachers from all the lessons observed in this study.

There is a second layer of self-absorption in this textbook, even within its representation of 'the USA', which should be noted. While both gender and race appear to have been consciously integrated into the text, and particularly in visual images, *difference* appears to have been co-opted and homogenised into a consumerist individualism, rather than having been examined for effects of power and privilege. And while women and blacks are visible in a variety of roles in the text, gay people, the old, the disabled, and the poor are not. The textbook thus doubly disadvantages learners who need to enter the target language through an understanding of its culture(s), and triply so, if we also consider the absence of any direct intercultural focus.

Teacher L1 mediation

The 'other side' of textbooks is, as Sunderland et al. have discussed, what teachers do with them, and here, I would like here to compare the teaching

techniques and learning outcomes observed in each of the three lessons analysed above. It is of note that although the kinds of mediation employed in each lesson were different, in all three lessons, outcomes were similar, where students had been led into misunderstanding of various kinds.

In the first lesson, Dr Patcharin dealt with the textbook passage on ‘Complaining’ by L2 → L1 exegesis (AET → ET). This was an entirely teacher-fronted lesson, where as previously indicated, lexical and grammatical meanings were perseveringly mediated through translation. However, cultural meanings were not addressed, and consequently, the ethnocentric speech act which was the focus of study remained in a cultural limbo - implicit, unremarked, untransmuted.

In the second lesson, conducted by Dr Bua, the greater part of the teaching was in English, with CET interspersed with SI, and ET being utilised at key moments. Dr Bua’s lesson also, unusually, included student group work which took place in Thai with the aim of producing short written texts in English. The pedagogy of Dr Bua’s lesson thus drew upon students’ existing knowledge in order to co-construct new knowledge. Here, the teacher mediated extensively both in L1 and L2, additionally localising the content of the text by relating it to local and global world figures known to her students. But even so, the learning outcomes in this second class were flawed in that students left the lesson having been misled by the inaccurate terminology and definitions provided by the textbook.

The third lesson, by Ajarn Rajavadee, was like the first, entirely teacher-fronted. The long teaching segment examined here was conducted in Thai with the exception of the samples of English grammar being explicated. The textbook had reduced possible cultural dimensions of the new language by focusing upon sentence-level grammar. Here, the teacher had drawn exclusively upon L1 to mediate the textbook’s grammar examples, using Thai to translate, to explain, and to commentate metalinguistically, but again, with unsuccessful outcomes.

Looking across all three lessons, we see in Lesson 1, a process where the teacher consistently used L1 to mediate L2, but limited her mediating to the semantics of the written passage rather than to related cultural dimensions. In Lesson 2, we see extensive mediating through L1 and L2 of both form and function. In Lesson 3, there is extensive mediating of grammatical form by means of L1. It may thus be seen that a variety of techniques was employed by these three teachers in their attempts to make sense of the textbook to their students. Techniques employed also varied in sometimes being limited to the text as 'on the page', sometimes being extended to local and global affairs, and sometimes making use of L1 and L2 metalanguage.

In sum, it has been suggested here that there are two dominant factors which determine textbooks' accessibility to EFL teachers and students. The first is the nature of *the text itself*, the second is the quality of *teacher mediation*. In appraising the relative pedagogical importance of these two factors of textbook and teacher mediation in EFL, this analysis indicates that it is the textbook which impacts the more strongly upon student learning outcomes. This does not mean to say that such an imbalance is universal or inevitable, but that it may be difficult to address without working at both levels: by making textbooks better, and by helping teachers to mediate more effectively.

Implications may be drawn as follows. First, for teacher training, it would appear that the needs of NNS bilingual EFL teachers need to be clearly distinguished from those of monolingual NS ESL teachers. This matter will be further pursued in the following Chapters 11 and 12. Second, a number of ideas for re-visioning textbooks were referred to earlier in this study, and I would like to conclude this discussion by presenting further details of one of these: the proposal of Feng and Byram that textbook-writing teams should be composed on a multicultural and interdisciplinary basis as follows (2002: 74-76):

(1) Chief writers: local Foreign Language specialists (ie in English)

(2) Supporting team members:

- i. Anthropologist, historian, sociologist, scientist, photographer
(‘for best representing the culture of the target language and learners’ own culture’)
- ii. Native speaking teachers or linguists (‘by birth or education’)
- iii. Speakers of L2 as a lingua franca.

This is a proposal at once visionary, radical and commonsense. It positions the source culture as a strength in accessing the target culture; it draws upon the unique skills and knowledge offered by teachers/speakers in (at least) two cultures; it assumes that language teaching is culture teaching; and it embraces the sociological and historical dimensions of language in order to achieve appropriate texts/images to support such learning.

Conclusion

As far as I am aware, there are no published studies which examine the classroom discourse which is produced when monolingual textbooks are accessed by bilingual teachers in EFL contexts such as this. The data analysed here from classroom observation and teacher interview is therefore considered to be of some significance in contributing to a better understanding of teaching English in contexts such as Thailand, and of the parts played by L1 and L2 in that process.

Three comments by teachers stand out in my memory, and may be said to encapsulate the issues discussed. First, there is Ajarn Rajavadee’s remark that:

The textbook has been written and trialled by native speakers, so we just follow what it says in the text.

If I were teaching Thai to Australian students, would I not feel the same? Clearly, for a NNS of a FL, the authority of the textbook is high indeed.

Second, there is Ajarn Laksana's disclosure that:

I feel like I want to cry every time I teach this book.

This comment is made by a teacher of seniority and gravitas, who has an excellent command of the target language and who has undertaken postgraduate study in Australia; I believe that it reveals the ways in which such Centre texts can undermine Periphery teachers' professional standing.

Lastly, I found that a comment by Dr Patcharin resounded in my mind:

Isn't that strange! We study English for many years, but we don't have enough vocabulary to describe ourselves ... to describe our culture!

In the latter teacher's words, can we hear not only regret, but perhaps a wry sense of having been duped?

Chapter 11

The Professional Domain of Thai EFL

- Part 1 Comparison of EFL, ESL and FLT
- Part 2 EFL and FLT
 - Participation rates and attitudes to study
 - Programming and pathways
 - Social purposes and goals
 - L1 and L2 use
- Part 3 Global contexts of language learning

The broadest of the six research questions posed in this research concerned the professional implications which could be drawn from the study of L1 and L2 use in Thai classrooms.

Chapter 3, *Practices of Language Teaching*, and Chapter 4, *L1 and L2 Use*, raised two issues in this respect: the appropriacy of EFL curriculum and methodology; and the differing characteristics of monolingual native speaking teachers and bilingual non-native speaking teachers. It was suggested at that point that the professional domain of Thai EFL might prove to be usefully separated from ESL and realigned with that of Foreign Language Teaching. During the four discussion chapters, the notion has re-emerged at various points in respect of pedagogy (Chapters 7 and 8), performance/identity (Chapter 8), and curriculum (Chapter 9). The present chapter now seeks to build upon the discussion pursued thus far, and will attempt to relocate the professional domain of Thai EFL in ways which it is believed may enable Thai teachers and foreign teachers to differently view the nature of EFL teaching in contexts such as these. That is, I explore how Thai EFL might benefit from being repositioned *towards the 'FL' and away from the 'E'*.

Part 1 Comparison of EFL, ESL and FLT

EFL and ESL

At this point, some broad comparisons of language teaching contexts will be made, and the difficulties of so doing must be acknowledged. However, as noted in Chapter 3, the economic and political forces which drive global ELT through commercial publications, professional development and academia gain much by obscuring local differences (and nowhere is this more striking than in the publication of 'international' EL textbooks). As long as it is still argued that an ESL/EFL distinction is lacking in relevance, then dominant ESL discourses of pedagogy can remain naturalised. The flow of professional understandings in ELT has been largely one way from Centre to Periphery; it is thus considered essential in this study that hegemonic constructs of global ELT be questioned.

Not only are EFL and ESL often conflated, either by design or assumption (as in, for example, 'ESL/EFL'), but a further distinction between Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts is rarely to be found in discussion of curriculum, methodology and learners. One exception is Seidlhofer's 1999 paper, which notes that 'the most hotly debated socio-political issues to do with World Englishes are generally perceived to be of somewhat less direct relevance in the Expanding Circle than they are in the Outer Circle' (p. 234). There has also been increasing research from Expanding Circle countries which specifies the distinctiveness of EFL in the case of China, (Gan, Humphreys & Hamp-Lyons, 2004), Japan (Oka, 2003), Korea (Yoon, 2004), Taiwan (Savignon & Wang, 2003), Thailand (Jarvis & Atsilarat, 2004) and Vietnam (Phan, 2004).

EFL and FLT

In Chapters 3 and 4 of the study, and consistently thereafter, comparisons were made between not only ESL and EFL, but also FLT. Now these three domains are brought together: ESL in Australia, EFL in Thailand, and FLT in Australia, and the following sections will attempt to draw out significant similarities and differences amongst them in order to better understand how and why Thai EFL operates in the ways it was seen to operate at Isara. The discussion which follows is based upon a synthesis of the research literature as outlined in

Chapters 3 and 4, together with the data obtained in the present study, and my experience of having observed hundreds of teachers in practicum placements in all three domains over the past fifteen years.

Comparisons will now be made in terms of Curriculum and Methodology, Teachers and Students. The principal comparison made below is that between ESL and EFL. However, inserted in square brackets and italic font is a third strand, that of FLT, this textual device being employed in order to better represent visually the relationships amongst the three domains.

Curriculum and Methodology

ESL education in Inner Circle countries such as Australia takes place within a context of the target language and its associated cultures. The TL is pervasive, and a pivotal source of power in this context. In contrast, EFL education in Expanding Circle countries such as Thailand, [*and FL education in Inner Circle countries such as Australia*], has relatively little connection with the TL or its associated cultures, beyond the average of two to three hours per week offered in the classroom. TL resources which may be available outside the classroom, such as foreign television, movies and pop music, offer language which is comprehensible generally only to the most advanced students.

The ESL curriculum in Australia is generally flexible, and typically based upon topic, theme, or language text-types. Associated resources are diverse, drawing on some commercial texts, or self-made by teachers who adapt or directly use authentic materials. On the other hand, the EFL curriculum in Expanding Circle countries [*and the FL curriculum in Western countries*] is usually in the form of a school subject, rather than a medium of instruction, and as such has almost always been prescribed by educational authorities. It has also been characterised, at least until recent years, by a focus on the written form of the language, and again, until recently, has focussed upon the written form in examinations. The curriculum has often been based on sentence-level grammar, sometimes expressed through function or themes. At advanced levels, the EFL [*and FL*] curriculum may draw upon real texts, through literature or through ESP materials. Teaching resources for EFL [*and FL*] are focussed upon the textbook, which itself may serve as the curriculum.

It is difficult to generalise about methodology, but experience suggests that in Australian ESL teaching, methodology is generally student-centred and communicative, with a focus on language used in its socio-cultural context. Writing is often genre-based. In the EFL *[and FL]* classroom, methodology is generally teacher-centred; it makes less use of communicative, fluency-type activities, more use of grammar practice, and has an additional resource upon which to draw in the form of translation. Hours applied to learning in the EFL *[and FL]* context vary significantly. In Thailand, the new EL curriculum prescribes 1,000 hours' tuition over six years' secondary schooling (Wongsothorn et al., 2003); *[in Australia, a figure of c. 500 hours obtains for elective FL study]*.

Teachers

The teacher in the ESL classroom is one of many sources of the TL; but in the EFL *[and FL]* classroom, s/he will normally be the major, and sometimes, particularly in rural areas, the only source of the TL. Furthermore, the teacher in the ESL classroom will normally have native or native-like proficiency in the TL and access to its cultures, whereas the EFL *[and FL]* teacher may – though not always – have less capital of both. While there is no published data on the extent of bilingualism amongst ESL teachers in Australia, experience suggests that monolinguality is the condition of the majority (E. Ellis, 2003), and indeed, as shown earlier, the Australian TESOL Teacher Competencies (Hogan, 1994) make no mention of bilingualism as a necessary or desirable attribute of ESL teachers. Local EFL *[and FL]* teachers, on the other hand, are usually bilingual and share the language of their students.

Students

In the ESL context, immigrant students are generally highly motivated to survive and progress in the new country. Moreover, they generally have opportunities for contact with native speakers; either, for children, at school; or, for adults, beyond the class at work or in the community (although as Norton, 2000 has shown, the accessing of such opportunities by adult learners may be problematic). Student groups at both levels will be heterogeneous. EFL *[and FL]* students, on the other hand, in this study (but not in all contexts) constitute one

group of the same language and cultural background; moreover, they generally have limited or no contact with native speakers. Motivation is less immediate, and in perhaps a majority of cases, though again not all, is less strong than that stimulated by an ESL context.

It may be seen from the above that in virtually every way, the Thai EFL domain can be read as similar to that of Australian FLT (and moreover, that both share a distance from ESL). It is notable, however, that the teaching hours allocated to FL in the Australian context are only half of those allotted to English in the Thai EFL context, which may be interpreted as resulting from the relative value attributed to foreign languages in each country.

A comparison of all three domains will now be made by focussing upon ten specific features of teaching/learning in Table 11.1 below.

	Characteristics of pedagogy	ESL in Australia	EFL in Thailand		FLT in Australia	
1	Fidelity to prescribed textbook	×	✓✓		✓✓	
2	Focus on sentence grammar	×	✓✓		✓✓	
3	Use of students' L1 as the main language of the classroom.	×	✓✓		✓✓	
4	Knowledge of students' C1	×	✓✓		✓✓	
5	Teachers' own bilinguality	×	✓✓		✓✓	
6	Teachers' capacity to create L2 & assess its production by others	✓✓	✓		✓	
7	Use of pair and group work in L2	✓✓	×		✓	
8	Opportunities for students to use L2 outside classroom	✓✓	×		×	
9	Student motivation	✓✓	<i>elective</i>	<i>non-elec</i>	<i>elective</i>	<i>non-elec</i>
			✓✓	×	✓✓	×
10	Instrumental value of the TL	✓✓	✓✓	×	✓✓	×

<i>Key</i>		
✓✓ high	✓ medium	× low

Table 11.1 Comparison of ESL, EFL and FLT by ten features of pedagogy

It may be seen that of the ten categories outlined, EFL in Thailand has a clear commonality with FLT in Australia in seven areas, and partial commonality in one area. In two areas, (9) and (10), EFL and FLT students who are *elective* share similar characteristics with ESL students, and both EFL and FLT students who are *non-elective* share a divergence from ESL students.

In none of these ten categories is EFL perceived to be closer to ESL than it is to FLT.

Part 2 EFL and FLT

Participation rates and attitudes to study

Although there are significant commonalities identified above between EFL and FLT classrooms, there is clearly also different value accruing to, or perceived to accrue to language learning in each context, and this can be seen in the candidature of FL study in both countries. In Thailand, the study of English is encouraged at primary level, is mandatory at secondary school, and is also mandatory for two years (since 2003) at university. In Australia, there is some variation state by state, but in NSW, FL study is mandatory for 200 hours in Years 7 & 8, and elective thereafter. The Higher School Certificate (matriculation) candidature for languages was 12.5% in 2004.

The spread of English globally has been widely documented, and its effects often celebrated in much of the Western media. What emerged in the current study, however, was a gap between on one hand, the perceived benefits of – or needs for – English, and on the other, student attitudes to the study of English.

As noted earlier, Boonkit (2002) discusses the split between sought-after English-Major study at university, and less favourably viewed non-elective

study. Throughout the present study, teachers alluded to, and I was able to observe, these two quite different levels of student investment and proficiency in English. Six of the ten classes observed were in the former mandatory group. In every case, their teachers commented upon the difficulties experienced in 'motivating' students. Teachers described students' lack of interest in the subject; students' perception that English was of little value; and students' lack of confidence that they would make progress in their learning. It was also clear that these students' levels of achievement in the FL were low. I concluded, then, that contrary to the view that all the world is scrambling to learn English, and despite the ways in which global discourses play out in Thailand, many of the students undertaking English at tertiary level in Thailand would not be doing so if it were not compulsory. In this respect, these Thai students appeared to be similar to Australian FL students, whose participation drops from 100% mandatory in Junior Secondary School to 12.5% voluntary by the senior years. Thai students' general lack of progress in developing FL proficiency has been documented in a number of Thai government reports (see Chapter 4), as indeed has Australian students' lack of proficiency been documented by various government reports (see Chapter 3).

On the other hand, the remaining four classes in this project consisted of English-Major students. These were the successful language learners, whose EL proficiency was high, and who were expected by their teachers to enjoy some of the benefits accruing to English-proficient speakers in Thailand. Those students' progress was indeed impressive, but they represented a small minority of the whole.

There are two important points here. First, FL study is generally experienced by students as *difficult*, whether located in Thailand, Australia, or elsewhere (Tse, 2000; Fisher, 2001; Graham, 2004); and the literature does show that many FL learners make progress which has been called 'demotivatingly low' by Crawford in Australia (1999: 6), and 'disappointingly low' by Horwitz in the USA (1995: 578). As for Thailand, there is only one study, to my knowledge, which surveys Thai students' perceptions of EL study: Chirdchoo and Wudthayaporn (2001:

86), surveyed 117 female students in Year 12, and found that 72% disagreed or strongly disagreed that 'learning another language is easy for me'.

Second, capacity to learn must be associated at one level simply with the amount and duration of tuition provided. Because it is *non-elective* students who comprise the great majority of EL learners in Thailand both at university and at school, such programs will now be examined more closely. It should be noted that much of the discussion here about Thailand could be applied equally well to FLT in the Australian context. I note this in part to emphasise that my proposals for change come from a desire to support FL pedagogy, which in the case of this study has focussed on the Thai context, rather than from an intent to position Thai ELT as more 'needy' of reform than its Western equivalent.

The issue of FL study will be considered in the next section in respect of non-elective programs offered in the Thai context, and when doing so will assume a rough equivalence between learning Thai on the part of English speakers, and learning English on the part of Thai speakers.

Programs: length

Some further attention to FL programs in the West may assist in illuminating Thai EFL programs. Earlier in this study were set out in some detail the minimum hours required for 'minimum professional proficiency' in a foreign language, together with the time-scales deemed necessary by national training institutions both in Australia and in the USA: the requirement for English-speaking learners of Thai was reported to be 1,800 contact hours intensively over forty five weeks. Given the current provision of FL study for elective students at secondary school in Australia – approximately 500 hours over six years, and only 200 hours for non-elective – it is not surprising that major reports and major figures in Australia have been highly critical of existing levels of contact hours (eg 'inefficient', Ingram & Wylie, 1991; 'ludicrously inadequate', NBEET, 1996; 'cursory', Kirkpatrick, 1997). Instead, a figure of 2,400-2,760 contact hours has been proposed over six years in order for adolescent school students to achieve basic proficiency in non-European languages of non-Roman alphabet (Kirkpatrick, 1995).

FL study in Thailand is mandated at 1,000 hours at secondary school level; and at university level, FLT is provided through two mandatory one semester, six credit point subjects. (There have also been introduced primary level EL programs, but implementation has been variable; problems of program content and teacher expertise lie outside the scope of this study.) Clearly, then, there is a significant issue in the degree of exposure which students receive to the foreign language. And perhaps differently from other subjects of school study, FL learning requires the development of a 'critical mass' of competence for cognitive, affective and intercultural benefits to start to kick in, and so that students can experience the recursive and extending benefits of success in their learning. Cummins makes this point in respect of the education of minority children in ESL programs, but his comments are apposite here, when he refers to a 'threshold necessary to reap the linguistic and intellectual benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy' (1996: 106).

As noted above, contact hours for adolescent FL learning proposed by Kirkpatrick are 2,400-2,760; and those currently implemented by the ADFSL for adults are 1,800. Thus the current provision of 1,000 hours for learning English in Thailand represents between 36% and 55% of that which would be considered necessary for developing 'minimum professional competence' in a foreign language.

Programs: intensity

There is a another problem, however, which lies in frequency of exposure to the foreign language; for the existing 1,000 hour English program in Thailand is thinly spread over six years (compared to the one-year intensive program of the ADFSL). It may be that FL learning requires a certain intensity of exposure for three reasons. Firstly, as Kramsch notes:

What makes FL study unique among the subjects taught in an academic curriculum is that its object or purpose is in itself located outside the American linguistic and cultural norm. (2000b: 321)

And by this very fact, I would suggest that after the mother-tongue itself, FL learning has the potential to be more deeply transformative in semiotic terms than any other single school subject. Secondly, language learning is characterised by a particularly strong affective dimension, which has been discussed at length in Chapter 9 of this study. The challenges posed by semiotic transformation and – often negative – affectivity are intensified when programs do not provide enough contact with the TL to enable familiarity, confidence and success to grow. Thirdly, the skill nature of language learning means that, as when learning other skills such as music or sport, regular and distributed practice is required: two lessons a week may simply not be enough to develop competence. Moreover, whereas music and sport can be ‘played’ on a daily basis without teacher support, developing a language is considerably more demanding because of the need for expert interlocutor support, which in EFL is often found principally in the person of the teacher.

In sum, there appear to be two principal limiting factors in compulsory FL programs, which are largely shared in the FL contexts of both Thailand and Australia: the number of L2 contact hours experienced by students is low; and these hours are thinly spread over many years. In other words, it may be the case that given these conditions, the achievement of a critical ‘threshold’ of L2 development may be a difficult goal for many, if not most, FL students to attain.

Social purposes and goals

Having looked in some detail at the methodology and curriculum pathways of ‘mass’ FL pedagogy, it will now be of interest to compare EFL and FLT at a broader level; to consider the differing sociologies of English and ‘the rest’. And so this section will return to the bigger picture of foreign language learning globally, and attempt to flesh out EFL-FLT connections by comparing governmental and professional perspectives, as well as by incorporating the views of teachers in this study.

There are two major FL studies which will be drawn upon from this point onwards, both of which were introduced in Chapter 3 of this study. The first is that of Crawford (1999), who surveyed 581 primary and secondary school

teachers in the Australian state of Queensland to explore teaching practices in response to a new FL curriculum. The second study was conducted by Dickson in the UK (1996), who surveyed 508 secondary school teachers on the more specific topic of target language use in class. The bilingual expertise of the teachers in both studies was similar, but the Australian context was marked by a higher number of native-speaking L2 teachers (23%, compared to 13% in the UK study), and a greater range of languages, both phenomena presumably due to Australia's proportionately higher non-English speaking background population. Languages taught in Crawford's study were, in order of greatest to lowest incidence: Japanese, German, French, Indonesian, Chinese and Italian (with one other language representing less than 1% of participating teachers); and in Dickson's study: French, German and Spanish (with a further four languages representing less than 1% of participating teachers).

Australia

As described in Chapter 3, various government reports and professional bodies in the Australian context have identified four major goals of FLT as:

- Broad educational benefits
- Cross-cultural understanding
- Instrumental outcomes associated with vocational proficiency.
- Fostering social cohesion, (referring to L1 maintenance and multiculturalism).

The Rudd Report (1994) found that few schools had vocational proficiency as their major goal, although various Australian government initiatives which seek to link FL study with economic and political objectives consistently rate this as the most important language learning goal. In Crawford's study, teachers' reported views on FL goals were clustered around the same themes, with mean responses of secondary FL teachers identified by factor analysis as follows (1999: 206):

- *Cultural Understanding* (comprising cultural awareness, personal enrichment, and social cohesion internal to Australia) – mean 19.94
- *Cognitive/Affective* (positive attitudes, educational benefits, and 'learning to learn' – mean 15.89

- *Vocational/Maintenance* (vocational application; L1 maintenance within Australian society) – mean 8.10.

Clearly, in terms of the present Thai study, those components relating to social cohesion and L1 maintenance were of little relevance. Australia, as noted earlier, is a country with a non-English-speaking background of 20.9% according to the 2001 census (a proportion considerably higher in the capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne). Moreover, nationally, a total of 38 languages are available for study at HSC level. Thailand, on the other hand, has an ethnic minority population estimated to be 2.5% and which is generally located in the more remote rural areas (Chulalongkorn University, 1993: 28). Excluding those 'internal' social goals from the discussion, then, it was of interest to compare perceptions of the purposes of FL teaching in Australia and Thailand.

Thailand

The new national curriculum has been described by Ajarn Wiriyachitra, chair of the English Syllabus committee in the Thai Ministry of University Affairs, as holding three goals for EFL in Thailand: 'knowledge, skill and positive attitude toward English', the latter which includes 'appreciating the English language and its culture (2002: 6). Moreover, the present study affords the additional presentation of individual Thai teachers' voices in identifying the purposes and goals of FLT in Thailand.

In the first round of interviews, when the topic of goals and purposes of ELT was raised, every Thai teacher spoke exclusively and at length of the instrumental goal (3) above – vocational proficiency. Thus the principal benefit of EFL was seen to be its application in the workplace (with a more limited secondary benefit seen to be in gaining access to further education, both within and beyond Thailand). English was seen to be essential for international communication and trade, and this was related to the role of English as a lingua franca as much as to the need to communicate with English speaking countries:

[so that] students can be able to communicate with other foreigners regardless of their nationalities. I mean those who are not necessarily Westerners ... Japanese, Chinese, or Indian. (Ajarn Korblarp)

Several teachers specified the tourism industry in this respect, with Ajarn Murray describing it as *the number one baht earner* for Thailand, and noting that English was the lingua franca for Malay, German and Dutch tourists, who in fact outnumber native English speaking tourists. Teachers also referred to the East Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s and Thailand's financial debt to the USA, noting that it would be difficult to *negotiate with foreigners* without having proficiency in English (Ajarn Rajavadee). A broader need for international communication was also suggested: *to disseminate knowledge of Thailand and Thai culture to people who don't speak Thai ... to talk about profoundly Thai things using English* (Ajarn Murray).

It was notable, however, that in this initial discussion, none of the eight Thai teachers indicated purposes in learning English beyond the instrumental. It was the sole Australian teacher, who, as documented in Chapter 9, spoke of the liberating possibilities opened up by a second language, where learners *have the pleasure of expressing themselves in a completely different socio-cultural context using a completely different language*. It was thus of interest to pursue this issue further, as the responses received from Thai teachers had seemed to differ so markedly from the purpose of FLT as conceived by the profession in Australia.

Accordingly, at my second round of interviews in Thailand, I posed another question regarding possible benefits of language learning. On this occasion, however, I would typically lead the discourse in the direction of the *broad educational* and *cross-cultural* goals identified in the Australian sample. The following shows this process in my interview with Ajarn Nuteau:

(Referring to Question 1 on interview sheet)

When I say ‘the benefits’...we know that English is useful for jobs ... but what I’m asking here is what else can the student learn ... learn from any foreign language?... What about the experience of entering into a different way of thinking through a different language?

For some teachers, an instrumental value was still predominant in their response:

Let me focus on English ... If we would like to broaden our mind or broaden our knowledge, then we will have to know English better and better, because most of the latest technology in science or in medical or in anything, okay, it comes from abroad, rather than from the Eastern region (Ajarn Nuteau).

Most of the information in cyberspace comes written in English ... We can use the Internet to buy goods and services through E-commerce (Ajarn Nanda).

But three teachers now indicated that foreign language study could also have intercultural goals:

[to] broaden their mind, to understand other cultures, so you won’t be narrow-minded and think that your culture is the norm (Ajarn Korplarb).

Ajarn Korplarb added a caveat that this dimension was linked to students’ proficiency levels, indicating that students at English Major levels are *more or less ready ... to accept this kind of concept*.

Similarly, Dr Patcharin asserted that language learning develops the capacity to be:

... open-minded ... [to] tolerate cultural differences more ... [to be] more flexible, not rigid and look more fairly ... you treat people who are from different cultures in a more positive way.

Ajarn Rajavadee also responded in terms of cross-cultural benefits. She believed that learning a foreign language means that students:

... can get new ideas, another vision about what other people think, which may be different from the way we think.

This was linked to her belief that English Literature is an important part of the curriculum because:

When they [students] further their education, this is probably useful for them, to understand the higher kind of text, ... to be exposed to the ideas of other people.

However, Ajarn Rajavadee also drew attention to the forthcoming devolution and partial privatisation of the tertiary sector in Thailand, whereby institutions would be obliged to tailor courses more closely to market demands. She related how, at English departmental meetings, when discussing what courses to offer, the focus had been on vocational outcomes, on how to help students *survive in the future, because it's a competitive world now*, and that when students themselves were surveyed, they had negatively evaluated non-vocational subjects such as literature. Consequently, this part of the EL program had declined over the years at Isara and elsewhere in Thailand.

It may be seen that upon probing at the second interview, a minority of teachers recognised a second goal of foreign language learning as being cross-cultural understanding. But there are two points of interest here. First, that such dimensions were not alluded to by any Thai teacher when the purpose of FLT was initially discussed at the first interview, and second, that even at the second interview, no teacher picked up the notion (held by Australian FL teachers) that broad intellectual/cognitive benefits are a major goal of FLT. Clearly, then, there are fundamentally differing perceptions of the rationale for teaching foreign languages in Thailand and Australia.

The profession and publications

Two other phenomena relating to the different position of foreign languages in Thai and Western contexts will be briefly illustrated here. In the Western world, professional conferences of FL teachers are held *in the medium of the first language of that country*; for example, in Australia, conferences of teachers of

Japanese are held in English, not Japanese. However, in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, such EFL events are usually conducted in English, rather than in Thai, Lao, Khmer or Vietnamese. (Witnessing this practice being imposed in Laos since the year 2000 has been a sad experience.) Similarly, in the West, FL textbooks are usually bilingual in English and the TL, whereas in EFL, they are almost always monolingual in the TL. Clearly, this is an issue of even greater import when languages and cultures are as distant as Thai and English. Elsewhere in the SE Asian region, while a recent project did produce curriculum materials which were for the first time entirely bilingual in Lao and English (Forman, Kelly & Satewerawat, 2001), subsequent EL curricula in Laos have reverted to monolingual English forms.

L1 and L2 use

Given this background of the practices of FL learning and teaching in Australia and Thailand, it will now be of interest to return to the central theme of this thesis, and examine the use of L1 and L2 in FLT. The two key FL studies of Crawford (Australia) and Dickson (UK) will be drawn upon for international comparison.

Teachers' views on appropriate balance of L1 and L2

In Crawford's study (1999: 256), the most strongly supported reasons for using L1 were stated by teachers to be:

1. 'explaining grammar' (65% of teachers)
2. 'discussing culture' (65%)
3. to avoid disadvantaging less able students' (40%)

Dickson's (1996) study probed differently for L1 and TL use, querying the relative merits of L1 and TL for a variety of nine classroom activities which covered language, culture and attitudinal factors. Four possible patterns of L1 and TL were presented to teacher respondents as follows (p. 19):

- all target language (eg, French)
- mostly target language
- target language and English

- mostly English.

Dickson found that all nine activities were regarded as requiring at least some L1 support. A majority of teachers believed that either *TL and English* or *Mostly English* was appropriate for three of the nine activities as follow:

1. 'knowledge of grammar' (95% of teachers)
2. 'cultural awareness' (81%)
3. 'motivation' (51%)

However, if we extend the net to cover *mostly target language*, (and therefore still some L1), teachers indicated that some (or more) use of L1 was beneficial as follows:

1. 'knowledge of grammar' (99% of teachers)
2. 'cultural awareness' (98%)
3. 'motivation' (91%)
4. 'confidence (90%)
5. 'accuracy' (87%)
6. 'knowledge of vocabulary' (83%)
7. 'listening comprehension' (63%)
8. 'spoken fluency' (46%)
9. 'pronunciation' (36%).

A quantitative comparison is not possible with the present study, but it may be recalled that analysis of qualitative data in Chapter 8 indicated that these first three areas were similarly nominated for L1 use in the Thai EFL teachers' interviews. There was one significant difference in the present study, however: the use of L1 cited by many Thai teachers as assisting vocabulary teaching (which in Dickson's study only rated (6) as above). It is suggested that this may reflect the linguistic distance of the Thai language compared with the European languages of Dickson's study.

In reviewing this data, however, it should be emphasised once again that while L1 was seen to be a widespread form of *support* for TL learning in Dickson's

and Crawford's studies, there, as in the present project, L1 was seen as *complementing* and not replacing or overshadowing the principal aim of accessing the TL, with Dickson, for example, noting that teachers in his study were in favour of 'maximising TL use from the outset' (1996: 21).

Part 3 Global contexts of language learning

This study began with the global context of ELT, and to conclude the analysis of findings, I would like to re-place the Thai EL context into that bigger picture. In the table which follows, I have attempted to disperse the three major domains discussed so far – ESL, EFL, FLT – in a more complex plan. Plotting language teaching across the globe may seem to be an ambitious if not quixotic task. Of course the immensely complex and somewhat shifting picture will lose subtlety when tabulated into only nine types, but the purpose here is to expand the three or four categories conventionally used to describe language teaching, and to present a bigger picture without over-complexifying it.

In seeking to describe language learning globally, differing contexts of informal learning, non-formal education and formal education should be acknowledged. Here, the last was selected; and within it, secondary level students, as these form the biggest group of second/foreign language learners, and enable the clearest comparisons to be made. In the following description, I have also attempted to address Bruthiaux's (2003) call to move beyond the Kachruvian three-circle model; and as indicated earlier in this study, I have attempted to do so by taking *learner type* as a primary focus, rather than *language variety* or *geography*.

(When constructing an overview of global language teaching, several further categories and many more factors could be easily distinguished. Within the school sector, for example, there are privately-funded 'International Schools' as seen across SE Asia; schools where some subjects are taught in English and others in the native language, such as are found in Malaysia; and students who may have been born in Australia, but who speak a language other than English

until they start formal schooling. Moreover, if we focus alternatively upon the adult, rather than school sector, there are further factors in play, which may result in less clear delineation of ESL and EFL types.)

Type of language teaching	Target language contact hours per wk		Role of target language in education		Status of target language in country		Shared L1 amongst teacher & students?	
	20+	2-3	medium	subject	majority/official	minority/non-official	usually	usually not
GROUP A: local learners								
(1) Mother tongue	✓		✓		✓		✓	
(2) Bilingual Immersion [eg Canada]	✓		✓		✓		✓	
(3) EAL: L2 medium [eg India]	✓		✓		✓		✓	
GROUP B: transplanted learners (eg in Australia)								
(4) ESL	✓		✓		✓			✓
(5) Overseas students: ELICOS	✓			✓	✓			✓
(6) Overseas students: Mainstream	✓		✓		✓			✓
GROUP C: local learners								
(7) EAL: L2 subject [eg India]		✓		✓	✓		✓	
(8) EFL [eg Thailand]		✓		✓		✓	✓	
(9) FLT [eg Australia]		✓		✓		✓	✓	

Table 11.2 Nine types of language teaching compared globally

Following the fundamental focus upon learner type, it may be seen that four factors have been selected as being of particular relevance to the construction

of a global view of language teaching as follows. First, *amount of contact hours* is considered to be highly significant in the study of any subject, but perhaps particularly so in the case of language learning, for reasons suggested earlier. Second, and related to this, is the difference between *language as medium of instruction* and *language as subject of instruction*, which is crucial in determining the quality of education and therefore learning outcomes. Third, consideration of *status of target language* allows us to factor in at least some of the socio-political dimensions of language learning, for clearly, status will affect teaching goals, program rationale and funding, as well as student attitudes towards learning a particular language. Lastly, the *sharing of a mother tongue by teacher and students* opens up differing kinds of bilingual teaching/learning experiences.

The matrix above has been structured in order to suggest the most favourable conditions for learning to occur, both vertically (from most favourable – Group A, to least – Group C), and horizontally within each of the four headed columns, (coded with **dark shading** in the left-hand sub-columns favoured over **light shading** in the right-hand sub-columns).

Based on these four principal factors as set out in the matrix above, nine types of learners and associated pedagogy can be described, which fall into groups A, B, and C.

Group A consists of three pedagogic types (1, 2 and 3) which, while differing in some respects, do share 4/4 main features identified here. As may be seen, in all cases, language is taught as the medium of instruction (although there may also be specific language focus work provided in all cases). In all types, the target language has official status, as in the case of French in Canada, and English in India; and in all cases, teacher and students will usually share a first language.

Group B is comprised of what Sridhar and Sridhar call ‘transplanted learners’ (1994: 801). Type (4) are immigrant students; Types (5) and (6) are temporary residents from overseas. These three types share 3/4 factors, and differ only in that the ELICOS sector (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas

Students) normally offers language-focussed instruction, based on EFL textbooks, rather than content-based instruction.

Group C represents foreign language teaching/learning, both English and other languages. It may be seen that the two fields of EFL (8) and FLL (9) share a great deal in common – in fact 4/4 factors (and that they share 3/4 with EAL when it is taught as a school subject).

Clearly, this framework attempts to consolidate a major argument of the thesis, and I will briefly make explicit two of its claims, one which relates to learners, and the other to teachers. First, as indicated above, learners are placed as central to pedagogy; and it is seen as foundational whether they remain embedded in their own cultures, or whether they are transplanted into another culture, this latter being an issue intensified when, as in the case of Expanding Circle learners, such transplanting is likely to be from poorer to richer personal conditions, and from periphery to centre power environments. Second, with respect to teachers, the issue of NS/NNS status has been superseded here by a focus upon *teacher bilinguality*, as represented in the fourth ‘factor’ column, which favours language teachers who are *bilingual+* rather than *monolingual-*.

Finally, the Thai EFL domain will be compared with two other domains from the above matrix which are generally taken to be successful globally, as set out in Table 11.3 below.

Type of language teaching	Target language contact hours per wk		Role of target language in education		Status of target language in country		Shared L1 amongst teacher & students?	
	20+		medium		majority/official		usually	usually not
(2) Bilingual Immersion [eg Canada]	✓		✓		✓		✓	
(4) ESL [eg Australia]	✓		✓		✓			✓
(8) EFL [eg Thailand]		✓		✓		✓	✓	

Table 11.3 Thai EFL compared with ESL and with Bilingual Immersion

Four points emerge from this comparison. First, and confirming a major investigation of the study, it may be seen that in respect of the four major factors identified here, *the field of EFL has 0/4 commonality with ESL*.

Second, and also central to this thesis, is the significance of Column 4 – *the sharing of L1 amongst teacher and students*. It may be noted that for Thai EFL, of all four principal factors in the matrix, it is this alone which falls on the ‘optimum’ (dark) side; it is this alone which EFL holds in common with Canadian immersion schooling; and it is this alone which positively distinguishes EFL from ESL. It is ironic, then, that bilinguality is precisely what has been proscribed from EFL classrooms by ELT orthodoxy.

Third, it may be valuable to consider ways in which Thai EFL can further develop by examining the other three principal factors outlined. Column 3 is largely beyond the power and influence of the teaching profession, and in any case may be seen as a result of social change rather than a cause of it. Columns 2 and 1, however, may offer inspiration for ways forward in language planning policies. As was noted in Chapter 5, the Thai MOE has recently introduced a pilot program of partial FL immersion in 14 High Schools, and this kind of move would strongly accord with the needs identified in this study to enhance FL programs’ duration and intensity.

Lastly, it is intended that viewing Thai EFL in this global context may serve to strengthen the discussion of earlier chapters 8, 9 and 10, and that the relationships illustrated above in matrix form may contribute to a fuller understanding of how and why Thai EFL classrooms are distinctive in respect of Meaning-making potential (Chapter 8), Performance possibilities (Chapter 9), and the Curriculum itself (Chapter 10).

Chapter 12

Conclusion

Part 1	Bilingual classrooms and semiotic development
Part 2	Curriculum and global ELT
Part 3	Implications for research and professional practice
Part 4	Images

The research questions explored in this study were as follows:

Describing bilingual classrooms

- (1) In what ways do Thai EL teachers make use of two languages – English and Thai – in their classes with university students?
- (2) What do these teachers perceive to be the purposes and effects of the use of L1 and L2 in this context?
- (3) To what extent does the curriculum, as represented by the textbook, support the learning of a second language and culture?

Exploring semiotic development

- (4) How does the use of both languages contribute to students' potential development of meaning?
- (5) How does performing L2 in the classroom impact upon Thai teachers' and students' self-expression and senses of identity?

Relating pedagogy to professional context

- (6) How does the professional domain of Thai EFL relate to ESL and to FLT?

Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 investigated these questions from various methodological and epistemological perspectives which aimed to situate classroom practices within their broader professional and socio-cultural contexts. Such multiple perspectives have enabled the telling of a richly textured story.

Part 1 Bilingual classrooms and semiotic development

Describing bilingual classrooms

The study has initially provided a description of how L1 and L2 are used by nine teachers in their conducting of ten EL classes in the Thai university context. As Rushdie notes, ‘redescribing a world is the necessary first step towards changing it’ (1982/1992: 14); and such was the goal of this study.

Received ELT wisdom sees the default EL classroom as a monolingual one, or at least one where the teacher behaves as if she were monolingual. This position informs all dimensions of ELT: *ELT textbooks and materials*, such as the ‘Passages’ series examined in this study; *teachers’ professional competencies*, where, as noted, the four largest English-speaking countries have no requirement for bilinguality amongst their ESL/EFL teachers; *teacher training*, as has been reviewed in the literature; and finally in the monolingual focus and indeed bias of the *SLA research field*. Accordingly, it has been shown that naturalised discourses of ELT have emerged which favour monolingual, native-speaking teachers of English at the expense of bilingual, non-native speaking teachers of English.

Yet, the great majority of EL teachers in the world today are not monolingual but bilingual, or multilingual, and share a first language and culture with their students. The native linguaculture itself constitutes intensely-thought and sensually-felt dimensions of the self: to ignore it is to turn away from who we are, and how we see ourselves in the world. An initial contribution of the present study, then, is the development of *ways of describing bilingual pedagogy* which better show how EFL classrooms work, and how they are seen to work by the teachers who run them.

New descriptive categories have been created which reworked conventional notions of *comprehensible input*, *IRF* and *scaffolding* in order to account for what happens when not one but two languages make up teaching and learning. Patterns of classroom discourse have been illuminated by a three-way matrix

which links *pedagogy* (Animating English Text, Creating English Text, Scaffolded Interaction, and Explaining in Thai); *performance* (Animating, Acting, Verbal Playing, Displaying and Enacting); and the *intersections of both through L1/L2*. In short, the study has constructed a *bilingual pedagogic register* of field, tenor and mode which can describe, analyse and affirm the ‘third’ spaces which are enabled and textured by a move into a second tongue.

The bilingual pedagogic register established here is grounded in systemic-functional linguistics, and has sought to integrate this theory of ‘language in use’ with a socio-cultural theory of mind in order to explore pedagogy in the broad context of SLA. In so doing, it has also drawn upon various perspectives from biology, ecology, philosophy and sociology. It is not suggested that existing interpretive models of classroom discourse are not valuable - clearly they remain so - but that a polyphonic approach has offered new ways of understanding the diversity and complexity of bilingual classrooms.

Interpreting bilingual classrooms

The notion of teaching *moves* patterned into *protocols* has provided a valuable framework for understanding the bilingual classrooms observed. Such a framework has been able to advance other studies’ incipient recognition of the power of the first language to access the meanings of the second. Bilingual classrooms are here recognised as a default mode for Thai EFL contexts, and bilingual pedagogies have been shown to be principled in nature. The study has also revealed the blended nature of L1/L2 pedagogy, which was seen to build up through intricate, often rapid, moves which served to create a seamless discourse. The bilingual intricacy commonly seen in this study is a phenomenon that goes against recommendations in the research literature *not* to minutely intersperse two languages in teacher talk; but here it was a practice regarded as fecund rather than fuddled. Similarly, a traditional ‘interference’ view of language contact has been repositioned as *bilingual intertextuality*, the latter notion allowing the intellectual newness of L2 to be viewed as being embedded in the familiar richness of the L1; and where both languages can be seen to feed into each other through the ‘multicompetence’ model of learning developed by Cook. It was observed time and again in this study that for students in lower-

level (non-elective) classes, exclusion of L1 would have denied the single most powerful resource available for making meaning and performing identity; and that in the case of high-level classes, while absence of L1 would have had a less severe impact, opportunities would nevertheless have been greatly reduced for insights into language, culture and self.

I would like again to assert that while this study has attempted to more clearly acknowledge positive roles for L1 in L2 classrooms, it does not make unbalanced claims for such L1 use. Indeed, it has sought to reaffirm the need for encouraging and developing the most appropriate uses of L2 in ELT on the part of both teachers and students. But through the emic accounts presented here, we may be better informed as to how and why teachers choose to balance their use of both first and second languages in the classroom, and information gathered should be of value in further studies of bilingual EFL pedagogy.

Performance of L1 and L2

The study has confirmed the function of all natural language as not only representing experience but enacting social relationships; and that accordingly, a move into an L2 cannot happen without changes to one's repertoire of social roles and therefore to one's self. Teachers were able to speak of how they performed differently in Thai and English, and of the affective dimension of these speakings: such accounts are rare in the ELT literature. Of particular note were the ways in which Thai teachers' relationships with their students were affirmed through the departures from and returns to the home base of L1; and how the L2 for these teachers often represented the new, the unreal, the possible. Further research in Thailand could valuably further explore the nature of roles, voices, identities afforded by moves into L2. Such research would preferably be conducted in the medium of the Thai language, perhaps with collaboration between Thai and English native speakers, so that positionings and exchanges which eluded the current English-medium research might be explored.

Although the initial focus of classroom performance in this study was upon teachers, performance by students was drawn into the picture because of the verbal reticence which they displayed, and which was a matter of concern to their teachers. Understanding of Thai students' performance and non-performance was developed by drawing together disparate perspectives which related to learners' phonetic realisations of English, Foreign Language Anxiety, and Inner Speech, together with attention to a rehearsal dimension of performance. Thus, perspectives of *physiology*, *psychology*, and *pedagogy* were able to be newly integrated. An additional *cultural* dimension of learner reticence could be sketched only; this appears to be another area ripe for further investigation. Further, in respect of Inner Speech, I would suggest that the profession may be on the edge of tapping the as yet undetermined potential of Inner Speech to enhance language learning.

By analysing performance as has been done through the five process categories invented here, it may be possible to better interpret the challenges which are offered by various kinds of performance – from unthreatening 'animations' of text to more challenging 'enactments' of meaning. Recognition of the relationship between performance and identity may make it more possible for teachers to shape pedagogy in order to alternately accommodate and then extend students' capacity to perform in the second language.

In terms of performance, one area presented itself as being of special interest: the way in which 'verbal play' stimulated both teachers and students to perform L2. Although the phenomenon of verbal play is well represented in the literature dealing with child L1 development, and in that relating to poetics, this process as part of ELT/FLT pedagogy has been dealt with only sporadically until recently; and in E and SE Asian contexts, writing in English about L2 verbal play, to my knowledge, exists only marginally in studies of Vietnamese classes cited earlier. The relationship between play and language is of intrinsic interest for what it may reveal of how we see ourselves and each other (as well as how we might want or fear to). In the classes observed here, its instantiation served to create meaningful and enjoyable moments of interaction which appeared to 'release' some of the anxiety more usually associated with L2 performance.

Play in this context was also seen to provide striking counterevidence to what the literature has often claimed to be student 'passivity'.

The process of verbal playing was also seen to illuminate the interpersonal function of language. Through playful positioning of participants as being variously 'anti-social', meanings transmute back and forth in congruent and non-congruent ways, a process which is developmental within one language, and even more so across two. Once again, this is an area which appears to have great potential for language learning, and which is ripe for further investigation from an intercultural perspective.

Transmutation of meanings

Halliday's 'social semiotic' model of language, together with Cook's 'multicompetence' model of the learner, have enabled and inspired attempts to account for the ways in which meaning is construed and enacted. The metaphor of transmutation of meaning (TMM) has been coined in an attempt to convey something of the ways in which meanings, when they cross back and forth from one language to another, can both extend outwards, and at the same time remain connected to originating semantic fields.

When a Thai speaker is learning English, or when I am learning Thai, we gain opportunities to move into 'third spaces', wherein new representations of experience and new role repertoires are created, and through which new intercultural mediation is made possible. Practices of translation were seen to imbue the pedagogy of this study. I would suggest that these familiar, and in a sense apparently transparent practices, may be compared to the TMM process constituted within the learner's mind. Translation itself can never transfer equivalence in meaning, and this is of course its limitation and strength: as Rushdie puts it, while 'something always gets lost in translation ... something can also be gained' (1982/1992: 17). So the commonality of translation and TMM lies in semiotic reconstruction which both grows and at the same time retains something of what was already there. And their difference lies in the location of each process in time and space, the visibility of each, and its self-consciousness of performance. But in both processes, there is the move into

'thirdness', with the enlarged capacity for insight and mediation which this affords.

Part 2 Curriculum and global ELT

Curriculum: EL textbooks

I have over many years observed what can happen when global ELT is exported unexamined to Periphery countries: this study arose from wanting to do something about it. The classroom practices examined here have demonstrated both the strengths and constraints of teaching English in a country like Thailand. On the one hand, it was seen that teachers in this study were expert and confident speakers of the L2 which they taught, with a high degree of bilinguality having resulted in part from their experience of having completed postgraduate study in English speaking countries. On the other hand, however, what exercised a severe restraint even upon these experts' classes was the strongly prescribed curriculum in the form of monolingual international ELT textbooks.

For many years, textbooks have been variously criticised for their homogenisation, commercialisation, consumerism, vacuousness, sexism and racism. This study offered a rare view 'from the Periphery' of what can happen in the export of these artefacts from the Centre. It was disappointing to see how little contemporary books had changed in many respects. It was shocking to find that the approach to language was still reductionist, structurally-based, and sometimes plain confusing. There appears to be in these ELT textbooks a strange lack of awareness of and interest in second language learners, their teachers, their cultures, their languages. It is concluded that commodification of education and the discourses which accompany it, which include Philipson's 'fallacies' of monolingualism and native speakerdom, are alive and prospering.

One hope which has recently been raised for EFL texts is that technology may provide ways of moving forward. Wongsothorn, Hiranburana and Chinnawongs suggest that soon for Thailand:

The texts for teaching and learning will come mostly from the windows of the various computers, allowing flexibility and continuous updating of information for the new generation. The core text will likely be printed and deal with such matters as syntax and grammatical rules in use.

(2003: 451)

And perhaps more profoundly, the kinds of authorial collaboration which have been proposed by Feng and Byram offer ways of developing truly local/global language teaching texts which have cultural depth and integrity.

Thai EFL and FLT

The political dimension of the commodification of education may be seen in the flow of ELT from Centre to Periphery (or as we may say, from 'over-developed' to 'developing' countries). The textbook is one part of this process, as are other channels of communication: conferences, workshops, academic publications, and the presence in Thailand of expatriate teachers from English speaking countries. At this macro level, it is possible to recognise how various ELT discourses and channels of communication serve to embody the Centre's interests; and such a perspective can help to explain how the professional domain of Thai EFL is positioned within global ELT.

A major investigation of this thesis has been the repositioning of Thai EFL *away from the E and towards the FL*. Through this repositioning, EFL practice may be 'liberated' in a number of ways. First, professional concerns may be more clearly identified as differing from those of ESL (immigrant) and EAL (post-colonial) domains of ELT. Second, a repositioning may assist in problematising the export of methodology such as CLT to EFL contexts, and may thus encourage locally-appropriate methodology and curriculum to be developed. Thirdly, by repositioning Thai ELT as FLT, there is enabled an affirmation of what in fact is the centre of the thesis: the power of the first language in

bilingual teaching/learning. For as has been shown, in the FL context, it is expected that the teacher will be bilingual; whereas in the ELT context, it is assumed that s/he will be monolingual or act as such. Lastly, there are valuable notions available in the FLT field such as those of *the intercultural speaker*, *tertiary socialisation*, and *mutual representations of target and source cultures*, all of which resonate with the apparent needs of Thai EFL students in their EL learning, and none of which are present in international monolingual EL textbooks such as those used by teachers in this study.

English in the world

The global effects of the spread of English have been documented in this study with respect to curriculum, methodology, and professional domains. It was notable that a number of teachers ascribed certain communicative features to the nature of the English language itself, referring to its equalising, participatory effects upon social and pedagogic roles. As was suggested earlier, it is not possible to know whether indeed such effects are attributable to the nature/role of English itself, to its difference from Thai, to the move into any foreign language, or, as may be more likely, whether these views are attributable to a range of such intersections; but it was the existence of teachers' beliefs that was of interest, because of the opening possibilities that English was then enabled to produce.

As for teachers' views of the *aims* of ELT in Thailand, this proved to be one of the most difficult areas in the conduct of this research, simply because participants' views emerged to be quite different from my own, and from what I had expected to find. That is, whereas for me, and I think the majority of FL teachers in contexts such as Australia, the goals of foreign language learning (as distinct from the maintenance of mother tongue 'community language' programs) are principally *cognitive/affective*, in the present study, Thai teachers without exception nominated *instrumentality* as the purpose of ELT, and none but the sole Australian teacher referred unprompted to possible cognitive/affective benefits. Thus, although this study has demonstrated the unacknowledged commonalities between EFL and FLT in terms of curriculum

and methodology, it must also be said that in its global role, English currently stands in distinction to all other languages due to its instrumentality.

The impact of English upon Thai culture was another unexpected finding of the study. While visible and audible impacts of English are perceptible across Thailand, I was struck time and again by how English seemed to have become 'absorbed into' Thai; how embedded was the new in the known. The West is only a hyperlink away, and cultural distance is often exoticised by Thais as it is by Westerners, but at the same time English does not appear to be seen as a threat to personal or cultural discourses. As Dr Chai told me of his return to Thailand after six years overseas:

When I came back from America, I thought in English ... But, for some behaviour that I grew up with, that's quite the same ... Like if I want to go to the temple; if I want to treat you [people in general] with respect; *these things will stay with me*. (emphases added)

Accommodation of others has been a feature of Siamese/Thai culture throughout its history. However, alongside such accommodation, and within Thailand's 'veneer of modernity', Dr Chai reminds us: *these things will stay with me*.

Part 3 Implications for research and professional practice

Research processes

Implications for further research in this field have already been noted in the discussion above. In sum, they are areas dealing with Bilingual EFL Pedagogy, the Performance of Identity explored through L1 as well as through L2 data, possible cultural dimensions of Learner Reticence, the role of Inner Speech in L2 learning, and the pedagogic potential of Verbal Playing in L2.

I would also like to comment on the potential *processes* of such research.

In the course of undertaking this study, it was notable that although Thailand, with its population of sixty million people, its status as a newly industrialising nation, and its strategic location in the centre of SE Asia, has a broad and longstanding commitment to EL education, there are in fact relatively few studies of Thai ELT published in English. Moreover, it was found that none of the English studies located made reference to papers which had been published *in the Thai language*; and the potential richness to be obtained from crossover between local and international research was thus lost. It was also observed more broadly that some of the most illuminating English studies of EFL were found to be those which resulted from collaboration between a local expert and an expert in the foreign language. In the context of Thailand, for example, there are studies by Bovonsiri, Uampuang and Fry (1996), and by Hallinger and Kantamara (2001); in China, that of Feng and Byram (2002), and of Gan, Humphreys and Hamp-Lyons (2004). I believe that such collaboration is a productive and inclusive form of research, which can contribute much to the field.

Transferability

It is usual in studies of this nature to consider their transferability into other contexts. I suggest that the findings of the present study may usefully transfer both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, there are three connections. First, Laos represents the closest context to Thailand in geographical, cultural and linguistic terms. Then, Thai ELT has many commonalities with other E and SE Asian countries which do not have a legacy of English from colonial times, ie Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. It may further be related to the study of English in contexts such as South America and the Middle East. And lastly, in terms of FL curriculum and methodology, I have tried to establish that there are many shared concerns between Thailand and countries such as Australia. Vertically, this study has focussed on tertiary level ELT, but many of its findings could be applied to an exploration of secondary and even primary level ELT in Thailand and elsewhere. That is, central issues

in all such contexts include those of bilingual pedagogy, the performance of social roles, accessibility of curriculum, and professional positionings.

Implications for teacher training

Bilingual pedagogy has been the central theme of the thesis, and a question raised thereby concerns the differing strengths and limitations offered by two kinds of teacher in EFL: the native speaker, and the non-native speaker. In Thailand, for many years, foreign native speakers of English have been employed at universities, and recently this practice has been spreading to the secondary school system. There are some serious issues which relate to the professional qualifications and experience of many native speaking EL 'teachers' in Thailand which bear further investigation. However, I will assume here that both NS and NNS teachers are well-trained professionals with an appropriate proficiency in the TL, and will now consider the potential contribution of these two types to EFL in contexts such as Thailand.

Throughout this study, I have argued that it is crucial to acknowledge and affirm the strengths of both NS and NNS teachers, and in this I seek to build upon the 're-imagining' of TESOL teacher identities proposed by, for example, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999), Lin et al (2002), and Pavlenko (2003). However, I do not suggest for Thailand that FL teaching can be maximally achieved by Thai native speaking bilingual teachers alone (such as the Thai teachers in this study), any more than I would suggest that in Australia, FL teaching could be maximally achieved by Australian native speaking bilingual teachers (such as an Anglo-Australian teacher of Japanese). For I have seen what additional and complementary benefits can be offered by 'target language native speakers' in both contexts (eg, Japanese native speakers in Australia; myself in Thailand): that is, value as 'informant' and 'resource', as well as the intercultural communication which is then available to students. As to the optimum balance of the two types of teacher at one site, this will depend on various contextual factors; but at Isara, it was the expressed view of staff that the current proportion of 3:1 Thai to foreign teachers on the English program achieved the right balance.

Clearly, these two kinds of teacher can offer somewhat differing but complementary qualities, and are likely to have differing professional needs, whether in pre-service or inservice training. As a matter of determining what such needs may be, I set out overleaf a summary of my experiences, drawn from the present study and from previous EL teacher education programs, of the relative competencies of NS and NNS in respect of key dimensions of the language classroom (Table 12.1). The framework thus formed aims to replace the conventional deficit model of NNS teachers with one that recognises the strengths and limitations of both types. It of necessity simplifies a highly complex picture, in particular, not representing the continuum of expertise which exists amongst both types of teacher across each category, but I consider that the value of being able to set out a bigger picture outweighs the loss of detail.

The table should be read as follows, exemplifying category (1) overleaf. With regard to teaching competence (1) *responding to ss' cultural/pedagogic backgrounds*, (A) **bilingual NNS teachers** generally display higher competence, the consequence of which is the provision of a maximally effective learning environment; (B) **monolingual NS teachers** generally display lower competence, the consequence of which is difficulty in providing appropriate methodology.

My experience of TESOL/Applied Linguistics undergraduate and postgraduate programs at Australian and British universities is that programs are focussed almost entirely upon Category B above, that is, monolingual NS EL teachers. However, large numbers of current TESOL teachers at the postgraduate level in English-speaking countries are in fact bilingual NNS, who globally constitute the majority. Such teachers' needs have been for the most part disregarded or unconsidered in these programs (see Braine, 1999; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Lin et al 2002). While the *socio-political* dimensions of global ELT are sometimes addressed through subjects of a similar name or those more traditionally called Language Planning, appropriate *methodology and curriculum* for bilingual EFL classes in Expanding Circle countries are rarely addressed. And so, crucial issues are neglected, such as optimum use of L1 and L2; teaching materials which are monolingual/bilingual, global/local; the balance of

native and non native speaker expertise/models; and the use of translation in pedagogy. It is hoped that this study may make a contribution to better informing such programs, so that they may more effectively address the needs of participating teachers.

		<i>EFL context such as Thailand</i>	
Categories of teaching competence	A. Bilingual non-native teacher	←————→	
		B. Monolingual native teacher	
		<u>Level of competence</u> and • consequence	
1. responding to students' cultural/ pedagogic backgrounds	<u>Higher competence</u> ↓ • maximally effective learning environment	<u>Lower competence</u> ↓ • difficulty in providing appropriate methodology	
2. comparing and contrasting L1 and L2	<u>Higher</u> ↓ • planning for students' predictable areas of strength/difficulty	<u>Lower</u> ↓ • less effective planning and response to error	
3. analysing and explaining TL through TL	<u>Higher</u> ↓ • use of translation to access structure and meaning of TL	<u>Lower</u> ↓ • focus on fluency-type activities	
4. generating appropriate spoken and written texts	<u>Lower</u> ↓ • reliance on textbook	<u>Higher</u> ↓ • production of classroom materials to meet students' needs	
5. demonstrating aspects of TL culture	<u>Lower</u> ↓ • reliance on textbook	<u>Higher</u> ↓ • 'informant' status	
6. providing error correction	<u>Lower</u> ↓ • fewer communicative activities; testing based on grammatical accuracy	<u>Higher</u> ↓ • ease of delivering feedback; testing based on fluency and accuracy	

Table 12.1 Differing levels of NS and NNS teachers' competence, with consequences for teaching

Part 4 Images

I would like to end this study with images which emerge from three fields. The first consists of some memories I hold of Thai classrooms, along with a brief reflection of my engagement with the research site over time. The second harks back to experiences in neighbouring Laos which had initiated my interest in bilingual EFL pedagogy. The third draws metaphorically upon landscape to offer an ecological image of language learning.

Thailand

The picture I have of Thai EL classrooms takes the shape of students attired according to the university's dress requirements – white shirt/blouse, and dark blue pants/skirt, seated with ease, poise and apparent harmony; and of teachers also formally dressed, who remained standing or sat down, but never leant on furniture or approached students. The tenor observed between Thai teachers and their students was different from what I know: it combined warmth with formality; care with distance. Material events were seen to embody respect: I observed that when students left their seats and passed the teacher's desk to write on the blackboard, each student made a *wai*. As noted earlier, this is a gesture where palms are placed together at chest level, raised to the head at the same time that the head is lowered, and accompanied by a bow (male) or curtsy (female); it is a mark of respect initiated from junior to senior, and reciprocated unless, as here, the status differential is great. For Westerners, it is sometimes difficult to appreciate the degree of respect held in Thailand for older people, authority, and education: to be a teacher in Thailand accords highly privileged status and commensurate responsibility. The ambience of lessons in Thailand was different too – sometimes animated, sometimes calm, but never, in this study, unsettling, provocative, nor, to borrow Canagarajah's terms, 'hyperactive' or 'supervoluble'. Students appeared calmly attentive, 'present', 'grounded' in their learning, even when as can happen in education everywhere, materials or their delivery were lack-lustre.

Going back to Isara myself after a fifteen-year absence, I was also able to observe some of the changes which had occurred since I first worked there.

Over that time, both the English Department and the university itself had grown considerably in size and number of students. This was reflected in the physical environment, with much of the formerly green areas on campus having been replaced by new buildings. The English department itself, which had been housed in a two-storey wooden building with verandahs and shutters was now located in an eight-storey concrete and glass block. Indeed that particular region of Thailand had also developed economically during this period, due in part to its relative proximity to Bangkok and its position on the industrialising Eastern seaboard of Thailand. There was also a noticeably greater number of Westerners present on campus compared to the two who were employed fifteen years ago. In EL classrooms, whereas 'in my time', I rarely saw a teacher use English to communicate, now every teacher does so. And whereas previously, my oral English class had produced so much student talk that I was advised to relocate it outside to the *salaa* (wooden pavilion); now, every teacher at least sought to encourage student oral production in class.

Laos

The second image, or series of images, I would like to describe are related to Laos, where over a period of nearly ten years, I was involved in the inservice training of some 230 Lao EL teachers, many of whose classrooms I visited, both in the major towns and in some of the most remote villages. This experience is relevant here for three reasons: first, Lao and Thai cultures are like brothers or sisters; second, it affords a broader context than the current study, due to the range of sites observed; and third, it was here that I was first able to observe, trial, and reflect with Australian and Lao colleagues upon the roles of L1 and L2 in learning. This was where I did much of the thinking which prepared for the current study. There stands out in my mind a simple question posed by a Lao teacher trainer (herself a revolutionary figure from pre-1975 days) who asked me at an inservice session which had featured discussion of the roles of L1 and L2 in EFL: *Where does it come from, the bilingual approach to teaching English?* This was not easy to answer, for in fact it 'came from' our observation of what seemed to work best for Lao teachers in Lao classrooms; and in supporting bilingual teaching we were at first trepidatious because such an approach did run counter to orthodoxy. What the current study has enabled

me to do, then, is to find out what others have said and written about this area of L1-L2 use, to explore in greater depth its nature and effects in the Thai context, and to thereby, I hope, offer a solid theorising of what good bilingual pedagogy can be.

Landscape

I would like to conclude with a description of 'Edge Effects', taken from Bill Mollison's *Introduction to Permaculture* (1991). Something of what this thesis has tried to explore about crossing languages and cultures is here described with grace and insight:

An edge is an interface between two mediums: it is the surface between the water and the air; the zone around a soil particle to which water bonds; the shoreline between land and water; the area between forest and grassland. It is the scrub, which we can differentiate from grassland. It is the area between the frost and non-frost level on a hillside. It is the border of the desert.

Wherever species, climate, soil, slope, or any natural conditions or artificial boundaries meet, we have edges.

Edges are places of varied ecology. Productivity increases at the boundary between two ecologies (land/water; forest/grassland; estuary/ocean; crop/orchard) because the resources from both systems can be used. In addition, the edge often has species unique to itself.

(1991: 26)

This ecological metaphor has been chosen because it captures something of the multicompetent speaker, whose 'productivity increases' as s/he uses 'resources from both systems'; and who is thereby enabled to move into a third space, which 'has species unique to itself'.

Appendices

- APPENDIX I GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS (1) JANUARY 2002
- APPENDIX II GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS (2) MARCH 2004
- APPENDIX III IELTS BAND SCALES
- APPENDIX IV TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS
- APPENDIX V EXTRACT FROM PASSAGES TEXTBOOK:
 'Getting what you're entitled to' (1 page)
 Dr Patcharin's lesson
- APPENDIX VI EXTRACT FROM PASSAGES TEXTBOOK:
 'Globe-trotting' (2 pages)
 Ajarn Rajavadee's lesson

APPENDIX I

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS (1) [January 2002]

(1) INTERVIEW based on lessons observed

(A) Background

- teacher
- teaching program
- students

(B) Use of L1 and L2

- in lesson observed
- in general

(C) Important parts of the lesson

- successful
- difficult

(D) Any other points

(2) GENERAL DISCUSSION

(A) Background to teaching English in Thailand

(B) General use of L1 and L2

(C) Different kinds of English teaching

(D) Impact, or lack of impact, of English/American language and culture on Thai language and culture.

APPENDIX II

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS (2) [March 2004]

(1) VALUE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

- What do you consider to be the benefits for students?

(2) WAYS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

- How do students best learn a foreign language?

(3) LANGUAGE OF THOUGHT

- In your English classes, to what extent do you think in Thai?
(For example when preparing a grammar explanation, responding to students, etc.)

(4) EL TEXTBOOKS

- What do you think of the ones you are using?
(valuable/appropriate/accessible?)

(5) PERFORMING IN ENGLISH

Some people have written about how they feel different when they communicate in their second language - they may speak in different ways and about different topics.

- Can you compare the way you communicate in Thai and the way you communicate in English in the classroom?

For example:

- Do you feel like you are 'performing' in English?
- Do you take on different kinds of roles in English and Thai?
- Do you speak/ behave in different ways in each language?

(6) METAPHORS FOR ENGLISH

Can you think of any metaphors to describe English – its position in Thailand, or the ways in which it is learned or taught?

APPENDIX III

IELTS BAND SCALES

Reproduced from 'Information for Candidates', published by IDP Education, Canberra, 2002.

BAND 9 – EXPERT USER

Has fully operational command of the language: appropriate, accurate and fluent with complete understanding.

BAND 8 – VERY GOOD USER

Has fully operational command of the language with only occasional unsystematic inaccuracies and inappropriacies. Misunderstandings may occur in unfamiliar situations. Handles complex detailed argumentation well.

BAND 7 – GOOD USER

Has operational command of the language, though with occasional inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings in some situations. Generally handles complex language well and understands detailed reasoning.

BAND 6 – COMPETENT USER

Has generally effective command of the language despite some inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings. Can use and understand fairly complex language, particularly in familiar situations.

BAND 5 – MODEST USER

Has partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in own field.

BAND 4 – LIMITED USER

Basic competence is limited to familiar situations, Has frequent problems in understanding and expression. Is not able to use complex language.

BAND 3 – EXTREMELY LIMITED USER

Conveys and understands only general meaning in very familiar situations. Frequent breakdowns in communication occur.

BAND 2 – INTERMITTENT USER

No real communication is possible except for the most basic information using isolated words or short formulae in familiar situations and to meet immediate needs. Has great difficulty in understanding spoken and written English.

BAND 1 – NON-USER

Essentially has no ability to use the language beyond possible a few isolated words.

APPENDIX IV reproduced from Chapter 7

Teacher		Students	
English	Thai	English	Thai
What's the best seller?	<p>ดูสินค้า <u>Let's see!</u></p>		

It may be seen that in the above format, there are four possible speech categories: *Teacher*, in either English or Thai, and *Students*, in either English or Thai. When teacher or students spoke in English, the usual transcription of Roman script appears. When teacher or students spoke in Thai, their words are represented first in Thai script, and then translated into English (underlined). (It may be noted that Thai orthography usually separates clauses and sentences rather than individual words.) On those occasions when the teacher was 'quoting' an English word/phrase from the textbook, those English words appear in normal font, placed in single quotation marks.

On some occasions, teacher talk took place in one language only, and without student response. In such cases, rather than the four-part table described above, a simple indentation of spoken text has been shown.

Pauses in speech are indicated following convention by three dots. When pauses were of special significance, numerical timing in seconds is represented in square brackets, like so: [4]. Other punctuation, including the exclamation mark, has been used in a conventional manner.

The symbol [L] indicates laughter; [R] indicates repeat.

Square brackets have been used to indicate additions made by the researcher to clarify meaning.

I have occasionally made use in the analysis of Thai words which are commonly used by English speakers in Thailand, or which are key to the discussion; these have been transliterated into English, as in *sanuk*, *som tam*, *ajarn*, following the Thai Royal Institute Romanization System (1967), this being most commonly used system used by English language publications in Thailand and in Romanised street signage. In this approximately phonetic system, aspiration of initial stops /p t k/ is represented by 'h', as in the town of *Phuket*, and the post-vocalic /r/ is non-rhotic, signifying instead vowel length, as in *ajarn*. Full details are available in the Thai language at the Thai Royal Institute's website (2004), and an updated version in English is available on Thai Airways' website (2004).

GETTING WHAT YOU'RE ENTITLED TO

Most people who experience a problem while traveling, shopping, or dining out do not complain. They tolerate bad service and inferior products without making a sound. Why? Many feel complaining won't do any good – but they're wrong. Complaining works because companies don't want dissatisfied customers. Not sure you can do it? Here are some strategies to use when things go wrong.

1. **If you have a complaint, do something about it right away.** The longer you wait, the harder it will be to get your complaint resolved.
2. **First, complain to service agents.** If they are not going to resolve your problem, then ask politely to speak to a manager. And if that doesn't work, you can always request to speak to the manager's manager!
3. **Stand up for your rights.** You have the right to receive a product you ordered in a timely manner. With airlines, you have the right to be on a flight you've booked. Always demand satisfaction when your consumer rights are violated.
4. **Demand a perk or a discount.** Let's say you were promised a hotel room with an ocean view, but got a view of a brick wall instead, or you were assigned an aisle seat in the front of the cabin on an overseas flight, but got a seat in the middle section all the way in the back. You should do something about both of these situations – ask to be compensated with a special discount or perk.
5. **Don't be passive.** Stay involved and offer ways you think the company can satisfy you. Be reasonable, but be firm.
6. **Insist on the price you were quoted.** If you are refused, get a manager's name and telephone number, and promise to follow up with a letter and a telephone call.
7. **If all else fails, wait until you get home and take action.** Call the company's head office, and speak to the most senior person possible. Then follow up your call with a letter of complaint. If necessary, don't hesitate to call the consumer affairs office in your city and complain.

Passages 1, p. 93 (Richards & Sandy, 1998)

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APPENDIX VI

AJARN RAJAVADEE'S LESSON

Globe-trotting

Travel troubles

Starting point

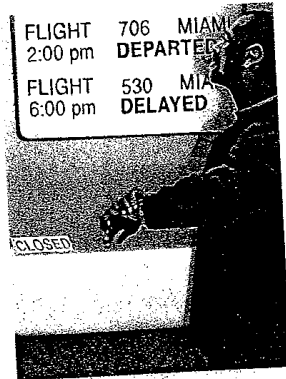
A Pair work What important tips do you have for travelers regarding these topics?

air travel

packing

money

B Pair work Read these statements made by people who did not have positive travel experiences. What would you have done in each situation?



"If I had taken the earlier flight, I wouldn't be missing my appointment."



"If I were more organized, I wouldn't have brought so much luggage."



"If I had budgeted more carefully, I wouldn't be worrying about money right now."

Mixed conditionals

These conditional sentences mix present and past time to talk about hypothetical situations.

Fact: I didn't take the earlier flight, so I'm missing my appointment.

Conditional sentence: If I **had taken** the earlier flight, I **wouldn't be missing** my appointment.

Fact: I'm not organized, so I brought too much luggage.

Conditional sentence: If I **were** more organized, I **wouldn't have brought** so much luggage.

Fact: I didn't budget carefully, so I'm worrying about money now.

Conditional sentence: If I **had budgeted** more carefully, I **wouldn't be worrying** about money right now.

A Rewrite this information as conditional sentences. Then compare with a partner.
Have you ever been in similar situations?

1. Mark and Steve didn't make a hotel reservation, so they're spending the night in a train station.

If Mark and Steve had made a hotel reservation, they wouldn't be spending the night in a train station.

2. My mother doesn't speak any English, so she was afraid to explore New York on her own.

3. I forgot to bring my camera with me to Thailand, so I can't take any pictures of the beautiful temples.

4. The airline lost my luggage, so I'll have to wear the same clothes for two days.

5. Elizabeth didn't pack a bathing suit, so she's spending the first day of her vacation at the beach shopping for one.

6. My father doesn't like to fly, so he didn't visit me when I lived overseas.

B Pair work Complete these sentences and then discuss with a partner.

1. People wouldn't be so concerned about air travel if . . .

2. If there were more tourists in my country, . . .

3. There would be fewer communication problems in the world if . . .

4. If more Americans and Canadians spoke foreign languages fluently, . . .

5. If I could speak several languages fluently, . . .

6. I would have spent my last vacation differently if . . .

Passages 1, pp. 98-99 (Richards & Sandy, 1998)

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