

Learning to Read in a Second Language: a Window on the Language Acquisition Process.

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This paper examines the way in which the reading aloud done by an L2 learner of English can reveal aspects of the learner's interlanguage. The paper pays particular attention to the learner's acquisition of the '-ed' past tense morpheme, and to the acquisition of pronouns.

INTRODUCTION

In this article I should like to consider what the learning to read process can tell us about a learner's stage of L2 development; that is, what can both learner and teacher gain from observation of the learner's oral responses to written texts. In considering the stage of development one can look at linguistic factors to do with the acquisition of particular syntactic features as revealed by the way the learner responds to them in texts; and one can also look at sociolinguistic factors to do with the learner's developing ability and willingness to interact with the text. I shall look at both of these in the discussion below.

I shall use as illustrative data, samples of the language and reading behaviour of one young adult learner, Amna, who was new to both English and to literacy at the start of instruction. The teaching situation described was one-to-one with a teacher, i.e. myself. What the one-to-one reading aloud situation offers, is firstly an opportunity to observe how the learner tackles particular features of written English, drawing on a number of resources both linguistic and other. Secondly it is an opportunity for teacher and learner to read together and talk about stories in an interaction focussed around a particular text, where different observations and perceptions can be shared. The reading aloud activity is thus potentially a window not only on the learning to read process (as Goodman, 1982b, describes it) but also on the language acquisition process. Indeed for the early language learner learning to read and learning the language might be said to proceed in tandem with both the written text and the interaction with the teacher around the text providing the data for continuing language development.

One way in which a mismatch between a learner's actual and expected language and reading competence is revealed is through the occurrence of learner miscues. A

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miscue is defined by Goodman (1982b) as “an actual observed response in oral reading which does not match the expected response”, the expected response being the teacher’s or researcher’s expectations of the print on the page. Goodman (1982a) proposed that readers make use of three cueing systems simultaneously, namely graphophonic, syntactic and semantic. These cueing systems reflect three levels of language inherent in all texts. That is, all texts consist of (a) actual physical marks on the page, (b) structure or grammar carried by morphemes, function words and word order, and (c) meaning carried by both content items and grammatical items. More recently interest has centred on a fourth level of language and a fourth cueing system, namely pragmatic (cf. for instance Rigg 1986). This involves an understanding of the communicative function of items in texts. The reader may be required to draw on certain kinds of knowledge of the world, often culture-specific, and which for an experienced reader would also include knowledge of the world of texts, for instance a knowledge of the typical structure and content of certain genres. Second language learners may have difficulty in recognising and relating form, meaning and use, because of a mismatch between the text’s language and assumed knowledge of the world and the learner’s own language and knowledge systems.

Inherent in the concept of textual cues and learner miscues are two major principles: firstly miscues should not be regarded negatively – all learner readers and all experienced readers miscue; secondly developing reading behaviour is not random. Just as we can uncover patterning to L2 learners’ oral language development, through error or performance analysis for example, so miscue analysis can reveal a patterning in L2 reading behaviour.

A dilemma for ESL teachers in considering the source of unexpected difficulty with apparently simple items of language is whether one is talking of a reading problem or a language problem. In fact, the two are necessarily interlinked if one has a view of reading as a process which essentially involves using one’s language competence to predict structural, semantic and pragmatic features of texts. If the learner is unable to predict even basic structures in the second language because control of the English language system is still weak, reading, that is reading for sense, will not take place. What may occur is mechanical decoding, especially with L2 learners who are literate in their L1 and have therefore learnt or acquired decoding skills which may equip them to decode English, without, however, necessarily understanding what they read. It is frequently observed that ESL learners often have highly developed graphophonic skills (cf. for instance, Rigg 1986). Another factor concerns the way in which the learner defines the task. Some learners, for instance, have a view of reading which precludes drawing on background knowledge; the reader’s job is to decode the marks on the page – a view which may have been encouraged by previous tuition. For these reasons learners new to

literacy as well as to English, such as Amna, are interesting to observe. In a sense they have not been corrupted by particular educational processes, which can encourage negative learning strategies, both in terms of language learning and learning to read.

Points of especial interest are not only the nature of miscues but comments made by the learner herself. In the shared reading situation a learner's thinking aloud through a text – that is her articulated observations as she reads aloud – can shed light on both her expectations of texts and key features of the texts themselves, both linguistic and cultural, which may be 'taken for granted' by more experienced readers.

One should add, moreover, that the oral reading event not only offers insights into the learner's existing language and reading competence but is potentially a language learning activity, in the sense that an opportunity is offered the learner to discover more about English. Certain linguistic features are more salient and therefore observable in written than in typical oral forms of the language. As Holdaway (1986) observes "spoken words cannot be held in front of attention, cannot be studied, cannot be pointed to in any direct way." Also, certain kinds of sociocultural knowledge – the sorts of things which we know about stories, for instance – may be more clearly highlighted in written texts. Admittedly it is written language itself which offers this advantage, not the oral rendering of it. But for a learner as new to literacy as is Amna, an oral delivery of the text, however halting and teacher supported, offers the best access to written forms of the language.

Access to written texts, therefore, allows learners to focus attention on "the phonological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of language, to notice anomalies at these different linguistic levels and to comment on them" (Simons and Murphy 1986). Simons and Murphy are particularly interested in phonological awareness. My interest in this paper is in ways in which learners' awareness of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features may be enhanced through interacting with written language, with the teacher on hand to confirm or disconfirm learners' hypotheses.

SUBJECT AND DATA COLLECTION

Amna was a nineteen year old Pakistani woman who had been in England for about one year at the start of instruction. She had not in that time, however, had much contact with English speaking people and was a near beginner to English in September 1985. She could not read in her mother-tongue, Urdu, and had no experience of school in Pakistan before arriving at the local college of education where I taught her. She was also a total beginner to reading in English at the start of our lessons. At our college, The Havelock Centre in Southall, West London, Amna was a full-time student acquiring English in both classroom and naturalistic

contexts, as English tended, along with Punjabi, the main community language, to be the peer-group language. Nearly all the students were bilingual – many multilingual – and most of the classroom contact was of the English immersion type (as described by Ellis 1985) where focus is on meaning in English medium subject lessons, such as Maths or Science, with few interactions focussed on form.

Amna was a particularly interesting learner in that she was ready to take the initiative in learning situations. She was a learner who, as Rivers (1987) describes it “seeks opportunities to communicate”. Our sharing of texts offered an opportunity for one to one interaction which Amna was eager to take advantage of. While much of our talk related the experiences described in the story to our own, Amna continually commented on the structure as well as the content of the texts we read together. Moreover, these comments were largely unsolicited by myself. It is important that the conversation around texts allows the learner an ‘initiating role’ as Dombey (1983), talking of child/adult interaction around a text, describes it. I should add that Amna herself asked for extra lessons in reading, which provided the opportunity for this study.

I recorded nearly all the reading and conversation sessions between myself and Amna over a period of 17 months in all. I also kept notes. However, most of the recordings took place within a 8 month period of more regular weekly one-to-one reading tuition. I selected for analysis eleven of these hour-long sessions recorded at monthly intervals over a period of one year, from February 17, 1986 to February 18, 1987. Reading data from four of these sessions are included here (cf Appendices 1 – 4). Selected language data from nine of the sessions is given in Appendix 5. The original data included both reading aloud data, a small amount of elicited classroom language data and also informal spontaneous conversation between teacher and learner which occasionally also included contributions from the other three learners when I was teaching Amna in the group.

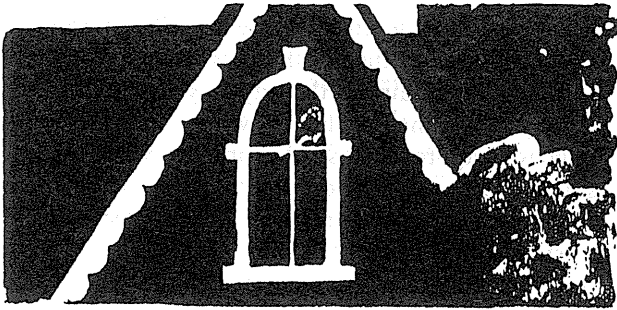
THE TEXTS

Amna and the other students in the group usually selected texts themselves from a number of books made available to them. There was also some language experience work where texts were composed jointly by the group and then read back. While language experience approaches are likely to play a major role in the literacy classroom, the experience of print in commercially produced books and the achievement of completing even a simple book, with however much support, is also important. There then arises the question of which books. It is difficult to find books which are both predictably structured and culturally accessible and appropriate for adult L2 learners. In our case, teacher/learner consultation would result in a range of text types or genres being selected. The sample given in Fig. 1

and the three in the appendix are representative of these. Of the texts used,

1. *"The Empty House"* is part of a reading scheme, "One, Two, Three and Away"
2. *"The Sly Fox and the Little Red Hen"* is a simplified folk tale and forms part of the supplementary books in the "Ladybird" reading scheme
3. *"A Woman on her own"* and 4. *"Doing up my flat"* are books produced by adult learners for other adult learners in an adult literacy scheme.

Fig 1. From 'The Empty House'



Ramu looked up at the window.

There was something white inside.

He could see it flying

across the window.

"It can't be a ghost," he said.

"You go inside, then,
and see what it is," said Peter.

"One of the windows at the back
of the house is open.

You can get in there."

THE STUDY

From the selected books, I took three examples of textual features which in Amna's oral rendering provoked (a) non-attempt or hesitation, (b) a miscue or miscues, or (c) comment about the particular textual feature. All these responses are potentially significant in that they can offer useful insights into firstly, the stage of L2 language development, secondly, developing reading strategies, thirdly developing metalinguistic awareness, and finally the learner's broader sociocultural knowledge and assumptions. In looking at linguistic development, I selected for focus two classes of syntactic items, the *-ed* morpheme and the personal pronouns *THEY* and *YOU*.

As soon as learner readers begin to encounter simple continuous narrative texts, they will come across the *-ed* morpheme and may be initially perplexed by its grammatical function. Pronouns are another of the most frequent items in any spoken or written text and an understanding of the way they give texts cohesion is crucial to the comprehension of even the simplest of written texts. As Goodman (1984) points out, "the language requires the use of pronouns where the referents for noun phrases are established in the text or situational context". Although pronouns perform grammatical functions and are therefore part of syntax, they are also part of the semantic system. Goodman and Gespass (1983) note: "The specific reference of a particular pronoun can only be determined from the total semantic and pragmatic context." It will be seen that in responding to pronouns in context Amna needs to bring both semantic and pragmatic judgements into play.

It is important to stress that what is at issue is not the manner in which words may be understood out of context – though many teaching approaches and materials continue to assume that difficulty lies at word level. Rather it is the learner's response to the items in context and the fact that, as in Amna's case, this is typically variable. In the first case – that of the response to *-ed* morpheme – this is because of a developing language competence and language awareness in the learner; in the second case – of the response to *THEY* and *YOU* in particular contexts – because of the variable meaning, both propositional and pragmatic, which the items take on in the context of the texts. The 'problems' then do not reside in the text nor in the learner but in the interaction between text and learner.

1. PAST TENSE *-ED* MORPHEME

The most common form to mark past tense in Amna's spontaneous speech was *O-ed*, though there was some variability as noted below. (and cf Appendix 5)

In the discussion here I have chosen to treat the *O-ed* form in Amna's speech as a grammatical rather than a phonological feature. This is because she does not reduce, in final position, consonant clusters such as in "must", "next" "fast" or "understood".

The transcripts of Amna's spontaneous spoken language show a development from a predominant use of the base form of the verb for simple past meaning, e.g. 'HE GO ROAD' (he went down the road) and 'I FINISH THIS PAGE (I finished this page) with an increasing number of irregular past tense forms gradually being added (the progression being: SAW - TOOK - WENT - LOST - READ - CAME - RANG - FORGOT - TOLD - BOUGHT [for brought]). As might be expected, the irregular past tense forms of these and other common verbs when met in texts created little or no difficulty and were not miscued. It would seem that, as with spoken language, irregular past tense written forms are more salient.

The regular *-ed* forms were very slow to emerge in Amna's spontaneous oral production. Only on April 28th, after seven months of fulltime classes at Havelock, which included our weekly one-to-one hour of reading, did I notice a clear use of past tense *-ed*, in 'COLLEGE MAN MAYBE HE LOCKED ALL' (Maybe the college man, i.e. the caretaker, locked everything). In all the data transcribed only one other instance occurred, namely on the last occasion when we had an extended conversation together - 'I STAYED TO MY SISTER HOUSE' (I stayed at my sister's house) (cf Appendix 5 for a full description of the occurrence of past tense forms for nine of the sessions).

The first recording of a reading lesson transcribed in detail was on February 17 1986, more than two months before Amna produced her first instance of an *-ed* form in her spoken language, i.e. on April 28. This was the first time a full narrative in past tense was attempted. Amna read 'looked' as 'look - it', isolating the *-ed* morpheme and then querying with 'Miss'? (cf. Appendix 1, line 7). On the same occasion she totally failed to read other *-ed* forms, such as 'lived' and 'stopped'. There appeared, that is, to be no understanding initially of the grammatical function of the *-ed* morpheme. However, after another similar rendering of the item in the same text as 'look - it', (Appendix 1, line 13) on the next occurrence of the word 'looked' Amna rendered the text as follows: 'Ramu look up at the top window' (Ramu looked up at the top window). (Appendix 1, line 17). Moreover, she continued thus: 'Something white fly across the window' (something white flew across the window) (Appendix 1, line 19). This rendering clearly reflected Amna's current interlanguage. And the shift into interlanguage away from attempts at decoding marks on the page was an encouraging sign that Amna was reading for meaning. For, as observed in Wallace (1986), it tends to be at times of greater fluency and confidence that L2 learners render texts directly in their interlanguage, much as native speaking non-standard readers do in the case of non-standard dialects.

However, it must of course be emphasised that learners' ability to read and make sense of structures is in advance of their own productive use of them in spontaneous face to face situations. And the next past tense narrative text which we read nearly

two months later seemed to indicate that Amna was now competent to understand the function of the past tense *-ed* morpheme though it was still absent from her own spoken English production. On this occasion Amna read the regular past tense forms of the text with no hesitation. So 'walked', 'jumped', 'slipped' and 'picked' were read with little or no difficulty as 'wokt', 'jumpt', 'slipt' and 'pikt', and there was nowhere any attempt to mark off the *-ed* morpheme.

Two weeks later, there seemed to be a further development in the process of conceptualising about the *-ed* feature. Again this was indicated by departures from the text. While most of the *-ed* forms in the text were again read with no difficulty – e.g. 'lived' 'worked' 'picked' and 'looked', with the *-ed* morpheme in 'lived' being differentiated from that in the other three words to give the response 'livd', there were two other kinds of responses. Firstly, interlanguage forms were occasionally used along with the standard forms, the interlanguage form acting as a gloss, e.g. 'None of the sly young fox's plans worked – work.' Also of interest was a new phenomenon, namely overgeneralisation (cf. appendix 2). Amna began to read 'He picked up a bag...' at which point I provided the missing and almost certainly unknown word SLUNG. Amna repeated it and then chose to retrace the text to read: 'He picked up a bag and slunged it... (Appendix 2, line 4)'. A little earlier in the same text she read 'he didn't live' as 'he did –ent – didn't lived'. Her reading behaviour here thus appeared to mirror a stage observable in more advanced L2 learners' oral language development where such over generalisations typically occur. Only on one occasion in her spontaneous speech does it seem that Amna is overgeneralising a form which is already marked for past. This is where she first says 'I read this' – with a short vowel – and very shortly afterwards says 'I rode this' where the meaning is clearly the same (she is perhaps doing this on analogy with 'wrote').

In short, one notes in Amna's case, varying kinds of response to *-ed* marking for past time in texts i.e.

1. non-recognition of the grammatical form
2. direct rendering in the text version
3. overgeneralising the *-ed* marker
4. rendering in text version with a gloss in interlanguage
5. direct rendering in interlanguage

5, as already suggested, tends to characterise growing confidence and fluency in early L2 learner readers. 2 and 3 together suggest a developing understanding of how past is marked in written texts. And 4, most interestingly perhaps, is indicative of an awareness of alternatives, of an equivalence of meaning between the learner's typical interlanguage version and the standard form of the text. For finally what is of interest is not recognition of form as such but a growing awareness of how form

relates to meaning. This is even more apparent in the second example of a textual feature which I shall consider next.

2. PRONOUN USAGE

The way in which pronoun usage is a feature of certain kinds of texts is discussed in a related paper (Wallace 1987). Here I shall consider the phenomenon more from the point of view of Amna's language and reading development.

The pronoun *THEY*

One of the items which created difficulty for Amna was the pronoun *THEY* in the text extracted in Appendix 3. Amna generally had some difficulty with this particular pronoun, either not attempting it at all or, occasionally, rendering it as 'they're' (possibly having understood this as a chunk from the frequent occurrence in oral language of the contracted form, e.g. 'they're outside'). There seem to be several factors at issue here: Firstly, I nowhere noted in my data any use of *THEY* in either Amna's spontaneous speech or elicited classroom language. Where Amna used third person plural anaphoric reference (noted only six times in the data) she used *HE* e.g. '*YOU KNOW MY NEPHEW AND NIECE. HE TOLD ME YOU GOING PAKISTAN*' (You know my nephew and niece. They told me that I (i.e. Amna) was going to Pakistan). Moreover, for the impersonal meaning of *THEY* Amna used '*SOMEBODY*', e.g. '*SOMEBODY NO GIVE HER TIME*' (They don't give her time).

A second factor is that she was more familiar with *THEY* in situational uses than in referring uses (cf Appendix 3, 39/40). That is, in the kind of spoken face to face interaction with which Amna was familiar, there is more use of exophoric reference than of endophoric reference, exophoric reference being reference which is outside the confines of the text but present in the situation (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Simons and Murphy (1986) suggest that intratextual or endophoric reference may create difficulty for early readers. They put it thus: 'the use of deictic items in written text (among which they include referring pronouns) requires different processing strategies of children whose language experiences are mainly oral and who are accustomed to using the physical and temporal situations to anchor deictic items'. I would argue that illiterate adults such as Amna may initially have similar difficulties with endophoric reference, especially where it is remote in the text.

However, the particular difficulty with this text is that *THEY* neither refers back in the text to specific characters in the story nor to accompanying pictures. Nor indeed is *THEY* an impersonal use as in 'they say he beats his wife'. Here *THEY* refers to a class, i.e. 'all women on their own', an abstract concept not representable through illustration. And Amna, like all early readers, was still heavily dependant on pictures to anchor reference items which occur in the text. Dombey (1983) notes

how 'the pictures provide continued deictic support for the child'. And the same is likely to be true for the adult learner new to literacy.

The difficulty, in short, was a conceptual one, due to Amna's as yet limited awareness of how items refer in English, which in turn was partly due to her limited access to written texts where such uses of reference are highlighted. Certainly Amna expected texts to have cohesion and her comments (cf Appendix 3, l.19, 21 and 26) show her searching the text for referents for *THEY*. However, she expected reference to be tied closely to the pictures or immediate text, and it is likely that, initially at least, she understood 'women on their own' as 'a woman on her own', that is the individual woman shown in the pictures who is also the story teller in this first person narrative. The case of *THEY* suggests that it is not so much linguistic forms which create difficulty for Amna but the way in which form relates to meaning, and the fact that this relationship is not one to one.

The Pronoun *YOU*

My third example of text-related difficulty is illustrated by the pronoun *YOU* in the text given in Appendix 4. In the sentence 'you should see me when I put my jeans on' the difficulty seems to be not so much a syntactic/semantic one as a pragmatic one. That is, it was not the propositional meaning but the **function** of *YOU* which perplexed Amna. Amna had become quite familiar with *YOU* used endophorically in some written contexts, i.e., in cases where the person addressed, usually in dialogue, is readily identifiable within the text. Equally, of course, she was very familiar with the interpersonal *YOU* used in face to face spoken interaction. But she had never before encountered this exophoric use of *YOU* in a written text where we need to search for a referent outside the text. As a learner who looked to make sense of texts she sought clarification. Paradoxically, while the interpersonal use of *YOU* is the most frequent function in speech, in most written story genres the writer does not directly address the reader. In folk or fairy tales we typically get this kind of exchange, for instance:

'What big eyes you have Grandma!'

'All the better to see you with'

Here the reference is endophoric, and it was this use of second person reference in written texts, usually supported by an illustration of two characters, which Amna had become familiar with. She had no difficulty with the pronoun in: "Did you see that", cried Peter 'Its a ghost', where Peter is clearly addressing his friend Ramu, (cf Appendix 1, line 11) who is also represented in the illustrations.

In short, the direct address in this first person autobiography narrator to reader confused Amna, not yet familiar with the genre of first person true-life narratives which in mode may be close to 'speaking written down'. In other words, as an

inexperienced reader, she was as yet unfamiliar with the different ways language may function in pragmatically different types of texts.

AMNA'S COMMENTS ON TEXTS

Amna's comments suggest that it is not only what learners do in response to texts, as evidenced by miscues, for instance, which is of interest but what they say – the language they themselves use to talk about the language and content of the text. Firstly, such comments may show the second language learner verbally checking out differences between her own current interlanguage and the language of the text. So, for example, Amna, who never herself yet used the *DO* auxiliary to form past tense interrogatives, in response to the sentence 'Did you see the ghost?' in a later section of the story of *The Empty House*, commented thus:

'Did you' means past?

and on another occasion asked:

'Did you sleep' means you sleep or no?

We see that Amna is also able to employ a metalanguage quite resourcefully even though she does not know terms such as interrogative or past tense. Thus she is also able to enquire about a final *'s* – as opposed to an *s* marking plural for instance. On coming across this line in a book: 'I think it's bad' Amna commented 'What means this alone S?'

Such comments also throw light on the actual process of the learner's developing a greater understanding of written language and the way written language relates to spoken language. For instance, shortly after our conversation centering on the pronoun *THEY* Amna commented sotto voce and more to herself than to me, as follows on this text extract later on in the same story

"I go home and get a cup of tea.
I sit down and drink it"

'Why not write here 'tea'? Why write IT? Short way. IT means 'tea'.

In short, the kinds of comments and queries made by Amna on the forms and related meanings of written English reveal her checking out her hypotheses about the nature of English and the nature of stories, using the written data and supporting contextual data such as pictures, as evidence and the teacher as a resource to confirm or disconfirm. They also reveal her interacting with the text, drawing on her as yet limited experience of other written texts, as well as her greater experience of spoken forms of English.

CONCLUSION

The implications of a study of a learner reader's oral responses to written texts might be considered from the point of view of both teacher and learners. For the teacher the one-to-one reading event offers the opportunity not merely to help develop the learner's reading strategies but to gain insights, through the way the reader responds to linguistic and cultural features of the text, into the learners current language development, (not always accessible to teacher observation from informal or even more formal classroom contact). For the learners the opportunity is provided, especially if they are encouraged to explore and comment on textual and contextual features, to learn something both about the nature of texts and their own language development. What the one-to-one reading event offers is firstly, access to a form of language which is more stable, consistent and fully structured than typical in day-to-day spoken language. The fact that written language is visible as marks on the page and therefore more readily talked about, allows learners the opportunity to develop an awareness of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of texts. Secondly, they are offered access to their own second language development through the opportunity to 'stand back' and reflect on areas of difference between their own typical English usage and the way meaning is conveyed in written English. Arguably both learner language and awareness of the nature of written texts is extended through the process, however halting and teacher supported, by which L2 learners render aloud simple texts in the second language.

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Texts referred to in the Appendices:

1. *One Two Three and Away: The Empty House* by Sheila McCullagh
2. *Ladybird: The Sly Fox and the Little Red Hen* by Vera Southgate
3. *Gatehouse: A Woman on her Own* by Margaret Fulcher
4. *Centerprise: Doing my Flat Up* by Dalcy Edwards

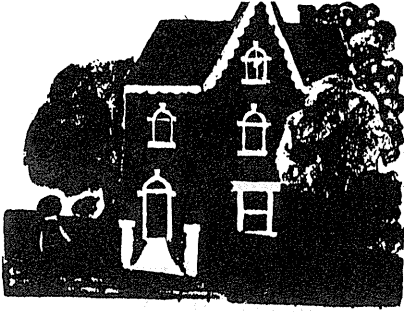
Transcription Conventions:

- λ indicates an intervention from the teacher at this point
- indicates an immediate self-correction or repetition

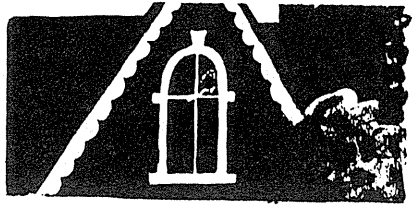
Capitals indicate that a word or phrase is provided by the teacher

Word underlined indicates the learner's response or comment

Heavy underlining indicates emphasis

APPENDIX 1. *THE EMPTY HOUSE*

They came to the empty house.
 "Look!" cried Peter. "Look up there!
 Look at the top window!"
 Ramu looked up.
 Something white went by the window,
 inside the room.
 "Did you see that?" cried Peter.
 "It's a ghost!"



Ramu looked up at the window.
 There was something white inside.
 He could see it flying
 across the window.
 "It can't be a ghost," he said.
 "You go inside, then,
 and see what it is," said Peter.
 "One of the windows at the back
 of the house is open.
 You can get in there."

Ramu looked up at the top window again
 Something white flew across the window.

The Empty House: Transcript

AMNA

CW

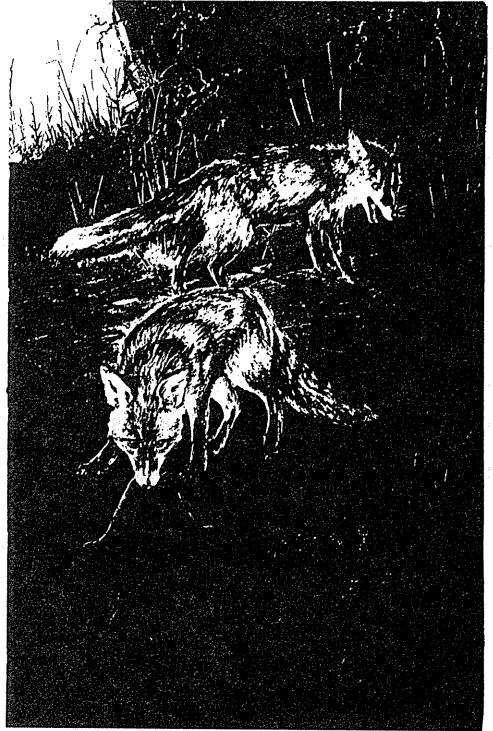
- ... anyway so let's see if there's a
ghost
here. So THEY
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | They λ came to the empty house | CAME |
| 2 | Look λ cried Peter. Look up λ | CRIED - LOOK UP THERE |
| 3 | Look it - at the top wen ... | AT Look at the picture whats this |
| 4 | Look at the top window | |
| 6 | Look at the top window | |
| 7 | Ramu look - it - it Miss? | LOOKED |
| 8 | Looked up. Some ... wen ... | SOMETHING. It's a colour ... |
| 9 | something white went by the window, | INSIDE - Inside the r ... |
| | | ROOM |

- 10 -inside room. λ DID
11 Did you see that λ cried Peter CRIED
12 It's a ghost Let's see if it really is a ghost
13 Ramu look - it - λ looked up λ at LOOKED AT
14 the window. There was some THERE WAS SOME ...
15 some--- white - something white WHITE
16 in an ... There was something white in ... - INSIDE
17 Ramu look up it the top window AGAIN
18 miss window? SOME-
19 Something white fly - fly across the ACR ...
20 window. Miss across this one? Well 'across' means it flew that. I could say "I ran across the ... ?"
21 Ah. Across the road So something white flew across the window

APPENDIX 2. THE SLY FOX AND THE LITTLE RED HEN

One day the sly young fox said to his mother, “To-day I will catch the little red hen. I have made the best plan of all.”

He picked up a bag and slung it over his back.



The Sly Fox and the Little Red Hen: Transcript

Text	He picked up a bag and slung it over his back
AMNA	CW
1 He picked – he picked up a	
2 big – big λ bag	he picked up a . . . ?
3 and λ slung it	SLUNG
4 slunged . . . Miss?	he picked up a bag and slung it . . .
5 Over her – no λ his black	it – slung it means ‘threw it’ over . . .
6 – back	His . . . his?

APPENDIX 3 *WOMEN ON THEIR OWN*

**Women on their own
cannot really have a life
because of the world.**



**When they do get a chance
to go out,
people think they are going out
just for men.
But they are not really
going out for men.
They get tired of sitting
in the house.
They get very depressed
and frightened.
They want to go out for company.**

Women on their Own: Transcript

Text

Women on their own cannot really have a life because of the world. When they do get a chance to go out, people think they are going out just for men. But they are not really going out for men. They get tired sitting in the house. They get very depressed and frightened. They want to go out for company.

AMNA

CW

1 Women on their own ca... λ cannot λ
2 really have a life because of the
3 wild λ world. When their - them...
4
5
6
7
8 them?
9
10 when - - - do get a λ chance

CANNOT REALLY

WORLD 'because of the world'

-Lets go back a bit. It says here: women can't have a good life because of the way the world is. When - carry on: when - - - do ... CHANCE

11 I don't know this one

12 they

13

14

15 'they' means?

16

17

18

19 child - life

20

21 her husband?

22

23

24

25

26 they means 'people'?

27

28

29

30

31

32 She?

33

34

35 She telling all women?

36

37

38 Yeh 'they' means 'nother woman

39 'they' means this one (she points
40 outside to children in playground)

41 the children

42

43

44

Its THEY

you know what 'they' means
don't you? When they do get
a chance

You don't know what 'they'
means? Who are they? Who
are we talking about?

It says 'women on their own
have a hard life' . . .

. . . 'when they do get a chance
to go out people think they
are going out just for men'
they . . .

Not just people in general.
Women, it means women. Women
- Women on their own with
children So who are
we talking about?

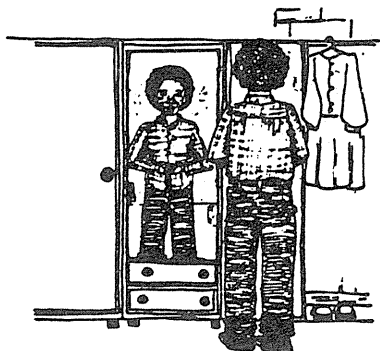
'They' not 'she'. It's they. It
means all women.

She's talking about all
women, all women who live on
their own.

Yes we can say they are
playing

Yes the children or women or
other people together. So
she's talking about women
on their own.

APPENDIX 4 DOING UP MY FLAT



You should see me
when I put my jeans on
and my boy shirt.

I paint the ceiling.
You should see me.



Doing Up My Flat: Transcript

Text

AMNA

- 1 I paint - I paint the
- 2
- 3
- 4 I paint the ceiling
- 5 you ... said ... λ
- 6
- 7 you should see me
(repeats 'you should see me')
- 8 Who telling?
- 9 Who's she - no who's she telling
- 10 'your should' - this is 'your'?
- 11 'You should see me'
- 12 Then who see her

I paint the ceiling you should see me

CW

What's she painting? Look at
the picture. What's this?
CEILING

SHOULD
you should

Who's? ?

You

Yes. Who's she talking to?

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 13 | <u>Yeh . . .</u> | Well, she's talking to you |
| 14 | | the reader – I think. Do you |
| 15 | | think that's strange |
| 16 | <u>Yeh, nobody here then who</u> | |
| 17 | <u>talk to her?</u> | That's right. Who's talking |
| 18 | | to her? She's the writer. |
| 19 | | She's writing the story for |
| 20 | | you. She's talking to you. |

APPENDIX 5

Instances of Amna's past tense usage in representative samples of her spontaneous speech in nine of the teacher/learner interactions over the period of the study:

Feb 17 1986

He saw friend
 I'm took my Bounty
 I'm jump on my bed
 He go road
 he went
 one family come

Mar 10 1986

She kill you know girl
 I finish this page
 She sleep
 she tell everthing
 she stay
 mirror say she no kill
 Queen say 'how'd you know?'
 she say 'I kill must – I must kill'
 Mirror say
 I saw

April 14 1986

I went to Scotland
 I went hall – married hall – wedding hall
 somebody take me and my family and go
 I'm stay hotel

Everybody change clothes and face wash and again go to
the hall – wedding hall
she wear everything – nice clothes, jewellery
I come back eleven o'clock night
she tell me you come my wedding
I'm went Scotland
He lost

April 28 1986

College man he say go
Maybe he locked all
Miss, you promise me

June 16 1986

I read this
He give money him then he go London
I rode this
I read – read this
Policemen came
Maybe I saw golden
Only one week I came Kitty class... only one day
Only one day I went Kitty class
Then I miss

August 4 1986

I rang your home many many time
At my home somebody teach me
my little sister, she teach me extra
I went you know science museum
One day I go with Mischa in London
I saw Gandhi picture
I came here then I go – I went
July 1984 came to England then I came here
I forgot all English
Then John say which class you going

Sep 1 1986

He said no you didn't come
You know my nephew and niece. He told me you going
Pakistan

My sister say
My letter came
letter say your case weak you know

Nov 19 1986

My friend auntie told his parents
My parents see – saw Miss
the fisherman went home and told his wife
the fisherman s..said

Feb 18 1987

I think it R but its A
I bought (brought) your book
I get up half past seven
Before last night I stayed to my sister house
I got to bed 12 – 1 o'clock
I go to my house
I sleep eleven o'clock

Footnote

A version of this paper will appear in Halliday and Gibbons (forthcoming)
Selected Papers from the AILA Conference, Sydney 1987 John Benjamin.