Low-Educated Second Language and Literacy Acquisition

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Helping an old man to write, Aileu, Timor-Leste, August 2010 (Photo: Danielle Boon)

THE MOVING LESLLA LANDSCAPE

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At the first forum organized in 2005 at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, Martha Young-Scholten coined the term LESLLA – an acronym for Low-Educated (Adult) Second Language and Literacy Acquisition. The meeting was motivated by the fact that nearly all theory building on the acquisition and teaching of literacy thus far had been dominated by research on acquiring the Roman alphabet in monolingual Western societies in the context of formal education, while this only partially covered the contexts in which people become readers and writers (Wagner, 1999; 2004). In many countries, literacy is acquired in a second language and outside compulsory education, for instance in adult literacy and second language learning centers. We had also observed that the studies on adult literacy available up to then were focused on adults who had not managed to learn to read and write properly in elementary school rather than on adults who are learning to read and write for the first time in their lives. Besides this, we noticed that studies on second language acquisition of adults featured predominantly highly educated second language learners (Van de Craats, Kurvers & Young-Scholten, 2006). The L-shaped globe-logo, designed at the American Institutes of Research (L for language, langue, lengua, literacy, lettré, low, laag, lesen, lezen, lire, lectura, learning, leren, lernen) also visualized the sense of urgency we experienced in those days.

By now, the word LESLLA has been firmly established itself and has entered into common use, as a quick Google search (more than 5000 hits) demonstrates. It occurs in combinations like LESLLA learners, LESLLA researchers, LESLLA classrooms, LESLLA education, and in this volume there is one paper reporting on a LESLLA corpus. Not only do we find LESLLA occurring more and more frequently in word combinations like the ones just mentioned, the annual symposiums are also drawing increasing numbers of participants. Six conferences on second language learners with a low level of literacy bear witness to the fact that more and more researchers, practitioners and policy makers are willing to focus on the developmental process and the characteristics of the adult L2 literacy learner or the novice L2 reader. One of the effects of the six conferences so far has been that an effective network of researchers, teachers and practitioners has been formed who can and will collaborate in multi-national projects, such as the EU-Speak program (http://www.eu-speak.org). Six volumes with papers on research, practice and policy have contributed to making the under-investigated subject of the adult L2 first time reader less under-researched. The on-line proceedings, the LESLLA website and a mailing list promote discussions and have considerably

expanded and improved the available knowledge on the issue of low-educated and low-literate L2 learners.

At the LESLLA conference in Cologne in 2010, we welcomed researchers, teachers and practitioners from Belgium, Canada, Finland, Germany, Iran, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the USA. The second languages involved ranged from English, German, Dutch and Spanish to Finnish and Tetum (spoken in East Timor/Timor-Leste). The first languages of the novice L2 readers were too many to mention here. In short, LESLLA has proved its right to exist.

But the LESLLA landscape is still moving and new developments in research, changes in educational practices, and transformations in adult literacy and migration policies in several countries have not diminished the urgency of paying attention to LESLLA. Quite the contrary is in fact the case.

Although several authors proclaimed the end of the written word and the literate world after the introduction of the first mass-media (radio, telephone, television) in the sixties of last century (Postman, 1985) and even more so after the introduction of the new social media (the Internet, mobile phones), literacy is more at the heart of everyday life than ever before. Rather than diminishing it, the new media actually increased the use of the written language (in print or in digital form). Literacy is also at the heart of many social concerns: not too long ago labor workers, farmers, house cleaners, nurses or housewives could simply utilize their physical and social competencies to do their daily work and leave the paper work to others. The modern information society requires everyone to be able to access written information. As Resnick & Resnick (1977) already noticed, the 'literacy crisis', as it was called, was not caused by a decrease in citizens' reading and writing abilities, but by an increase in the requirements of modern societies. This is even more true nowadays.

Research on literacy, traditionally the domain of psychologists and educationalists, became a joint enterprise of several disciplines such as psychology, educational science, linguistics, anthropology, history, sociology, neurolingnistics and economics. Recent interdisciplinary research on literacy revealed that there is more to it than just acquiring the cognitive skills of reading and writing, that its relationship with listening and speaking is rather complex (Olson, 1994), that learning to read implies transformation of implicit linguistic knowledge to explicit awareness of features of language (Morais & Kolinsky, 1995; Kurvers, 2002) and that (L2) literacy has to be investigated in the broader context of specific social and cultural practices (Street, 1995; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000).

Research and experiences in educational practices has shown that in order for learners to become competent users of written (second) language, the teaching will not only have to be evidence-based and sound, but will also have to be carried out by teachers who are aware of the specific cultural experiences of the learners. Particularly for adults, it became increasingly clear that instruction and practices need to be embedded in the needs and daily social realities experienced by the learners in the class in order for instruction to be truly successful (Condelli & Spruck Wrigley, 2006; Sticht, 2009). When it comes to LESLLA learners, as Heide Spruck Wrigley kept emphasizing at previous conferences, the notion of 'one-size-fits-all' does not hold water: teachers need cultural sensitivity and learners need tailor-made programs. The proceedings of previous LESLLA conferences already demonstrated how important it is to focus on

variations in learners' needs and social practices on the one hand, and on the basic principles of literacy acquisition on the other, without allowing any focus to claim 'the monopoly on significance' (Olson & Torrance, 2009: xiii).

Recent developments not only show changes in research and instructional and educational practices, but in many countries also in adult literacy policies and in migration and citizenship policies.

In many Western countries, immigration legislation and practice has become harsher. This is the case not so much for knowledge workers, but unfortunately for pre-literate and low-educated migrants in particular, who want to earn a living in an economically more advanced environment. Much of this more restrictive legislation is bound to proving language skills and educational standards. In the Netherlands and in Germany, for example, migrants already have to pass exams on basic oral and written Dutch and on basic knowledge of Dutch society to get an entry permit. And they have to pass a second exam on the same subjects in order to qualify for permanent residency and citizenship. Denmark and the United Kingdom consider taking similar measures or have already done so.

In many countries, adult literacy education policies and second language education policies have become much more focused on accountability, on standards and benchmarks. In Germany, for example, in the more transparent permit-system accountability and benchmarks have become more important. In the Netherlands, the previous immigration law required 'obligation of best intents' to participate in second language programs funded by the government, while the new 2007 law requires passing an exam at the A2 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001), with most programs no longer being funded by the government.

The present volume

The present volume contains the proceedings of the sixth symposium on Low-Educated (Adult) Second Language and Literacy Acquisition (LESLLA). It is a selection of papers presented at the annual symposium held in August 2010 in Germany and hosted by the English seminar of the University of Cologne, Germany.

Traditionally, we distinguish three domains - research, practice and policy - which often cannot be disentangled. Practice is input for research and research is applied in policies and practice, as, is demonstrated for instance in the contributions by *Edwidge Crevecoeur Bryant* and *Karen Schramm* and *Diana Feick*, who analyzed video recordings of learner interactions in the classroom and used them for teacher training for L2 literacy programs (domain of *Practice*).

In the domain of *Research*, there are five contributions covering very different topics. The first paper, by *Danielle Boon*, reports on a project in Timor-Leste where new (adult) readers learn to read and write in Tetum, the local lingua franca, which for most learners is a second language. Boon presents the results after four months of literacy instruction and confirms previous findings about the influence of learner characteristics such as age and mother tongue.

Edwidge Crevecoeur Bryant investigates what instructional practices were used in the AELL (= adult English literacy learner) class. She focuses on four research-based instructional practices and tools used by instructors of literacy learners.

Ineke van de Craats collected data for a longitudinal study of 15 women. With various levels of schooling and literacy, they form a typical group of LESLLA learners. As a result, the data collection has been named the LESLLA corpus and Van de Craats invites other researchers to contribute and extend this corpus. One of the results that came out of this research is the advantage of being familiar with the script, even at a stage where reading has become automated and the focus is more on L2 acquisition.

In their contribution, *Jeanne Kurvers* and *Elleke Ketelaars* focus on the earliest stages of writing. They compare the strategies used by L1 children at different stages to those used by adult L2 learners. Although the adults seem to display characteristics of several stages at the same time, which is probably caused by the three-fold challenge the students are facing in first time writing in a second language, the spelling strategies also reveal how crucial it is to grasp the alphabetical principle.

Finally, *Taina Tammelin-Laine* introduces us to the Finnish context in which non-literate immigrants have to learn the language and the script. Being non-literate is an almost unknown phenomenon in this highly literate country where the church has required reading skills since the 17th century. Not being able to read implied that one could not get married. Tammelin-Laine explains the set-up of her longitudinal case study of five non-literate immigrant learners.

The two other papers in the domain of *Practice* are about literacy instruction in Germany (*Christiane Schöneberger*) and about a creative way of providing beginning literacy students with short and simple stories – real books (*Margaret Wilkinson* and *Martha Young-Scholten*). Schöneberger provides facts and figures about literacy skills and goes deeper into the diversity of literacy students by presenting nine learner profiles. She presents a new assessment tool that contains teaching suggestions for classroom practices. Wilkinson and Young-Scholten report on a shared project with university students who were engaged in the task of writing fiction for beginning L2 readers. They were asked to write short stories that are linguistically accessible and have incorporated elements of 'cracking' good fiction aimed at adult LESLLA learners. Two of these stories are included in this volume.

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PACE AND PROGRESS IN ADULT LITERACY: WORD AND GRAPHEME RECOGNITION BY NEW READERS IN TIMOR-LESTE[1]

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1 *Introduction*

There are many new readers in Timor-Leste: adults who never went to school as children and who are now learning to read and write in various adult literacy programs. These programs are provided by either the government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and mostly take place in Tetum, while often regional languages or dialects are used for explanation (Boon, 2011). As Tetum is the lingua franca and one of the two official languages of Timor-Leste, a majority of the population speaks and understands Tetum (Hajek, 2000), be it often as a second language. Most people have one of the regional, mainly spoken, languages as their mother tongue. Portuguese is the other official language, still spoken only by a minority (Hajek, 2000; DNE, 2006b), but their numbers will grow because it is now taught in formal education throughout the country. Large parts of the population speak Bahasa Indonesia because of the long years of Indonesian occupation, and some people have learned English through contact with the international community.

Adult literacy rates are low: according to the country's National Directorate of Statistics (DNE, 2006a), 46% of Timor-Leste's adult population of 15 years and older are illiterate. UNDP's Human Development Index (2009) gives a 50.1% adult literacy rate for Timor-Leste. It is safe to say that almost half of the people aged 15 years or older cannot read and write.

Learning to read is a complex process, especially for adult learners who never went to school and who learn to read at a later age, even more so when they learn to read in a language that is not their mother tongue. This paper is about adult literacy learners in Timor-Leste who are learning to read in Tetum, a second language for most of them, which uses an alphabetic script and the Roman alphabet. I will focus on grapheme and word recognition as part of their reading ability, and look at factors that affect these.

Much of what is known about new readers in general comes from research already done with children. Both Juel (1991) and Ehri (1991) investigated the reading acquisition process in children and found that this appears to take place in three phases/stages. Ehri distinguishes a logographic, a transitional and an alphabetic phase. Juel distinguishes a first stage in which the child relies upon environmental and visual cues, a second stage in which spelling-sound information is used and a third stage with automatic phonological recodings or direct recognition on the basis of orthographic features (p. 784). Both studies revealed that phonemic awareness and understanding grapheme-phoneme (spelling/letter-sound) correspondence are crucial in the process of learning to read an alphabetic writing system and of eventually getting to automized word recognition. As Ehri (1991) states: *"phonological recoding skill enables readers to read words by applying grapheme-phoneme correspondence rules. At first sounding out and blending operations are performed slowly and overtly, but with practice they become rapid covert processes."* (p. 398); *"findings of various studies indicate that phonological recoding skill is necessary for proficient sight word reading"* (p. 405). When it comes to consequences for reading instruction she expects that: *"explicit phonics instruction is more effective than implicit phonics instruction"* (p. 401).

Rayner & Pollatsek (1989) describe skills that appear to be crucial to the development of efficient reading, amongst which are recognition of letters (which involves being able to discriminate the distinguishing features of letters), word consciousness and, most importantly, phonological awareness. They mention many studies that *"make it clear that discovering the alphabetic principle is the key to successfully learning to read"* (p. 343). When it comes to teaching reading they conclude that *"code emphasis instruction (phonics) is effective in teaching beginning readers because it makes explicit the alphabetic principle"*, and that *"meaning approaches are valuable, since they make the task of reading (and uncovering the alphabetic principle) more interesting"*. They argue that *"good teachers are eclectic and tend to combine the positive aspects of different methods of teaching reading"* (p. 358). They discuss four stages of reading: *"linguistic guessing, discrimination and guessing, sequential decoding and hierarchical decoding"* (p. 391) and show that children use *"graphemic, orthographic, and grapheme-phoneme correspondence cues"* in learning to read (p. 371). Finally they argue that *"the ability to use higher-order rules and analogies to read new words represents the highest level of reading skill"* (p. 377).

Research with adults who are learning to read and write is often done with immigrants in western countries. Kurvers & Van der Zouw (1990), see also Kurvers (2007), distinguished five word reading strategies: guessing, mentioning letters, spelling out, partial analysis and direct recognition. They wanted to investigate whether the developmental patterns that had been found in studies on children's beginning literacy acquisition could also be traced in adults' first time reading in a second language. They found that adults who are learning to read pass through more or less the same stages as children. The adult learners in their study showed large individual differences in learning pace and success. Illiterate learners and learners who had already learned to read in another script showed differences in the use of reading strategies: the first more often still used sequential decoding strategies, the second more often recognized words directly (pp. 240-241). Adult learners in intensive courses showed much more progress in a short period than adult learners in a non-intensive course over a longer period (p. 238). The learners from the intensive courses made better use of word recognition strategies to read new words. Most learners in the non-intensive courses needed more

than a year to spell simple one-syllable words and to independently read simple short texts with simple words. According to Kurvers & Van der Zouw, it makes a difference if learners are learning to read in a second language: for new readers the forming of a phonological representation of a word is easier when the word is already known. Kurvers (2007) found that only students who used the strategy of relying on graphic (instead of visual) cues demonstrated substantial progress. During the lessons, a change in word recognition skills developed from logographic to alphabetic word recognition, from guessing to sequential decoding. Three students who did not receive any phonics instructions failed to make that change. Students in the intensive course demonstrated much faster change than the ones in non-intensive courses. Most progress was shown by beginning readers who reached the orthographic stage of directly recognizing written words. Phonics instruction and vocabulary in a second language seemed to be major determinants of reading development in that language.

Kurvers (2002) looked at what adult non-readers know about language, and found that neither phonemes nor words were the first to be recognized as independent entities by new readers: if they were asked to segment sentences they divided them in parts that formed conceptual or semantic entities: *in the shop*, or *the old man*, not in words; if they segmented words they did it in syllables, not in phonemes. Phonemes and words turned out to be linguistic entities that new readers are not primarily aware of. Learning to read in any alphabetical script and a script that marks word boundaries by spaces, like the Roman script, makes the learners aware of (the existence of) phonemes and words, as many studies in different languages revealed (Kurvers 2002).

Some research has been done on predictors of success when adults are learning to read and write in a second language. The study on what works for adult ESL literacy students by Condelli, Spruck Wrigley, Yoon, Seburn & Cronen (2003) showed key findings related to instruction, program practices and attendance. Some of the factors that positively affected learning to read were: making connections between class and the outside world, use of mother tongue for clarification, prior education and skills, age and varied practice and interaction. Longer scheduled classes resulted in more growth in reading comprehension but less growth in basic reading skills (suggesting that it might be better not to *"overemphasize basic reading skills for too long of a time but move on to higher level reading skills..."*). Kurvers & Stockmann (2009) found large individual differences among adult learners. Older learners on average needed more time than younger learners to reach certain literacy levels. Factors that turned out to positively affect learning to read (and that are relevant to this paper) were: L2 language contact, use of mother tongue in the classes, attendance rate, education attended before, use of computers (programs that provide a lot of practice in learning to decode) and less frontal teaching to the whole group at once. Most non-literate learners needed more than 1000 hours to reach a functional literacy level.

Outside of western countries, research has been done on adult literacy in developing countries, often stressing aspects that are specific for a development context. Archer (2005) sets out international benchmarks on adult literacy *"based on responses to a global survey of effective adult literacy programmes"* (p. 3), i.e. *"Programmes should have timetables that flexibly respond to the daily lives of learners but which provide for regular and sustained contact (e.g. twice a week for at least two years)"*. 67 Successful literacy programs in 35 countries were analyzed. On average, programs lasted for over two years, often divided into literacy and post-literacy phases (p. 19). The most common pattern of

regularity of classes was between two and three meetings a week, three being most common (p. 19). The average number of contact hours for initial literacy was around 300-400 hours (p. 20). Their estimate from the survey is that *"on average the whole process involves a contact time of about 600 hours over nearly three years"* (p. 20). Lind (2008) defines literacy as *"a continuous process of developing and using reading and writing skills (including numeracy) for multiple purposes"* (p. 135). She states that *"timing and duration of instruction needs to be flexible, but long enough to provide the time required to achieve a certain level of literacy, without being too long to avoid high drop-out"*. One conclusion was that *"it is probably more effective for learners to be given relatively short courses in stages, and to be evaluated or tested at a rather low skill level with success, as this is more likely to motivate them to continue to the next learning stage"* (p. 87). With regard to linking literacy to livelihood, she stresses the fact that each component *"should be given enough teaching-learning time (they cannot both be squeezed into the timetable usually meant for literacy, i.e. 300 hours or so)"* (p. 100).

More and more information is emerging from recent research on adult literacy in Timor-Leste. Literacy programs have been described in several studies. Taylor-Leech (2009) describes post-independence literacy projects. She mentions that lessons can be learned with regard to the need for local engagement and expresses her concern that literacy needs and goals of the learners have not sufficiently been taken into account. Boughton (2010) lists recent achievements in the field of adult and popular education since 2002, one of the major concerns being the lack of post-literacy activities for people who have finished basic literacy programs. Boon (2010, 2011) looked at current adult literacy programs in Timor-Leste, and at the teachers and learners participating in these programs. She focused on language backgrounds and language use, and on reading and writing ability and progress. Most teachers and students in her study were multilingual and for most of them Tetum was as a second language. She found that learners' age, Tetum proficiency and former school experience were important factors in the process of learning to read and write in Tetum. Boon & Kurvers (2008) investigated strategies of adults who were learning to read and write in Portuguese, at the time when some literacy programs in Timor-Leste were still conducted in Portuguese. They stressed the importance -for literacy teachers- of knowledge about stages and strategies in beginning reading as well as of specific second language issues new readers come across.

The focus of this paper is on contributing to the understanding of how new readers acquire the alphabetic principle, as this has turned out to be of crucial importance in beginning reading. I do this by looking at grapheme recognition and word reading ability of new readers in Timor-Leste. Letter knowledge, being able to link letters to sounds and the understanding that spoken words consist of phonemes should, after three to four months of participation in a literacy course, lead to the capability of recognizing a number of graphemes and reading a few short, simple words. This paper will help to shed light on which learner or education characteristics determine whether this will actually happen.

Questions that will be addressed in this paper are: What can adult learners who never attended school and who participate in a literacy program for the first time achieve in terms of initial reading after three to four months of a literacy course? What factors seem to influence the building of initial reading ability? Looking at grapheme recognition and word reading as signs of initial reading ability: what graphemes/words turn out to be difficult for new readers in Timor-Leste and why would that be? Do the

findings of this study in Timor-Leste fit in with what we already know from previous research or do we see different things emerging?

First the research method will be described: who were the participants and what instruments were used for data collection. After this, a number of findings will be presented. The paper will end with conclusions and a few points for discussion.

2   Method

From June 2009 until March 2011 a survey was carried out in adult literacy education in Timor-Leste. Over seventy literacy classes in three different literacy programs were visited in eight of the country's 13 districts. The three literacy programs were: (a) the three months basic literacy program *Los Hau Bele* ('Yes I can'), which is part of the national literacy campaign and is based on the *Yo sí puedo* ('Yes I can') program of Cuban origin that was adapted to Timor-Leste's reality, (b) the *Alfanamor* program with a six-month beginners course called *Hakat ba Oin* ('Step Forward')[2] and a six-month advanced level course called *Iha Dalan* ('On the way'), and (c) the three- to four-month literacy and numeracy course provided within the Youth Employment Promotion program, using compact versions of the *Hakat ba Oin* and *Iha Dalan* literacy manuals.[3] All programs are based on a phonics approach, but they vary in duration and content. Mostly there are two or three lessons per week, with a total of six to nine hours of literacy teaching/learning per week. (For a more detailed description of the three programs, see Boon 2011.) One hundred teachers filled out a questionnaire and were interviewed, and almost eight hundred adult learners carried out small reading and writing tasks. The survey sheds light on how adults are learning to read and write in current literacy programs in this relatively new country. This paper will focus on the initial reading ability, not on writing. A selection was made of adult learners who never attended school as children, and who were participating in a literacy course for the first time, over a period of three to four months. The main focus will be on these new readers' grapheme recognition and word reading abilities.

2.1   Participants

This paper presents data of a selection of 239 participants: learners who never attended school and never took a literacy course before and who had been participating in their first course for three to four months at the time the survey visit took place in their group. Of these 239 participants, 152 were female and 87 were male (as those who never went to school and now take part in literacy courses tend to be women rather than men). Most participants (230) were adults of 15 years of age or older, but nine of them were younger than 15 because occasionally children take part in adult literacy classes when there's no better alternative available for them; the mean age was 38; the

[2] In the years 2004-2008 the author was involved in the development of *Hakat ba Oin* and *Iha Dalan* manuals and in teacher training and capacity building related to the new materials, while working at Timor-Leste's Ministry of Education as adult literacy advisor, paid by UNDP.

[3] The compact versions of the *Hakat ba Oin* and *Iha Dalan* manuals (Called *Yep Livru 1* and *YEP Livru 2*) were developed with involvement of the author of this article.

youngest participant was seven years old, the oldest 76. 127 participants were 40 or younger, and 112 were over 40. A majority of 169 (71%) could speak and understand Tetum, but only 18 (7.5%) of them had Tetum as their first language. The other 221 participants (92.5%) had a regional language or dialect as their mother tongue. Only seven (3%) said they could speak (some) Portuguese.

2.2 Data collection and instruments

All participants took part in a grapheme recognition test and a word reading test, two important elements of beginning reading ability. During the grapheme recognition test they were shown a paper with 30 graphemes (Appendix) and were asked whether they could name them. The 30 graphemes were randomly selected, with the restriction that the first 23 graphemes (i.e., *d, o, s, m, i*) occur both in Tetum and in Portuguese, the next three only in Portuguese (*ç, ão* and *q*), the three after that only in Tetum (*ñ, oo, k*) and the last one (*y*) in neither, but it is used a lot in Bahasa Indonesia.

For the word reading test, the participants were given a list of 80 words in Tetum and were asked to read words from the list during three minutes (see Appendix 1 for the complete list). Their three-minute word reading was recorded. It could safely be assumed that the participants would know the meaning of the 80 words. The first ten words on the list occurred in all three literacy programs involved, i.e. *uma* (house) or *ida* (one). The next 60 words were frequently used Tetum words ordered from one to four syllables and from simple consonant-vowel syllables to more complex ccvc(c) syllables. And the last ten words were loanwords from Portuguese, consisting of four or five syllables. (See Boon 2011 for more detailed information on both tests.)

Both the grapheme recognition and the word reading test, done by the 239 participants as described above, showed a very high reliability, with Cronbach's Alpha .97 (grapheme recognition test) and .99 (word reading test).

3   First results

As shown in Table 1, the participants could recognize on average 15 (of 30) graphemes, ranging from 0 to 30, meaning that some participants (21, so almost one in ten) could not recognize any graphemes at all and that others (9) could recognize all 30 of them. Table 1 also shows that the participants could read on average 14 (of 80) words in three minutes, ranging from 0 to 80; about half of the participants (119) could not yet read any word correctly and some others (6) could read all 80 words correctly without any problems.

Table 1: Grapheme recognition and word reading scores

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Grapheme recognition	237	0	30	15.13	9.55
Word reading	229	0	80	13.99	24.18

The distribution of scores is actually quite different from what is usually found: the majority of the learners would read between one and 60 words in three minutes after

three to four months of participation in a course. In this case however, 7% of the participants had very high scores (more than 70 words) and 52% could not read any word correctly yet.

The older the participants, the fewer graphemes they could recognize and the fewer words they could read (see Figure 1).
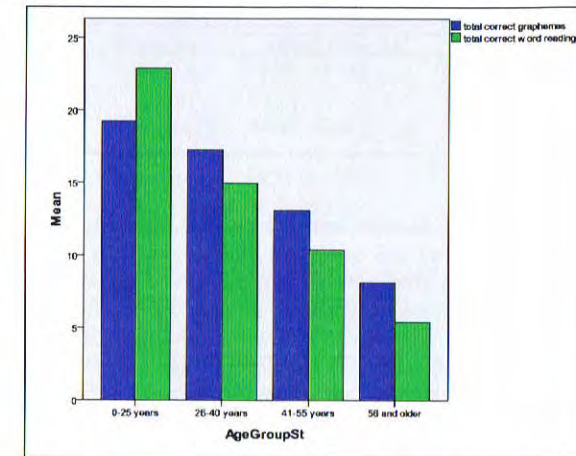
Figure 1: Grapheme recognition (blue) and word reading (green) scores divided by age group.

Table 2 shows those significant negative correlations with age. It also shows correlations between the grapheme recognition and word writing scores and other variables: for the learners the number of months they had participated in a literacy course and for the teacher characteristics like number of years of education and of (adult literacy) teaching experience.

Table 2: Pearson correlations between scores and learner/teacher characteristics.

	Age learners	Months in literacy course	Teachers' education	Teachers' experience
Grapheme recognition (Pearson corr.)	-.465**	.194**	.012	.001
Word reading (Pearson corr.)	-.293**	.205**	-.025	.066

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Except for age, it was mainly the number of months of participation that seemed to make a significant difference. Teachers' years of education and experience did not seem to affect the grapheme recognition and word reading scores very much.

Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations for younger and older learners, and for Tetum and non-Tetum speakers. The younger learners have significantly higher scores than the older learners. Participants who could speak and understand Tetum had significantly higher scores on grapheme recognition, the average score on word reading was also higher, but this difference was not significant.

Table 3: Means and standard deviations scores for younger and older learners, Tetum-speaking and non-Tetum speaking

	Tetum speaker (n=168)	Non-Tetum speaker (n=69)		40 years or younger (n=126)	Older than 40 (n=111)	
	Mean (Sd.)	Mean (Sd.)	T	Mean (Sd.)	Mean (Sd.)	T
Grapheme recognition	16.33 (9.10)	12.20 (10.07)	-2.95**	18.66 (8.09)	11.13 (9.55)	6.51**
Word reading	15.18 (25.55)	11.23 (20.59)	-1.24	19.25 (27.34)	8.41 (18.87)	3.51**

$** = p < .01$

Of the 239 participants in total, 51 were tested twice. The second test took place three months after the first test, and the scores of this second test were used in the descriptions above (their scores after three to four months of attendance). Now scores of the first and second test will be compared, to find out whether the 51 learners showed progress in grapheme recognition and word reading over a period of three months (see Table 4). Again we will take a look at how age and proficiency in Tetum affected these scores. Table 4 shows that for grapheme recognition as well as word reading the participants on average showed significant progress in three months: on average, they advanced from eight to twelve graphemes recognized correctly and from three to six words read correctly.

Table 4: Grapheme recognition and word reading scores of the first and the second tests

	1st test Mean (Sd)	2nd test Mean (Sd)	T	p
Grapheme recognition	7.51 (8.38)	12.04 (8.90)	-6.49**	.000
Word reading	3.49 (12.20)	5.88 (15.94)	-2.08*	.04

$** = p < .01$ $* = p < .05$

Also in this smaller group, the age factor and the Tetum factor could clearly be seen.

Table 5 presents the means and standard deviations for two different age groups and for Tetum and non-Tetum speakers. An analysis of variance with repeated measures with age group as between subject factor and time as within subject factor was conducted, and a similar analysis of variance was conducted, but now with Tetum speaking as between subject and time as within subject factor. First of all, as already shown before, there was a significant main effect of time for grapheme knowledge ($F=49.97$, $p=.000$) and word reading ($F=9.69$, $p=.003$). There was no main effect of age but there was significant interaction between age group and progress: the younger participants showed much more progress in three months than the older participants, both in grapheme recognition ($F=5.59$, $p=.02$) and in word reading ($F=6.07$, $p=.02$). There was a main effect of Tetum speaking for graphemes ($F=22.98$, $p=.000$), but for word reading this effect was not significant ($F=2.53$, $p=.12$); besides, there was no significant interaction effect here, not for graphemes ($F=.97$, $p=.33$) and not for word

reading ($F=1.63$, $p=.21$). In other words, there was no difference in growth for the Tetum and non-Tetum speakers.

Table 5: Means and standard deviations 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ tests, split up by age group and Tetum and non-Tetum speakers

	Learners 40 and younger (n=13)	Learners older than 40 (n=38)	Tetum speaker (n=36)	Non-Tetum speaker (n=15)
	Mean (Sd.)	Mean (Sd.)	Mean (Sd.)	Mean (Sd.)
Grapheme recognition 1	9.54 (7.45)	6.82 (8.65)	10.28 (8.31)	.87 (3.36)
Grapheme recognition 2	16.77 (8.07)	10.42 (8.68)	15.25 (7.93)	4.33 (5.96)
Word reading 1	3.54 (8.79)	3.47 (13.26)	4.94 (14.32)	.00 (.00)
Word reading 2	10.54 (21.94)	4.29 (13.31)	8.28 (18.52)	.13 (.35)

Looking at the scores per item of all 239 participants gives us some idea of what graphemes are difficult for new readers to recognize, and what words are difficult for new readers in Timor-Leste to read. It turned out that in the grapheme recognition tasks the letters *o* and *k* were recognized best and the letters *q* and *y* worst. Many people had trouble with the diphthongs *ei, eu, oi, ou* and *ão*, and also the letters *v, x, z* and *g* were not recognized well.

While doing the tests it became clear that many people mixed up letters that either look more or less alike *(d-b, q-p, u-n, n-m, k-h, r-t-f)*, or that sound more or less alike *(v, b, p* and *f;* or *c* and *k)*. Accents and tilde on letters *(i, ú, é, ó, ñ)* did not seem to cause much trouble, although they sometimes led to confusion.

Of the 239 participants, only seven said they spoke Portuguese, not enough to check whether they could more easily recognize the graphemes *f, ão* and *q*, which are only used in Portuguese, not in Tetum.

In the word reading task, the words *uma* (house) and *ka* (or) turned out to be easiest, almost like *fahi* (pig), *manu* (chicken) and *ba* (go/to); long multi-syllable words like *barakliu* (much/many more), *liuhusi* (earlier) and *hateten* (tell/say) turned out to be difficult for many people, as did -to a lesser extent- shorter words with consonant clusters like *kria* (make/create) and *lakleur* (soon).

4   Conclusions and discussion

The first results of the survey as presented in Chapter 3 can help to answer the research questions that were formulated in Chapter 1. They reveal what people who never attended school and who participate in a literacy program for the first time can achieve in terms of initial reading after three to four months of a literacy course of six to nine hours per week, in some of Timor-Leste's currently provided adult literacy programs. Scores on both tasks after three to four months showed very large individual differences: on average, people could recognize 15 graphemes and read 14 words, but individual variation was high, scores varied from recognizing 0 to all 30 graphemes and being able to read 0 to all 80 words. Of the 239 learners, after three to four months almost 9% still could not recognize any of the 30 graphemes presented,

and 27% could only recognize one to ten of 30 graphemes. Of the 239 learners after three to four months, 52% could not read any of the words of the presented list of 80 words yet, and 20% could only read one to ten words correctly. So, more than half of the learners had not managed to learn to read words in three to four months. This might be related to a strong focus on the alphabet as such and a lack of practice in word reading, which was observed in many literacy classes: many participants were able to spell out words letter by letter, but did not succeed in the next step of blending graphemes and phonemes to syllables and words.

The first results also shed light on factors that seem to influence the building of initial reading ability, like age and Tetum proficiency. The older the participants were, the lower their scores were on both tasks, although some older participants had much higher scores than some of the younger participants. Proficiency in Tetum (as L1 or L2) seemed to make a difference for grapheme recognition, and strangely enough not for word reading. The fact that some Tetum speakers had Tetum as their first language (rather than their second language) did not seem to matter in either task. Apparently, being able to speak and understand Tetum is more important than having Tetum as one's mother tongue. The number of months that people participated in the courses mattered significantly. Both teacher education and experience (in years/months) did not seem to affect the scores.

The 51 participants who were tested for a second time after three months did show progress over those three months, although it was relatively limited. Younger participants showed more progress on the two tasks than older participants, and Tetum speakers showed more progress on grapheme recognition. The lower averages of this group of 51 at the two test moments (first eight and later twelve graphemes recognized, first three and later six words read correctly), compared to the averages of the larger group of 239 participants (15 graphemes recognized and 14 words read correctly) can have several reasons: they might have to do with this group having more 'weaker' learners, facing more challenging circumstances or receiving less instruction.

The first survey results also provide information on what graphemes and words turned out to be difficult for new readers in Timor-Leste and why. Looking at scores per item, it was found that some graphemes/words were easier to recognize/read than others. The observation, for example, that many participants had trouble recognizing *q* and *y* is probably due to the fact that both graphemes are not used in Tetum, contrary to *o* and *k* which were recognized well and are used frequently in Tetum. Various graphemes were mixed up because of either their form (see also Rayner & Pollatsek 1989: 336-338) or their sound being much alike. Graphic/visual images of letters like *b-d, u-n* and *n-m* more often seemed confusing for participants than sound/acoustic images, although the trouble distinguishing and producing different sounds for *p-b-f-v* seemed to occur rather frequently in certain districts (i.e. the districts of Baucau and Viqueque). Longer, multi-syllable words and words with consonant clusters (*kr, kl*) and diphthongs (*ia, eu*) appeared to be more difficult to read than shorter words and words with less complex consonant-vowel-syllables.

What was found in this study generally fits in with what we already know from previous research, but some aspects are remarkable. Age correlated negatively with what people achieved and how fast they made progress, and proficiency in the literacy language, in this case Tetum, apparently did make a difference. On the one hand surprisingly fast progress was seen with some learners. On the other hand, progress

seemed slow, especially for many older learners. Attending a literacy class for three to four months was certainly not sufficient for many participants to really learn to read new words. Grapheme recognition seems crucial for word reading: participants with high word reading scores generally had high grapheme recognition scores as well. But high grapheme recognition scores did not automatically result in high word reading scores: many participants recognized a lot of graphemes but still had trouble reading simple, short words correctly. This nicely illustrates the developmental pattern in the stages: to reach the alphabetic stage, learners have to learn the grapheme-phoneme correspondences; this is a necessary but not sufficient pre-condition: they also have to acquire the cognitively complex skill of blending phonemes.

What we found about teachers' education and experience might have to do with what Lind found (2008: 88): *"several studies have shown that literacy teachers' formal qualifications or pedagogical training is less important than their positive attitudes and rapport with the community".* More research is needed to find out what other teacher characteristics may have an influence on learners' results.

Finally the first results leave us with some points for discussion. It is necessary to observe more classes to find out how teaching takes place: what kind of instruction and how much practice participants really get, etc. In this study, very large individual differences were found. This in itself is not so remarkable; see for example Kurvers & Stockmann (2009). But what is remarkable are the large numbers of participants at the extreme ends of the range, either scoring 0 or the maximum. An interesting question with regard to these individual differences is: What do they tell us and what do they imply? Some participants did not succeed in learning to recognize graphemes or read simple short words after three to four months of participation in an adult literacy course. Why is that? What can be done about this? What are the implications for education? Other participants learned very quickly: Why is that? What is it that makes these participants such fast learners? Is it the teacher, the circumstances, the participants' active attendance?

What this study makes clear is that participants who had not mastered the alphabetic principle had little success learning to read. It would however be interesting to find out more about the word recognition strategies that these participants used. This will be investigated in further research.

Aknowledgement

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Lady filling our a form, Dili, March 2011

Looking at pictures in a literacy manual, Viqueque, March 2011

APPENDIX

a) The grapheme recognition task

v	e	eu
d	m	oi
b	i	ou
h	r	ç
o	x	ão
n	í	q
t	ú	ñ
s	é	oo
z	ó	k
g	ei	y

b) The word reading task

Front page:

lee	ba	lia	tenki	labarik
haas	ka	nia	joven	nakfakar
ida	la	iha	tomak	hanorin
uma	ho	nian	nu'udar	bainhira
manu	no	di'ak	serve	tarutu
bola	ne'e	foti	maibé	malirin
fahi	sei	sira	oinsá	raiseluk
oan	mós	hotu	dadauk	badinas
paun	boot	ohin	hanoin	lakleur
Timor	ha'u	kria	ne'ebé	nakukun

Back page:

ikusmai	seluseluk	komentáriu
haruka	loroloron	prezidente
naroman	matabixu	independente
lakohi	dalaruma	komunikadu
nafatin	odamatan	unidade
hakilar	tekiteki	lansamentu
hateten	barakliu	polítika
matenek	ulukliu	favoravel
labele	liuhusi	koordenadora
hanesan	filafali	ekonomia

IDENTIFIACATION OF SPECIFIC RESEARCH-BASED INSTRUCTION METHODS TO TEACH PRE-LITERATE ESOL STUDENTS

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Abstract

Much of the literacy research provides evidence regarding the instructional practices and methodology used when teaching native English speakers or mainstream English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. However, it has now become imperative to identify effective instructional practices that can be used with adult English literacy learners (AELLs). AELLs originate from backgrounds where literacy has been unavailable, denied or recently codified. Therefore, a descriptive study was conducted to identify instructional practices and tools used to teach adult English literacy learners in Florida. Surveys and a focus group were utilized to capture these practices. A small sample of 17 literacy instructors responded to the survey on literacy instruction, and five literacy instructors attended a focus group discussion meeting to elaborate on the survey answers. The results indicated that the instructors are utilizing the following research-based instructional practices and tools when teaching AELLs: language experience approach, use of the native language during instruction, active learning, and Environmental Print.

1 Introduction

In 2008, over one million adults were enrolled in federally funded adult education programs ESL classes (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010). As stated by Burt & Peyton (2003), many adults who participate in educational programs have differing educational and literacy experiences. Many students have backgrounds where literacy is not widespread in their communities nor is it deemed necessary for survival.

The background and stages of every student must be taken into account in order to offer an optimal learning environment that will enable the learner to become literate. Before literacy can be taught in a second language, the role that literacy played in the first language must be explored. According to Huntley (cited in Burt & Peyton, 2003), several stages or categories of literacy can be defined in the context of the first language (L1).

Recognizing the stages of literacy can help teachers to develop and use successful instructional practices. The stages discussed by Burt & Peyton (2003) are: *pre-literate*, *non-literate* and *semiliterate*. The preliterate learner originates from a way of life that does not revolve around literacy. The stage is characterized by language in the process of codification. More specifically, the written code is being developed and has not yet been standardized for wide spread use. The *non-literate* learner has resided in an environment where literacy was available, but literacy instruction had been denied, many times due to socioeconomic status. Warfare and destitution can also lead to limited schooling and the corresponding difficulties with reading and writing in the native language. Those learners who often have a lower socioeconomic status and some level (1-6 years) of education are considered *semiliterate* learners. Some type of contact with literacy has occurred in their home language but only at a minimal level. This article will only focus on the *pre-literate* learner.

2   Instructional practices

Whether an AELL is considered preliterate, nonliterate, or semiliterate, it is important for teachers to have a varying number of approaches, methods, and techniques that can best meet the specific needs of their literacy students. The terms *instructional practices* and *tools* have been selected and will be used throughout this article to encapsulate the approaches, methods, and techniques of teachers. Below are research based instructional practices and tools used when teaching AELLs. Four were selected for inclusion in the study.

2.1 Language Experience Approach

Holt (1995) stated that the language experience approach (LEA) can be successfully used to instruct low-level literacy learners. The lesson would commence with a class discussion on a shared experience, such as a field trip. The learners provide sentences and the teacher writes the sentences on the board. The instructor proceeds to read the sentences clearly, pointing to each word as it is pronounced and confirming that what is written is what the student stated, however simple the sentences are. After the story is finished, the instructor recites it aloud with the students being encouraged to join in the reading if possible. According to LEA, various activities can evolve from the reading. For the pre-literate learner, they can copy the narrative and underline the portions of the story that can be read or circle certain words that have a selected sound. This will assist them with simple word recognition. Pre-literate learners, who have learned to hold a pen or pencil and have been taught letter formation, are able to copy letters with some success, although many are unable to pronounce the letters or decode the words they are copying.

2.2 Native language

The LEA did not mention the role of the native language in literacy instruction. A study by Burtoff in New York City compared techniques and results of two groups of adult Haitian Creole speakers with one group receiving English-only (L2) literacy

instruction and the other receiving home-language (L1) literacy instruction while learning English (as cited in Roberts, 1994). Both groups received the same number of instructional hours. The results of the study showed that the learners who received L1 instruction demonstrated stronger literacy skills than those who received instruction in L2.

Wrigley (2005) noted that the use of the native language is helpful because the learners' brains are always trying to create verbal responses, understand print, and interpret what the teacher is asking while at the same time handling a new language and culture. Many learners who struggle with literacy have not attended any type of formal schooling since they were children; therefore, becoming accustomed to new tasks is an additional adjustment. The learning process can be enhanced through explanations in L1 and once the instructions are clear, the assignment can become even more feasible. For example, asking students to open their books to a certain page, underline, or circle are academic activities. Pre-literate learners with little to no classroom experience may not understand these instruction if stated in the L2. The instructor may demonstrate the actions of opening a book, underlining a word, or circling a letter; however, if these actions are demonstrated and explained in the native language the learners will begin to understand that certain instructions pertain to classroom related activities. Although obvious to those accustomed to formal education settings, pre-literate learners must be taught classroom instructions and expected reactions to those instructions.

2.3 Active learning

Research states that it is important to have the adult learner play an active role in selecting topics, language, and materials. "*Active learning* is generally defined as any instructional method that engages students in the learning process. The core elements of active learning are student activity and engagement in the learning process" (Prince, 2004).

In a pre-literate classroom, engaging students in the learning process may include requiring students to bring outside experiences into the classroom (Wrigley, 2005). Some examples observed by Wrigley were field trips where learners were encouraged to use English, or having students bring in fliers, catalogues, soup labels, and basically anything that reflected the literacy that they encountered on a regular basis. Class lessons should evolve from the experiences and languages of the adult learner (Holt, 1995) and the learners' wisdom and experiences should be shared with the other learners and viewed as a resource. This technique differs from LEA insofar that the learners are simply sharing items or words learned from their environment at different points in time. LEA on the other hand, mainly focuses on shared experiences occurring at the same time for the purpose of writing down this experience as a class activity.

2.4 Four keys for successful instructors

According to Freeman, Freeman & Mercuri (2001), there are four research-based keys that should be applied to older, limited formal-schooling learners with literacy needs. The first key is to *involve students in a challenging, theme-based curriculum* to increase

academic concepts. This can be achieved by utilizing the previous experiences of the students and by valuing their language and cultural backgrounds when assessing them. Hamayan & Pfleger (1987) believes that literacy can develop easily in the classroom by providing meaningful environmental print, establishing lessons that motivate literacy and create meaning, establishing a non-threatening environment, combining instruction about forms and structures in meaningful activities, and incorporating literacy instruction with scholastic content. The second key is to utilize *the students' experiences, cultures and languages.* The third is to *arrange collaborative projects and scaffold instruction* to strengthen students' academic English aptitude. The final key is to *generate confident students* who appreciate school and appreciate themselves as learners.

2.5 Environmental print-instructional tool

Hudelson (as cited in Roberts, 1994) believes that in a literate environment, literacy can develop in the learner. Instructors can inform students about road signs, advertising, print media, and descriptions in their surroundings. In turn, the students can bring examples of print they come across on a daily basis (Condelli & Wrigley, 2006; Kurvers, van Hout, & Vallen, 2006; Pérez & Torres-Guzman, 2002; van de Craats, Kurvers, & Young Scholten, 2006). Meanings, sounds, and graphic symbols should be instructed concurrently because learners often are conscious of the fact that graphic symbols can demonstrate verbal meaning. If the instructor can begin by being aware of what the learners already understand, then instruction can commence in a positive manner. Wrigley (2005) strongly stresses that literacy learners have valuable skills that the instructor can utilize to build the curriculum. Adult learners navigate in an environment that is filled with both spoken English and print resources. That combination leads to a list of sight words that the learners begin to depend on, thereby expanding their background knowledge and life experiences to assist in their literacy acquisition process.

2.6 Role of metacognition

Metacognition basically means knowing about knowing and being able to choose different strategies to learn something. Both practitioners and researchers who work in the field of ESL literacy stress the relationship between a learner's ability to utilize metacognitive approaches and his or her confidence in learning. Angst, et al. (2002) state that literacy learners need to know how to examine their own learning and should be encouraged to think about how they learn. Additionally, the instructor can work towards identifying which instructional practices the learner has already obtained and work with him or her in order to transfer the skills for classroom use.

3 Research method and design

AELL teachers struggle to address the needs of learners who lack literacy in their native languages and need technical assistance to effectively organize instruction to meet the educational and linguistic needs of pre-literate adult ESOL students. The purpose of this study was to determine which of the proven researched-based

instructional practices and tools of AELL teachers are currently being used and to identify additional instructional practices employed by teachers.

3.1 Research questions and design

1. Are instructors of AELLs currently using four of the research-based instructional practices?
2. What additional instructional practices are instructors using when teaching AELLs?

A descriptive research design was employed to explore the research questions. The descriptive research design is used to 'provide an accurate description or picture of the status or characteristics of a situation or phenomenon' (Johnson & Christensen, 2000: 302).

3.2 Methods of data collection and instruments used

Surveys and a focus group were utilized to capture the instructional practices being used to teach pre-literate AELLs. *Surveys* recorded teachers' self-reported instructional practices in their classrooms. A *focus group* was established to further elaborate on the answers included in the instructor surveys. It also allowed teachers to exchange ideas and information on best instructional practices.

3.2.1 Instructor surveys

The design and method of the research project developed from research studies that have identified specific instructional practices that are considered successful in AELL classrooms. These methods were then incorporated into surveys. The administrators of the literacy programs distributed the surveys to the adult ESOL teachers participating in the study. They also collected and returned them to the researchers. Among the topics included were: the Language Experience Approach (LEA) evidences of literacy, oral repetition, visual discrimination of letters and words, auditory discrimination of sounds and the use of the learners' native language in the classroom.

3.2.2 Focus groups

After the instructor surveys were returned, a focus group discussion was organized. Ten pre-literacy adult ESOL teachers were invited but five chose to participate: two from Miami-Dade County, and one each from Duval, St. Lucie, and Orange Counties. Sampling-The researchers drew a geographically stratified sample of adult ESOL literacy programs throughout Florida to ensure representation from areas with diverse populations and to keep within financial resources. Random sampling was also used to disseminate the Instructor Methodology Surveys to the AELL instructors throughout Florida. The focus group discussion questions were generated directly from the group and the responses obtained from the teacher surveys. The information obtained was recorded and documented for further analysis and future research. Some questions included:

Strategies
- What are the most successful strategies you have implemented in your classroom?
- Are manipulatives used in your classroom, such as pennies, bingo chips, clay etc.?
- Do students bring in any evidences of literacy to your class, such as medication bottles, bills, doctors' appointment slips, etc.?
- What do you think is the role of the native language in the classroom?
- What are the challenges you most often see in your classroom? What challenges do you face?

Methodologies
- Do you teach the visual/auditory discrimination of letters and words during your lessons? Such as explaining /p/ and/b/
- Do you use the Language Experience Approach (LEA) in your classroom?

4   *Survey results*

Instructional practice surveys were disseminated to literacy instructors throughout Florida. Seventeen instructors responded to the survey. Although a small sample, the responses provided insight into the instructional practices they are currently utilizing. The table below demonstrates the percentage of instructors who reported using the research-based instructional practices included in the survey when teaching AELLs *(Identified)*. The instructors' responses indicating *not* using the practices were recorded in *Not identified* category. Note: Information was not collected on how the strategies were implemented and how effective they were. This preliminary research was conducted to first identify the practices being used. Future papers will address the effectives of these practices. The following is the compilation of survey results.

Table 1: Research-based instructional practices survey results (N=17)

Instructional Practices/tools	Identified	Not identified
Language experience approach	82.35%	17.65%
Native language	88.23%	11.77%
Active learning (field trips)	19.04%	80.96%
Manipulatives	30.95%	69.05%
Discussions	30.95%	69.05%
Environmental print (tool)	82.23%	17.77%

Language experience approach - The Language experience approach (LEA) was utilized by 82.35% of the instructors but 17.65% stated that they do not use LEA.
Native language- When the instructors were asked whether they utilized the students' home language to explain concepts 88.23% said "yes" and 11.77% said "no." *Active Role of learners* -The principal activities that were used in the classroom were student discussions (30.95%), manipulatives (30.95%), and field trips such as going shopping or to the bank remained at (19.04%).

Environmental print - When the instructors were asked if their students brought in evidence of literacy from the outside to the classroom, 82.23% of the instructors said "yes" while 17.77% said, "no."

5   *Additional practices reported on surveys*

Oral repetition -The instructors were asked if oral repetition was utilized in the classroom and 100% stated "yes." The majority of instructors (52.95%) use oral repetition in all of their classes where 47.05% use it in most of their classes. *Visual and Auditory Discrimination of Letters*-All of the instructors (100%) stated that they use visual discrimination to teach the sounds of letters. While 94.11% use auditory discrimination,-5.89% did not. *Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing* -The instructors stated that they devote 25% of their time to listening skills, 20% to speaking skills, 25-30% to reading skills and 25% to writing skills.

6   *Individual Practices Reported by the Instructors*

Use of phonics
- "The most effective teaching method is the phonological one which consists in helping students to recognize short and long vowels; spell words with real sound letter, read make sentences, etc...."
- Hooked on phonics -- phonics strategy programs
Reading strategies
- Cloze activities
- Story-telling and translation into student languages
- A review at the end of each topic
Visual activities
- Visuals ("They can see the pictures.")
- "I write almost everything I say on the board. The students can see the words as they listen and attempt to repeat the sounds."
- Organizational charts that focus on words or topics (students listen and check off information)
Body language techniques
- "Reading" and using body language to reduce anxiety
- Total Physical Response
Acquiring basic information
- Use basic information through modeling and questioning
- Identifying important information (name, social security, etc.)
- Lessons focus on acquiring and using basic information
Electronic devices
- Listening to tapes
- Use of video, music, graphics, (such as the news cartoons), audio
Positive learning environment
- "I have the students interact with each other almost every class. We try to incorporate the lesson of the day into conversations."

- Group or cooperative learning
- Partnering strategies
- "The most effective teaching is to motivate and transmit confidence to the students by questions and answers."
- Create an atmosphere of learning

6.1 Analysis and discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine if instructors were using four research-based instructional practices when teaching AELLs. Additionally, it sought to identify other instructional practices and tools teachers used.

The language experience approach (LEA) was utilized by 82.35% of the instructors but 17.65% stated that they do not use LEA, as they were unfamiliar with the approach. Survey results showed that the majority of instructors used LEA in the classroom. These results stress the use of meaning in the classroom and allow the students to learn from a shared experience. During the focus group discussions, one instructor explained not using the approach because she reserved it for children. The use of a shared experience, such as field trips, can be more easily accomplished in the primary and elementary grades making it easier for instructors to use LEA. As for the adults, instructors must be more creative organizing a shared experience, as field trips are often difficult to organize for adult learners with limited time and funds. Once a shared experience has been established, children and adults can truly benefit from this approach because both groups are able to observe the connection between the spoken and written word. According to Taylor (cited in Holt, 1995), the LEA can be used with low-level pre-literate learners to encourage listening and to observe the manner in which speech/language is related to print.

6.2 Native language

When asked whether they utilized the students' native language to explain concepts, 88.23% said "yes" and 11.77% said "no." According to the surveys, the instructors are indeed using the native language to instruct their students when homogeneous linguistic groups are present. However, during the focus group session, there were differences in opinions about the use of the native language in the classroom. Several instructors avoided using the native language in the classroom and separated learners who spoke the same language in order to promote only speaking in English. Others used the native language as a tool and paired like-language learners together in order to encourage student participation, or they used the native language in the lessons to explain concepts. According to the instructors, both strategies were successful. The instructors who use the native language in the classroom believe it to be quite advantageous. They were able to explain certain concepts to the students until total understanding of the concept was achieved.

Wrigley (2005) states that despite a class not being a native literacy class, a bilingual instructor can utilize the native language to give instructions or short translations in which positive results can occur. A review of school guidelines in the native language can introduce a nonthreatening environment and help prevent student absences. This is especially important with literacy learners who might not have had prior schooling

or might not understand how school procedures work. Concurrent acquisition of the native language can have satisfactory effects on the progression of English literacy among pre-literate, nonliterate and semiliterate adult learners (Burt & Peyton, 2003). Research indicates that the use of the learner's native language can greatly assist in the comprehension of classroom concepts or lower anxiety levels in the classroom.

6.3 Active learning

The principal activities that were used in the classroom were student discussions (30.95%), manipulatives (30.95%), and cultural experiences such as going shopping or to the bank (19.04%). The results show that the majority of instructors are utilizing manipulatives and the learners' cultural experiences during instruction. In the focus groups, one instructor stated that trays of sand are used in the classroom for the learners to write and feel the letters and words they are creating. They also used flash cards, alphabet sets, bingo games, and Cuisenaire rods to assist with word order in sentences to add dimension to instruction. From the survey results it was apparent that events such as field trips were used only by a small number of instructors. They reported not having enough funds or time to take the learners on trips or events. Liability issues also contributed to the exclusion of trips in the curriculum.

The activities that the instructors focused on were student centered and, depending on the manipulatives, quite meaningful as past literacy research has stressed. When using manipulatives and realia in the classroom it is important that they are authentic, but hand-made materials from the instructors are also effective. Instructors are also encouraged to create their own manipulatives that are meaningful to the students' lives and reflect their experiences (Angst et al., 2000).

6.4 Environmental print

When the instructors were asked if their students brought in evidence of literacy (any item with written word found in the students' homes or environment) encountered on a daily basis to the classroom, 82.23% of the instructors reported "yes" and 17.77% responded "no." The instructors provided examples of literacy that the students have brought to the classroom, which included: insurance forms, school papers for their children, unemployment letters, medication bottles, and electric bills. When asked if they requested their students to bring in evidence of literacy as an assignment, 23.52% of the instructors said "yes" and 76.48% said "no." Of those who said yes, they requested that the students bring clothing labels, ethnic drinks, family pictures, and restaurant receipts. Of those who reported in the negative, they reported simply not thinking about incorporating these items in their lesson, but chose to remain focus on the curriculum and lesson of the day.

Research has stressed the importance of bringing meaning into the classroom, especially when trying to reach the adult ESOL literacy learner. According to the survey results, the learners are voluntarily bringing evidences of literacy into the classroom which is a clear sign that meaning must be integrated into the classroom lessons. However, the results also indicated that the instructors are not requesting their students to bring in examples of literacy. The instructors welcomed the opportunity to explain or to read any items brought in by the students but this was done on an

individual basis. It is recommended that learners share anything that represents the literacy that they come across frequently (Wrigley, 2005).

7   *Additional instructional practices*

Oral repetition - The instructors were asked if oral repetition was utilized in the classroom and 100% stated "yes." The majority of instructors (52.94%) use oral repetition in all of their classes where 47.05% use it in most of their classes. However, Wrigley (2005) has cautioned against repetitive and tedious instruction because if used excessively it can impede the learning process. There should be a balance between the repetitions of course material and the introduction of new concepts.

Visual discrimination - All of the instructors (100%) stated that they use visual discrimination to teach the sounds of letters. While 94.11% use auditory discrimination, 5.89% did not. The survey results concur with research that demonstrates that a balance between the use of visual and auditory discrimination has a positive effect on learners' acquisition. Holt (1995) recommends that the visual recognition of letters and words, auditory discrimination of sounds and words, phonics, written conventions, and sight words merged with whole language approaches creates a successful research based strategy.

Listening, speaking, reading, and writing Skills - The instructors stated that they devote 25% of their time to listening skills, 20% to speaking skills, 25-30% to reading skills and 25% to writing skills. Although teaching techniques combine the skills, instructors still discussed them separately. For example, when the focus of the lesson was on a listening skill activity, the instructors only focused on that activity to enable the learners to fully concentrate on the listening skill being taught. The same was stated for speaking, reading, and writing. When instructing literacy learners, class activities should develop along a continuum from less challenging to more challenging, while still teaching all four skills simultaneously.

8   *Conclusion and recommendations*

8.1 *Conclusions*

Adult English-language literacy learners (AELLs) bring their diverse and inspiring backgrounds to the literacy classroom, which must not be ignored by the instructor. However, this is not to say that instruction is easy and straightforward. Each learner is distinct and requires instruction that differs from mainstream ESL classes. The theoretical and research basis for AELLs emphasizes how utilizing the individual background and experiences of the students in classroom lessons can enhance learning and that teachers can develop teaching methods and materials to help these learners become literate. Awareness of the learner's pre-literate background establishes essential information for the instructor to develop appropriate instructional methods. However, regardless of the background, the literacy research conducted demonstrates that effective literacy instruction incorporates the lives of the literacy learners and capitalizes on what the learners can bring to the classroom. Instructors can also help

with instructional practices that utilize experimentation, theorization, construction of meaning, and, most importantly, the creation of confidence in the student reader and writer.

8.2 *Recommendations*

Many literacy instructors are former ESOL instructors who are utilizing their old ESOL methods and are not aware that they are not effective when teaching pre-literate, non-literate or semi-literate learners. Recently instructors have been voicing their concerns and say they truly want to be on the "same page" when instructing literacy learners. Training that specifically meets the needs of teachers of pre-literate learners is highly recommended. The teachers also stressed the importance of being able to provide input and have a voice in the development of literacy curricula.

Further research in this area should be dedicated to the development of training along with the creation of a manual that focuses on the needs of pre-literate learners. The AELL classes should utilize reading books that use simple, decodable, high frequency, and environmental sight words (stop, push, pull, etc.) that would help learners progress most effectively.

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A LESLLA CORPUS:
L1 OBSTACLES IN THE LEARNING OF L2 MORPHOSYNTAX

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1   *Why a LESLLA corpus?*

It is only recently that second language (L2) acquisition researchers have started to focus their attention on adults with a low level of education and literacy rather than on highly educated and academic learners. Since the late nineties of the last century it became increasingly probable that illiterate individuals process oral language differently from literate adults. Illiterate adults turned out to have more problems repeating lists of pseudo-words than literates, or doing tasks with phoneme deletions and syllable reversals (e.g., Adrian, Alegria & Morais, 1995; Reis & Castro-Caldas, 1997). Neurological research by means of PET scans has even shown that there is more and different brain activation during pseudo-word repetition in literate than in illiterate participants. Learning to read and write an alphabetic script alters neural structures in the brain (Pettersson et al., 2000). For literates, the visual-graphic representation of a word is so closely linked to the phonological representation that they can play with the (written) symbols, without considering any semantic meaning. For fully illiterates, however, this manipulating of words without considering meaning is very difficult.

Results of other studies illustrate how much illiterates rely on semantic meaning because they cannot use visual-graphic strategies. Kurvers (2002) and Kurvers et al. (2006; 2007), for instance, concluded that illiterates did not view abstract and function words as words and had little metalinguistic and strategic skills. Tarone et al. (2007) found that illiterates could not process oral corrective feedback as easily as literates because of lacking the literacy skills allowing them to visually represent and compare their own utterance with that of the recast (Bigelow et al., 2006).

These findings are not only essential points to be aware of in language pedagogy and teaching of illiterate and low-literate learners, they are also of crucial importance for the interpretation of all other research on second language acquisition (SLA) that claims to identify universal cognitive processes involved in SLA. This research is almost exclusively based on tests and experiments carried out on academic students, often foreign-language students. One should wonder, as Tarone and colleagues do on page 1 of their 2009 book, whether an SLA theory of universal cognitive processes can be based exclusively on data from literate learners. As teachers of L2 literacy students often say that teaching this group is so different - and there are many signals in

research that this may be true - collecting longitudinal spontaneous and experimental data of LESLLA learners, particularly of those with less than two years of primary school education seems to be of high relevance for progress in this field.

It is not that LESLLA learners are completely absent from L2 research. More or less by accident, learners with a low level of education became involved in L2 research in some well-known longitudinal studies (e.g., Cancino et al., 1978; the ZISA project, Clahsen et al., 1983; the ESF project, Klein & Perdue, 1992) and the cross-sectional Lexlern study (Clahsen et al., 1991), because those studies aimed at observing to what extent adult learners were able to acquire a new language solely on the basis of aural input. For theoretical and practical reasons, adults with no other language knowledge than that of their mother tongue were the best subjects and those happened to be adults with little schooling. Their literacy level was not documented, as literacy and awareness of linguistic knowledge were not viewed as a contributing factor to L2 learning in those studies.

It is exactly in this respect that the interest of present days' LESLLA researchers differs and in which a LESLLA corpus would differ. The focus in a LESLLA study is on how a non-literate or low-literate learner copes with his restricted learning experience, in a tutored or untutored language or literacy learning context. A LESLLA researcher wants to know what is characteristic of those learners: is it a low pace of learning because they cannot (yet) read or the impact of another script system? Or do they rely more heavily on their L1 because they lack abstract knowledge of grammar and meta-linguistic skills? Is it stagnation or fossilization at an early stage?

Since the end of the last century, data of LESLLA learners have been collected not by accident, but by design. Kurvers & Van der Zouw (1990), and Kurvers (2002) collected data of adult L2 literacy learners in class. The former study focused on the development of reading in first time L2 readers, the latter on knowledge of language and script of illiterate L2 learners of Dutch. The Minneapolis Somali literacy study (Tarone et al. 2007; 2009) deals with illiterate and low-literate Somali learners of English and investigates the question as to what the impact of literacy on oral L2 use is. This study focused on three different issues: the impact of literacy on corrective feedback, on elicited imitation and on oral narratives. The fourth study is Strube's (2009) ongoing observation study of six L2 literacy classes in the Netherlands. She describes the learner's oral development, the teacher's feedback strategies and the learner's response. What would turn these four studies into corpora accessible to other researchers would be a digitalized speech recording with transcriptions and annotations (ideally, accompanied by a rough translation in English) on DVD or in a data bank which can be consulted on request.

The aim of the present contribution is to show, firstly, what such a corpus may look like by providing examples of what might be specific for the group of low-educated learners, and, secondly, that existing corpora should be made accessible and new corpora should be collected to enable comparison.

2   *A LESLLA corpus*

The data presented here and at the LESLLA symposium in Cologne meet most of the above criteria. All speech tasks were registered on a Sony mini-disc recorder, were

digitalized and converted into PRAAT ('talk' - a phonological transcription program, available online; Boersma & Weenink, 2003) and consecutively orthographically transcribed in Dutch; approximately half of the data have also been converted into CHAT, the transcription system related to the Childes software. The PRAAT sound files with transcriptions are available on dvd for each participant and for each task in which spoken language is elicited.[1] An example of an utterance in PRAAT is given in Figure 1. In a PRAAT file different tiers can be used. The speech signal is in the main tier. The transcriber can select a part of the signal and listen to it in more detail so that a more precise transcription can be achieved. The second tier can be used for orthographic transcription. It is also very helpful that the intonation contour (the tier at the bottom of Figure 1) can be shown, which can often help in deciding where the utterance ends. New tiers can be added, e.g., for phonological transcription, for the transcription of what is said by an interlocutor, or for a translation in English (i.e., He goes to the window//the window), which has not been added in Figure 1, but would extend the accessibility. In the comment tier it is then explained that the self-correction (//) relates to the choice of the article. The rising contour is typical for this learner and probably for more Moroccan learners. A slight disadvantage is that the orthographic tiers can not directly be converted into a CHAT file.
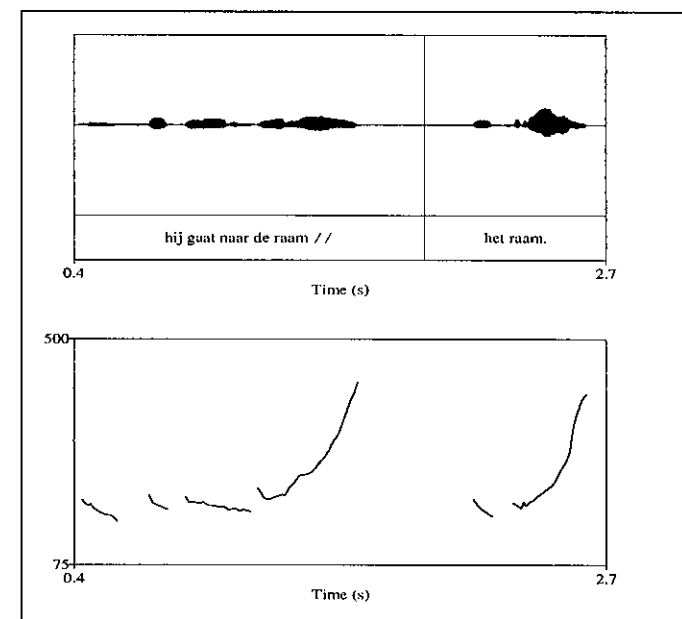

Figure 1:   Sentence in picture-telling task uttered by the Moroccan subject Zohra in Cycle I

All participants had a low level of education or no formal schooling at all before arriving in the Netherlands. Some of them had attended a literacy class before they

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[1] They can be obtained by sending an email to inekevandecraats@casema.nl

entered a 'regular' D(utch)SL course. Therefore, it was decided to call this corpus the LESLLA corpus. In what follows, first, the corpus will be described in this section. Sections 3-5 deal with aspects that might be characteristic for this group of learners, i.e., reading skills (Section 3), which are expected to be low, transfer from the L1 (Section 4), because these learners have low metalinguistic skills and no or little knowledge of other languages, and the realisation of verb morphology in narratives (Section 5), because it was suggested by Tarone, Bigelow & Hansen (2009: 97) that there might be a relationship between alphabetic print literacy level and the realisation of morphosyntactic features in oral narratives of low-literates.

2.1 Research design

The original aim of the study was to investigate where and when obstacles in the learning of L2 morphosyntax appeared and to what extent knowledge of the first language can explain these stagnations (i.e. a temporary or remaining stabilization) in tutored L2 acquisition. The study was set up as a longitudinal study in which the participants were observed for approximately 15-18 months, in three consecutive cycles of 5-6 months with three sessions each, nine sessions in all. In each cycle, the same tasks were administered ranging from free tasks (film-retellings, picture story-telling) to more controlled (e.g., a sentence completion task, a drag and drop task) and strictly controlled tasks (e.g., a sentence imitation task, a reading task, and a self-paced reading task). All tasks except the two reading tasks were designed to provide insight into the learner's reliance on the L1 (or L2) morphosyntactic structure of noun phrases, verb phrases and sentences. In the free tasks, the learner could freely produce L1- or L2-based structures, but in the tests the learner was really challenged by the design of the task (see for instance Figure 2). The repetitive character enabled us to compare the three cycles and to register even slight progress. The chance that participants would remember parts of the preceding cycle cannot be excluded, but would not help much because no corrective feedback was given by the researcher.

2.2 Participants

There were fifteen participants, all women, eight of them from Turkey and seven from Morocco. All participants had received little education in their native country and were learning Dutch in the instructional environment of a center for adult education. The teaching method can be best characterized as reflecting a communicative approach. Some participants also profited from contact with Dutch speaking neighbors, other mothers, and authorities. Since stagnation and its potential cause was the focus of research, at least half of the participants were judged by their teachers as having a stagnating learning process or running the risk to stagnate. As the impact of the mother tongue was seen as the most important factor for stagnation in beginning learners, speakers of two very different languages were chosen: Turkish and Moroccan Arabic. The fact that also the alphabetic writing systems of the two languages differ, was an additional aspect of this decision.

Table 1: Learner profiles of the Turkish participants at the start of data collection

Participant	Age	Years of schooling Turkey	Years of schooling Netherl.	Years in the Netherlands	Stagnation observed or expected by teacher
Zilfi	30	5	1.5	11	no
Hülya	19	5	0.7	0.5	no
Emine	28	5	0.8	13	no
Hilal	19	5	1.8	2	yes
Ayfer	37	5	0.8	18	yes
Nazife	31	5	0.6	1	yes
Hatice	45	5	0.6	26	yes
Özlem	31	6	2.0	5	yes
Mean	30	5	1.0	9.5	

Table 1 shows that the Turkish participants were homogeneous in the years of schooling in Turkey; only Özlem had had some further education. Their age at the start of data collection varied from 19-45 (mean age 30). They were all spouses of so-called guest workers and arrived between 0.5 and 26 years (mean 9.5) ago.[2] They had all mastered a basic vocabulary after 0.7–2 years (mean: 1 year) of schooling in the Netherlands. Zilfi and Emine were able to communicate rather well, but communication with Nazife, Ayfer and Özlem was problematic.

At the end of the project, Hülya and Zilfi had attained level A1 of the Common European Framework or CEF (Council of Europe, 2001)[3], Emine only for oral skills and Hilal only for writing; the other participants were below A1 for all four skills.

Table 2: Learner profiles of the Moroccan participants at the start of data collection

Participant	Age	Years of schooling Morocco	Years of schooling Netherl.	Years in the Netherlands	Literacy course Roman script	Stagnation observed/ expected
Mina	23	0	2.0	4	yes	no
Zohra	41	5	0.7	8	no	no
Soad	34	4	0.8	12	no	no
Najat	25	4	1.6	4	yes	yes
Hayat	22	5	2.0	2	yes	yes
Nezha	38	0	1.3	3	yes	yes
Fatima	27	7	1.8	5	no	yes
Mean	30	3.6	1.3	5.4		

The Moroccan learners (aged 22-41; mean 30), presented in Table 2, were all beginners as well (below level A1). They had been living in the Netherlands for 0-11 years (mean 5.4 years) before they started with the course. Mina, Zohra, Soad and Najat were able to communicate rather well, communication with Nezha and Fatima was problematic. Before taking this DSL course, four Moroccan participants attended a literacy class in

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[2] Length of residence is not indicative for language contact because Muslim women often live(d) in the Netherlands with hardly any language contact with speakers of Dutch.

[3] Level A1 is a very basic level characterized as Breakthrough. The basic vocabulary consisted of frequent and relevant words that occurred in the first five lessons of the textbook.

which they learned the Roman script; they were not illiterate in the Arabic script, although two of them, Mina and Nezha, had not attended elementary school. They learned reading from relatives at age 11 (Mina) and 20 (Nezha). At the beginning of the project all seven Moroccan learners could read a text in Arabic script and answer some simple comprehension questions.

At the end of data collection, Mina and Zohra had attained proficiency CEF level A2 ('Waystage'), Najat A1 only for speaking skills and the other participants were below A1 for all four skills.[4]

3   Development of reading skills in DSL course

Although it was out of the direct scope of the project, the reading skills of the 15 participants were assessed at the beginning of each cycle, by means of a short reading comprehension task in Dutch and a self-paced reading task. The reading tasks were administered because low reading proficiency or low processing speed might explain low scores on tasks aimed at assessing morphosyntactic knowledge. In the reading task the participant was asked to read a short text in Dutch and to answer one or two questions related to the text. She pushed the button when she stopped reading. The questions were intended to prevent the participants from rushing. In Table 3, the reading times in seconds are given for each cycle. The learners are roughly ranked in order of oral proficiency from top to bottom, partly based on CEF levels and partly on the results of the experiments.

Table 3: Reading pace in seconds for an L2 text

Turkish participants	Cycle			Mean	Moroccan participants	Cycle			Mean
	I	II	III			I	II	III	
Zilfi	131	108	111	117	Mina**	148	144	129	140
Hülya	86	110	100	99	Zohra	141	–	138	139
Emine	116	133	137	129	Soad	127	152	119	133
Hilal	143	103	132	126	Najat*	172	174	165	170
Ayfer	122	194	140	152	Hayat*	217	244	174	212
Nazife	117	98	99	105	Nezha**	307	264	225	265
Hatice	145	183	137	155	Fatima	120	123	161	135
Özlem	182	107	90	126					
Mean	130	129	118	126	Mean	176	183	158	172
Range				86-194					119-307

** = no reading instruction in L1   *= only reading instruction in Arabic script

When comparing the reading scores of the Turkish and Moroccan participants, the overall picture that can be derived from Table 3 is that the Turkish learners profit from their experience with the Roman script throughout the entire data collection. The ratio between the scores of the Turkish and Moroccan learners is 2:3. The non-stagnating learners are faster than the stagnating readers, apart from the Turkish learner Nazife –

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[4] There are specific national achievement tests and oral assessments (even one geared to low-educated learners) that are calibrated on communicative tasks of a level described in the CEF.

who said she loved reading – the Moroccan learner Fatima and the Turkish learner Özlem, who had more schooling and probably more reading experience than the other women.

In the self-paced reading task the participant was asked to read the sentence aloud, push the button, and recall the last word.[5] Then the next sentence was presented. After two (or more) sentences, the participant had to recall the last words of each sentence in the order of presentation. In this way 3 sets of 2 sentences, 3 sets of 3 sentences and 3 sets of 4 sentences were presented. The computer registered the reading time of each sentence. Sentences of 16 syllables were presented. Table 4 shows the results for the learners in Cycle 1.

Table 4: Reading speed for sentences of 16 syllables on a self-paced reading task (Cycle I)

Task	Turkish participants	Moroccan participants
Mean time per sentence		
3 sets of 2 sentences	10 sec.	18 sec.
3 sets of 3 sentences	10 sec.	16 sec.
3 sets of 4 sentences	10 sec.	16 sec.

The ratio between the scores (i.e. speed) of the Turkish and Moroccan learners on this task is again 2 : 3. So, we can say that reading in another script affects the overall scores, but the learners differ much. Of the four learners who had attended a literacy class Nezha and Hayat progressed most in reading pace in the course of the project and Mina already read as fast as the literate Zohra.

4   L1 transfer

4.1   L1 transfer in noun phrases

The third task that we consider is a semi-controlled drag-and-drop task designed to provoke transfer from the L1. The learner knew that there were more blocks available to drag and drop than required for making a sentence.[6] The task was designed in such way that both Turkish and Moroccan learners could construct a sentence corresponding to their L1 grammar. An example can illustrate the task. The word order of a possessive noun phrase in Turkish is: first the possessor, then the possessed

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[5] A Reading Span Test (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980) is traditionally used to measure working memory. We were interested in the participants' working memory capacity as a large working memory capacity may influence language learning (e.g., Baddeley, 2003). This experiment did not work out well for our participants, since the best learners seemed to fully process the sentences, whereas the other learners tended to neglect the processing of the sentence, but instead concentrated on recalling the last word. So, the more advanced learners got a longer reading time than the least advanced ones.

[6] A reviewer remarked that this is a difficult task because of the use of the mouse and because of its abstract character. There were two items to try out the mouse and to grasp the purpose of the task. All participants already got some experience with the mouse in a preceding (literacy) course and a drag-and-drop task was not entirely new.

element, as in (1a). For Moroccan Arabic, it is just the opposite order (1b), whereas in Dutch both orders are allowed, as in (1c) and (1d).

(1)	a	Hasan-ın	araba-sı	(Turkish)
		Hasan-3SG	car -3SG	
		'Hasan's car'		
	b	t-tumubil dyal Hasan		(Moroccan Arabic)
		the-car of Hasan		
	c	Hasan s/z'n auto		(Dutch)
		Hasan his car		
	d	de auto van Hasan		(Dutch)
		the car of Hasan		

One of the items in this task was the one in Figure 2. Both the reaction time and the number of moves were registered, as the learner can try as many moves as she wants. Note that only type (1c), *Hasan z'n auto,* is correct and that three moves are sufficient to get the correct sentence. Note that type (1d) is not a possible answer in the item in Figure 2 because the analytic construction needs a(n) (un)definite article before the possessed element (DE auto).
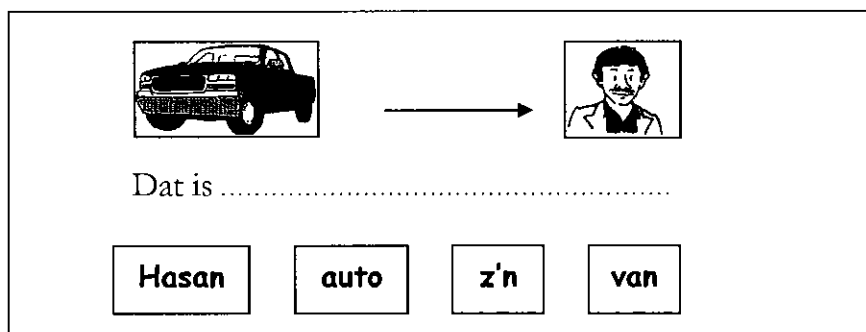

Dat is ....

| Hasan | auto | z'n | van |

Figure 2: Item from the drag-and-drop task (target: 'Hasan z'n auto', Engl. 'Hasan's car')

This type of construction (1c) was difficult for both language groups, as can be derived from Table 5, with no correct answers in Cycle II for the Turkish participants, and no correct answers in Cycle I for the Moroccan learners. The percentage of correct answers was very low for both groups in the remaining cycles as well.

75% of the incorrect answers provided by the Turkish women were possessor-initial noun phrases (*Hasan van auto*; Hasan of car; 'Hasan's car") in Cycle I, 50% in Cycle II, and 37,5 in Cycle III. All these incorrect answers are based on the assumption that the preposition *van* 'of' is the genitive case of the possessor and not the preposition preceding the possessee NP. On the basis of their L1, the Turkish learners interpret the L2 differently from what native speakers and the Moroccan learners do. However, the answers of the Moroccan learners were all possessor-final noun phrases (*auto van Hasan*; car of Hasan; 'Hasan's car'), which are incorrect because a preceding article is required.

So, *van* is seen as positive evidence for transfer by most Turkish learners, and the absence of the article *de* is not seen as negative evidence by most Moroccan learners.

Table 5: Results of two items on word order in the noun phrase at the drag-and-drop task

	Turkish participants			Moroccan participants		
Hasan z'n auto (1c)	% correct	moves	RT	% correct	moves	RT
'Hasan's car'		(3)	(sec.)			(sec.)
Cycle I	12.5 %	4.1	27	0 %	4.4	35
Cycle II	0 %	6.4	41	28 %	3.5	19
Cycle III	12.5 %	7.7	32	17 %	3.5	21
De opa van Bas (1d)	/Bas/de opa/z'n/van/					
'Bas' grandpa'						
Cycle I	25%	5.1	25	100 %	3.8	34
Cycle II	25%	6.2	27	100 %	3.8	26
Cycle III	25%	8.3	43	100 %	4.3	21

The second item in Table 5, *de opa van Bas,* the grandpa of Bas ('Bas' grandfather'), was a type (1d) construction in which the possessee is preceded by an article, completely corresponding to the Moroccan Arabic construction type (1b), resulting in a 100% correct score for the Moroccan learners.

These results also show that the Turkish learners struggle much harder but get worse results, i.e., fewer correct scores with more moves. The assumed reason is that they are restructuring their L1 grammar (they reanalyze the category of the case marker *van* ('of') into a preposition), whereas the Moroccans simply transfer their L1 structure.

4.2 L1 transfer in verb phrases

Similar items in which the learner is elicited to follow her L1 grammar, were constructed for verb phrases in the drag-and-drop task. Just as was the case for noun phrases, Dutch allows two syntactic positions for the lexical verb: in sentence-final position when the verb is non-finite (2b) and in second position when it is finite (Dutch is a Verb Second language; see e.g. Den Besten, 1989), as in (2a). In the latter case, the object precedes the non-finite verb (OV order). Turkish has the same basic word order, but then the lexical verb is finite (2c), while Moroccan Arabic has a SVO (2d) or VSO order.

(2)	a	Bas koop-t een boek	SVfinO (Dutch)
		Bas buy- 3SG a book	
		'Bas buys a book.'	
	b	Bas moet een boek kop-en	SAuxOV (Dutch)
		Bas must.SG a book buy-NONFIN	
		'Bas must buy a book.'	
	c	Ahmet kitap al-iyor	SOVfin (Turkish)
		Ahmet book buy-3SG	
		'Ahmet buys a book.'	

d   Abder kayehder l-Eerbiya   SVfinO (Moroccan Arabic)
    Abder speak.3SG the-Arabic
    'Abder speaks Arabic.'

A Dutch main sentence may, therefore, provide evidence for both OV and VO order, but OV order is restricted to non-finite and VO to finite contexts. The question arises whether, and if so, how long the present learners of Dutch are guided by their L1 word order. The results on two relevant items of the drag-and-drop task provide some indication.

In the first item ('Bas buys stamps') three blocks could be dragged and the learner could choose between a finite (*koopt*) and an infinite form (*kopen*), which could be placed in the second position (3a) or (3d) or at the end of the sentence, as in (3b) and (3c). The target sentence (3a) can be attained in minimally two moves.

(3) Stimulus: prompt + 3 blocks = Bas …. /postzegels/kopen/koopt/
     a   Bas … *koopt* postzegels.   (Vfin – position and form correct)
         Bas   buys   stamps
     b   Bas … postzegels *koopt*.   (Vfin – position not correct)
     c   Bas … postzegels *kopen*.   (Vinfin – position and form not correct)
     d   Bas … *kopen* postzegels.   (Vinfin – form not correct)

The second item ('Freek gets a fine') given in (4) has a similar target sentence, the only difference being the order of presentation and the number of blocks, four in this case, as a prompt is lacking. The target sentence can be moved in minimally three moves.

(4)   Stimulus: 4 blocks = /krijgen/Freek/een bon/krijgt/
        Freek *krijgt* een bon.
        Freek gets a ticket.

The results for the two items are given in Table 6. For the Moroccan learners, there was a strong similarity with their L1 structure, which resulted in an almost 100% correct score: both the position and the morphological form were correctly chosen. The scores of the Turkish learners are around chance level (50% plus or minus 12.5) over the three cycles. For them, the relationship between the finite verb and the second position was not evident, as finite verbs basically occur in sentence-final position in Turkish. The error scores in Cycles I and II are all cases of a verb (finite or infinite) in sentence-final position, only in the last cycle two infinite forms in finite position occurred.

This lack of certainty becomes clearly manifest in (5), in which Zilfi produced both forms in two different syntactic positions: the two forms are in the correct position, but the nonfinite form is redundant.

(5)   Bas …. **koop-t**   postzegels **kop-en**
        Bas …. buy-3SG stamps   buy-NONFIN

Table 6:   Results of two items on word order in the sentence at the drag-and-drop task

	Turkish participants			Moroccan participants		
Bas koopt postzegels	% correct	Moves	RT	% correct	Moves	RT
'Bas buys stamps'		(2)	(sec.)		(2)	(sec.)
Cycle I	62.5%	2.9	19	100%	4.1	36
Cycle II	50%	3.3	27	100%	2.4	17
Cycle III	37.5%	3	33	100%	2.8	23
Freek krijgt een bon						
'Freek gets a ticket'		(3)				
Cycle I	50%	3.8	17	100%	3.1	35
Cycle II	62.5%	4.4	19	86%	3.6	27
Cycle III	62.5%	3.8	18	100%	3.8	20

To conclude it can be stated that the Moroccan learners – with less schooling and literacy – are more aware of variable, morphological features and the position of the verb and their relationship than the Turkish learners in this project. Can this be confirmed by the morphosyntactic development of the verb in a relatively free task such as a film retelling and a picture-telling story?

5   Morphosyntactic features and default forms in narratives

The LESLLA corpus contains three narratives per cycle. We scanned the two narratives with the highest number of words for all verb forms meant to refer to 3SG of the present tense, because subject-verb agreement can only reliably distinguished from the stem and the infinitive of a verb in this context, as can be seen in Table 7. Henceforth, verb forms consisting of stem and stem+t are denoted as short forms, and verb forms consisting of stem+*en* (often pronounced as –*e* in spoken Dutch) as long forms.

Table 7: Dutch inflectional paradigm for regular verbs in the present tense

Person + number	-suffix	Example: (*pakken* 'to take')		Word length in syllables	Morpho-syntactic
1sg	-∅	ik pak	'I take'	Short	Finite
2sg	-t/-∅	jij pakt/pak je?	'You take'	Short	Finite
3sg	-t	hij pakt	'He takes'	Short	Finite
1,2, 3 pl	-en	wij/jullie/zij pakken	'We/you/they take'	Long	Finite
Infinitive	-en	pakken	'to take'	Long	Nonfinite

In Figure 3, all long forms and short forms of lexical verbs are put together for three Turkish and three Moroccan learners (one of them being the least proficient learner (at the top) with the most schooling, the other two the most advanced learners at the bottom with one of them – Mina – without any schooling in L1).
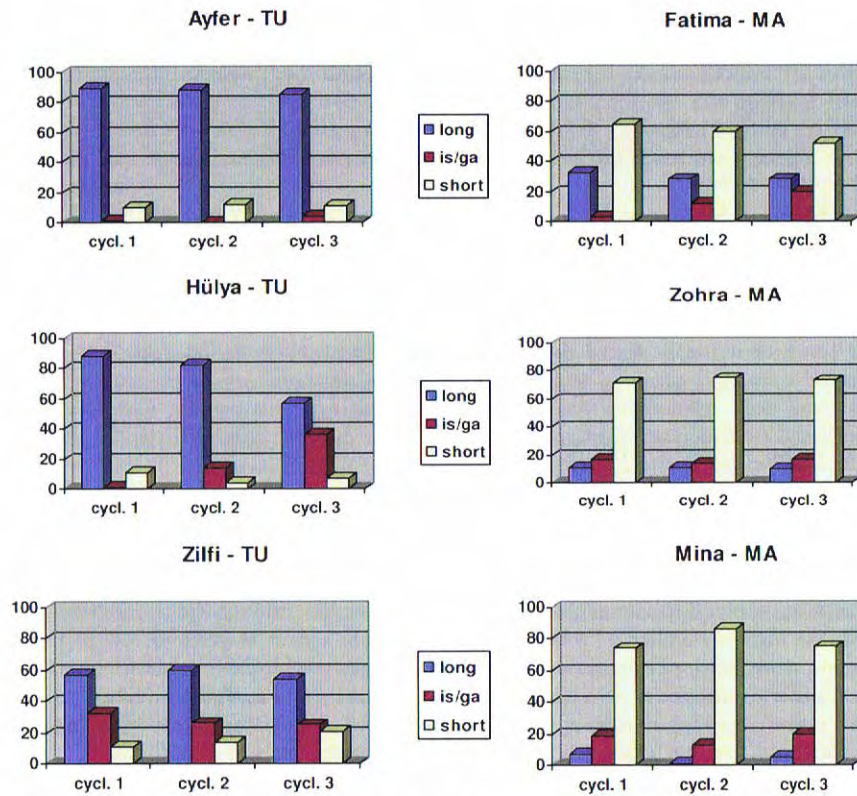
Ayfer - TU

Hülya - TU

Zilfi - TU

Fatima - MA

Zohra - MA

Mina - MA

Figure 3: The morphosyntactic development of three Turkish and three Moroccan learners over three cycles of six months; is (be-3sg) and ga/gaat (go-1/3sg) are dummy auxiliaries discussed later.

The differences between the three Turkish and three Moroccan learners are similar to those between the learners that are not represented in Figure 3. The number of occurrences of long forms versus short forms in the two groups was analyzed by computing logit values (a value of .5 was added to all frequencies). An ANOVA was applied to the logit values of the total number of long versus short forms, with cycle (within-subjects factor) and L1 group (between-subjects factor) as independent variables. The result was a significant effect for L1 group (F = 17.869, df = 1,12, p = .001, partial η^2 = .598), as expected. The Turkish learners produced more long forms. No cycle effect was found (F = 1.282, df = 2,24, p = .296, partial η^2 = .097), but the interaction between cycle and group was significant (F = 5.313, p = 2,24, p = .012, partial η^2 = .307). Neither literacy, nor the assumed difficulty for illiterates and low-literates to process morphological markers on the verb (as hypothesized by Tarone et al. 2009, chapter 6) seem to be the cause of these huge differences, rather the interplay

between L1 and L2 seem to be the key factor. If this is the case, what makes Moroccan learners to seem - or to be – the more advanced learners of Dutch?

The cause may be that beginning learners take default verb forms instead of carrying out an agreement procedure. Turkish learners may take a different default form from the Moroccan learners depending on the interplay between L1 and L2. Previous research has shown that Turkish learners prefer a long form, and Moroccan individuals a short form.[7] Usually the infinitive is considered the default form, but that is not necessarily the case at the beginning of the language learning process. Moroccan learners, for instance, may have various reasons for taking a short form: (i) there is no infinitive in Moroccan Arabic, the 3SG perfect has that function; (ii) the pronunciation of a schwa as an independent syllable – a Dutch infinitive ends on –(e)n, e.g. *kijken* 'to look' – at the end of a word is a deviation from the L1 norm and therefore a challenge; (iii) the position of the finite verb in the sentence is similar. Two examples of short forms used in a non-finite context are given in (6).

(6) a kan niet [VP **gaa-t** fiets]   Najat, Moroccan learner
         can not   go-3SG cycle.STEM
         target: zij kan niet gaan fietsen
         'she cannot start cycling'
      b ik ga   buiten [VP **speel-t**]   Fatima, Moroccan learner
         I go.STEM/1SG outside   play-3SG
         target: ik ga buiten spelen
         'I am going to play outside.'

Different reasons such as a similar syntactic position of the infinitive in Dutch and a finite verb in Turkish may lead the Turkish learner to prefer a long form. Whereas the Moroccan learner has to learn the form and the function of an infinitive, the Turkish learner has to learn that a finite verb occurs in the second position of a sentence (the verb has to be moved from the VP to a functional projection). This process starts with modals, but if there is no modal aspect, the learner may insert a dummy auxiliary, a verb form that carries only grammatical information, e.g. person and number, as shown in (7a), in which *is* (be-3SG) is inserted between the subject and the negator. This construction is not allowed in native Dutch.

(7) a Vader *is* niet komen   Zilfi, Turkish learner, Cycle I
         Father is not come.NONFIN
         'Father does not come.'
      b Vader *is* niet kom   Cycle II
         Father is not come.STEM
      c kom niet die vader   Cycle III
         come not that father

What makes the series in (7) interesting is that Zilfi utters this sentence at the same scene in the retelling with an interval of about five months, thus showing how the

[7] This is exactly the reason why the terms short and long are preferred over finite and infinite: there is no clear relationship between finiteness and morphological marking at the beginning.

dummy auxiliary form *is* accompanies the movement of the lexical verb and takes over the person and number features of the finite verb (see for morphosyntactic details: Van de Craats, 2009) before the (entire) verb is moved to the position in the beginning of the sentence in (7c), in which agreement is still not correct. It seems simpler to express these features independently than linked to a lexical verb when movement of the entire verb is involved.[8]

A similar process occurred for the Moroccan learners, who preferred another dummy auxiliary *gaan* ('to go'), as in (8a) and (8b), in which *ga* (go.STEM) carries the person, number and tense features without the meaning it normally has. Note that in both sentences the learner reports an action that is already taking place and not one that is going to happen (see for more information: Van de Craats & Van Hout, 2010). In (8a), the dummy form is linked with a long form, in (8b) with a short form.

(8) a   Sneeuwman *ga*   kijk-en   tableaus   Fatima, Moroccan learner
         snowman   go.STEM look-NONFIN paintings
         'The snowman is looking at the paintings.'
     b   dan *ga*   loop   naar raam   Hayat, Moroccan learner
         then go.STEM walk.STEM to window
         'Then he is walking to the window.'

The number of dummy auxiliaries – either *is* or *ga(at)* – produced by three learners of each group is given in Figure 3, in which it can be observed that the more advanced Turkish learners Hülya and Zilfi used more dummy auxiliaries than Ayfer, who does not show development. For Hülya the long forms are disappearing in favour of dummy auxiliaries, for Zilfi the dummy auxiliaries are disappearing in favour of finite forms. For the Moroccan learners the picture is different. The least advanced learner, Fatima, produced more dummy auxiliaries over time, and fewer short forms (probably default forms), the more advanced Zohra and Mina still produced *ga*-forms, but with the target meaning of near future (not visible in the graph) and almost no long forms instead of finite forms.

To conclude it can be stated that dummy auxiliaries realise one of more features that are normally part of a lexical verb and may emerge when bound verb morphology has not fully been acquired yet. They disappear after a specific developmental stage, but can remain for quite a long time in the speech of vulnerable learners such as LESLLA learners and SLI children (e.g., Jolink, 2005; de Jong, 1999).

6   *Conclusions*

For all aspects of L2 acquisition we have been dealing with – i.e. reading pace, L1 transfer, defaults forms and dummy auxiliaries – we do not know how characteristic they are for the population of low-literate and low-schooled learners, because comparison with other groups is problematic for the simple reason that (either longitudinal or cross-sectional) data are lacking, including data of highly educated learners. Therefore we do not know whether insertion of dummy auxiliaries is related

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[8] Similar processes are found for L2 English, e.g., by Fleta (2003) and for L2 German by Haberzettl (2003).

to slow development or due to a lack of linguistic experience with languages in which inflectional features are overtly realised. Anyway, it is not caused by a lack of literacy alone since both literate Turkish and low-literate Moroccan learners use them. We do not know either if L1 transfer is more persistent in LESLLA-learners, but we do know that absence of correct morphological verb marking is not only characteristic for illiterates, but also for the low-literate and moderately literate learners in the present corpus. For Dutch, however, absence of verb marking manifests itself not as a bare verb (like the Somali learners in Tarone et al., 2009) but as a default form, either a long form (infinitive) or a short form (unanalysed finite form). Although Tarone et al. found more bare verbs in the low-literate than in moderately literate group, the differences within the groups were so large that there was no statistic significance for the relationship between literacy and use of verb morphology. Other corpora with LESLLA-learners may confirm this, but we also need cross-sectional or longitudinal data from highly literate learners to know if lack of inflectional morphology is not more typical for beginning learners than for illiterate learners or for highly educated learners with first languages lacking verb morphology like the highly educated Patty in Lardiere (1998).

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EMERGENT WRITING OF LESLLA LEARNERS

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1   Introduction

Writing is a multi-concept that refers to different cognitions and skills, such as a) using a writing tool, creating legible letters and acquiring automaticity in handwriting, b) representing spoken language in writing according to the conventions of the orthography of the language (spelling), c) expressing oneself in writing and composing a written text. Emergent writing refers to the gradual development of knowledge of what counts as writing and of the representational features of writing and the orthography of a language. Although we would like to stress here that learning L2 writing involves much more than learning how to spell (for instance writing in a dialogue diary, sending an e-mail to the teacher, cooperating in story-writing or writing a poem), we focus in this contribution on learning to use the basics of an orthographic system, which might be a useful tool in improving reading and listening skills as well. There is a vast body of research on the development of writing and spelling in young children, from the first scribbles and the first ideas about what writing represents, through invented spellings to the stable use of the orthographic conventions and the structural features of different text types such as a narrative, a letter or a report (Ehri, 1997; Ferreiro & Tebereskoy, 1988; Gentry, 1982; Gibson & Levin, 1975; Luria, 1978; Puranik & Lonigan, 2009; Read, 1975). Research on emergent writing and beginning spelling of adult first time writers, however, is very scarce (Van de Craats, Kurvers & Young-Scholten, 2006; Worthy & Viise, 1996)

This contribution aims to examine the emergent and beginning writing of adults learning to write Dutch as a second language, and to investigate developmental patterns in their writing and spelling products.

2   The development of writing

2.1   Learning about features of writing

Long before young children begin to understand the intimate relationship between units of writing and units of speech, they will have acquired knowledge about the features of writing as can be deduced from their early forms of writing or their

concepts of writing. Gibson & Levin (1976) reviewed previous research on the development of (concepts of) writing in young children and found that young children between three and five years of age gradually demonstrate knowledge of the following features of writing:

- directionality (scribbles that clearly go in one direction);
- linearity (scribbles appear along a line):
- variability (the scribbles must show variation to count as real writing);
- recognizable patterns (their writing consists of letter-like shapes or letters).

The early writing of many three-year-olds already shows directionality and linearity, that of five-year-olds also shows variability and recognizable patterns. Ferreiro & Tebereskoy's (1988) developmental model of emergent writing distinguished a first stage of *undifferentiated writing* (scribbles), followed by a stage of *early differentiation*, in which the children distinguish writing from drawing and in which their writing shows directionality and linearity.

In the next stage of *formal differentiation*, children gradually become aware of:

- minimum quantity. According to the children, more than one letter is needed to call something writing; for something to be called writing, most of them would say you need at least three letters;
- internal differentiation. Children begin to realize that a written word needs different letters to be a real written word (*ttt* would be rejected as a written word);
- external differentiation. Children realize that two different strings of letters are needed to write two different words.

Tolchinsky (2003) also notices that the early writing of many three-year-old children is already linear and discrete, and consists of distinguishable units; writing recognizable symbols starts later.

Gentry (1982) analyzed and identified several levels of emergent writing, which he based on changes in letter formation and on the correspondence between spoken and written language. He described the first two stages in this development as follows: the children at the first level produce scribbles and marks, but they do not produce letter-like forms. At the next level, which is called 'precommunicative', children do produce letter-like forms or even letters, but these are not related to the sound units of speech. Only the writer might be able to 'read' what he has written, and probably only for a short period of time.

Common to these developmental models of emergent writing of children is, first of all, that they are based on children's own invented writings; they clearly gradually show more knowledge of universal features of writing (from directionality to linearity, to variability and differentiation), and of language-specific letter-like forms. Secondly, these early writings do not represent any awareness of how writing represents speech, or of how letters relate to sounds. (For the next stage in the models, the first grasp of the idea that writing represents speech, see the next section.)

What about emergent writing of adult first time writers? Unlike young children, adult non-literates will not easily take a pen and pretend they are writing when asked to do so. Nevertheless, if they do, their early writings can be analyzed using the developmental features brought forward by Gibson & Levin (1976), Gentry (1982) and Tolchinsky (2003).

Figure 1 presents the writing of one of the adult literacy students in the research project of Danielle Boon in East Timor (Boon & Kurvers, 2008). A dictation task was offered to the students in one of the groups in the village of Liurai after about three months of teaching. Joao filled in the form with scribble-like writing. Although he does not write letter-like forms and clearly has no understanding of the representational nature of writing, his writing shows the first developmental features of directionality and linearity. He knows that writing looks different from drawing and he clearly has knowledge of what fluent handwriting looks like. It might be considered 'a doctor's prescription' (i.e., handwritten by a medical doctor)_as several of the students in Kurvers' research project called it, when they were given several examples of writing, pictures, geometric forms and scribbles, and were asked which of them were intended to be read (Kurvers, Van Hout & Vallen, 2009).
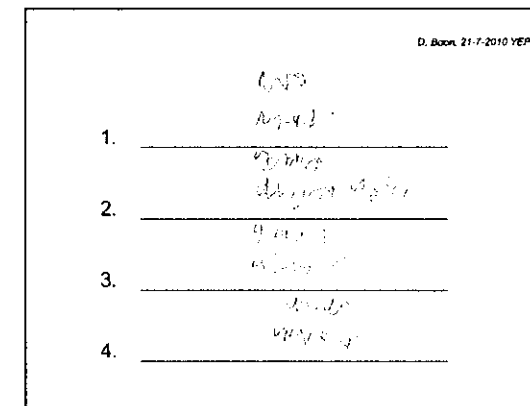

Figure 1: Dictation task Joao

Fatima, a non-literate woman from Morocco, first entered the adult literacy class when she was in her fifties. During her first lesson, teacher Willemijn Stockmann handed over a form to the other students in the group who had attended class for some time already. Fatima also liked to write and her first few efforts are shown in the following form (Figure 2).

Fatima clearly shows knowledge of features of writing. There is directionality (all shapes are written from left to write), there is linearity, she is probably aware of the fact that writing needs variability (not one line is the same) and all the shapes she produced clearly indicate knowledge of distinctive features of letters such as vertical lines, circles and curves. Fatima does not know the letter forms however, and she certainly has not grasped the idea that letters represent sounds.
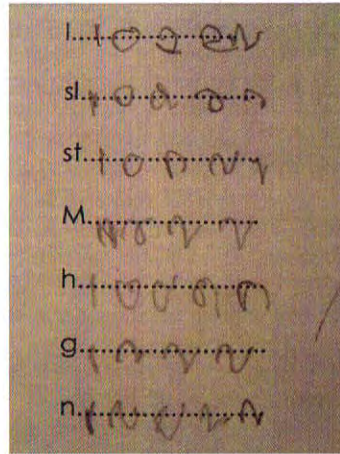
Figure 2: Fatima's first writing exercise in class

Mateus (Figure 3) is another student from Danielle Boon's research in East Timor. He also got the dictation task and was asked to write the word *uma* (house).
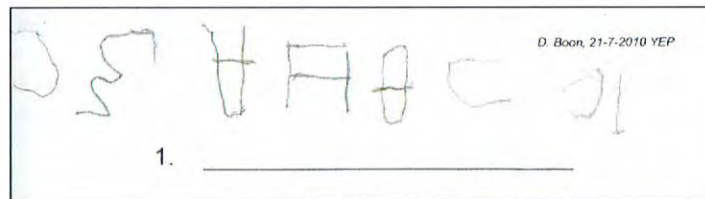

Figure 3: Dictation task Mateus

Mateus is already more advanced in his writing than Joao and Fatima. His writing shows linearity, directionality (from left to right), variation and letter-like forms and letters. His writing also demonstrates minimum quantity and internal differentiation: he does know that one has to write more than one letter and to use different letters to make it look like real writing.

The next example comes from Jamila, who had attended an adult second language literacy class for about 25 weeks, for a few hours a week (Kurvers & Van der Zouw, 1990). At that moment, the group had practiced (next to oral Dutch) about 20 sight words, the three words that were dictated belonging to the first eight words the teacher had been teaching them.
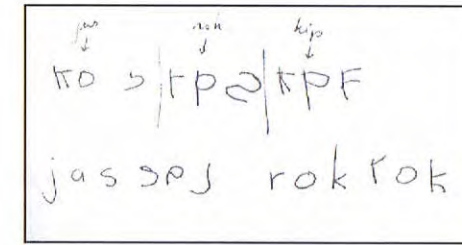
Figure 4: Jamila's dictation

In the top row, Jamila tries to write the words *jas* (coat), *rok* (skirt) and *kip* (chicken/hen). She demonstrates all the features mentioned before (linearity, directionality, minimum quantity, internal variation and external variation). She knows the letter-shapes; she knows that she has to use other letters when asked to write *jas* than when she is asked to write *rok* or *kip*. What she clearly does not know yet, however, is that each letter in each of the words represents a phoneme or sound. She tries to remember the visual make-up of each of the words and tries to assemble three-letter configurations based on the words she has been practicing (*jas, tas, rok, sok, kip,* etc.). Without much success, because according to her knowledge at that moment, she is convinced she simply has to learn all those configurations by heart. The example shows how difficult this is, in particular because there is no system in the visual features as such. In the bottom row, the researcher first wrote the words, and asked Jamila to copy them. Except for the left-right direction in *jas*, this did not pose any problem for Jamila. This left-right rotation is not that strange for beginners in general (another Moroccan student wrote her name in Arabic from left to right instead of from right to left): an object like a chair or a pipe does not change its identity when you rotate it. It takes some time getting used to that letters and words suddenly do.

These are a few examples collected from different research projects; we do not have many of them. Most of the adult beginners in the first period of their L2 literacy classes, however, would refuse to write something down that they had not learned yet. Their explanations for this are straightforward: "I told you already that I cannot write yet" or "I can only write my name, nothing else" (Kurvers, 2002). In line with the developmental patterns we have illustrated before, we assume this to be an even more advanced stage of knowledge of features of writing. All these students would probably have demonstrated the features we presented before, but they also show some awareness of representational features of writing: they know they should follow some formal principles or rules, but they do not know how.

The last example of emergent writing comes from Kwaku, an asylum seeker from Sierra Leone, who could speak some English. Kwaku was awaiting the decision of the authorities regarding a permit to stay in the Netherlands and meanwhile was attending an adult L2 literacy class in the Netherlands. The teacher informed us that Kwaku had written the following message (Figure 5):

Figure 5: Kwaku's first letter to the teacher

When asked what he had written, Kwaku explained: 'I hope so everything okay.' Kwaku knows the letters of the alphabet and is clearly aware of the fact that writing represents speech, but he has not yet grasped the alphabetic principle of one letter-one sound. He probably used the letter names to represent most of the syllables in his own message.

2.2 *Learning how writing represents language, learning how to spell*

In this paragraph, we will present how learners discover in what ways writing represents language. We will present and discuss two influential stage models of spelling development. Stage models are development models that characterize the phases in the learning processes they attempt to describe as stages.

The first model that will be discussed is Gentry's (1982). Gentry developed his model of developmental stages in order to 'help teachers better understand how English spelling develops' (Gentry, 2000: 318). He derived his examples of invented spellings from Bissex' book *GNYS at WRK*, a case study of the author's son Paul's invented spellings and writing development. He identified five developmental stages, starting with the *precommunicative stage*. In this stage, the speller shows some elementary knowledge of the alphabet, but has no comprehension of letter-sound correspondence. This is clearly noticeable when looking at *precommunicative* writing products, as in (1); they appear to be random strings of letters known by the speller, without any intention to write specific words. Other features of a child finding itself in this stage are: mixing of uppercase and lowercase letters indiscriminately, inclusion of number symbols in writing and (un)awareness of the left-to-right directionality in English writing, as in (1).

(1)   SSHIDCA
        TAHTL

The second stage that Gentry identifies is the *semiphonetic stage*. This stage is characterized by the beginning notion of the relation between sound and letters and the partial reproduction of a word's sounds. Often, whole words are being represented by one, two, or three letters; this abbreviated form is the main characteristic of this stage, together with letter-naming as a strategy to represent words, as in (2).

(2)   GABJ (garbage)
        BZR (buzzer)
        DP (dump)
        HAB (happy)

The third stage is the *phonetic stage*. This stage is characterized by the fact that children can give a total mapping or reproduction of letter-sound correspondence. Letters are thus assigned on the basis of what children hear: phonemes that are not observed are not represented. "Also, children systematically develop particular spelling for certain details of phonetic form: namely, tense vowels, lax vowels, preconsonantal nasals, syllabic sonorants, -ed endings, retroflex vowels, affricates and intervocalic flaps" (Gentry, 2000: 320), as in (3).

(3) a   EF U CAN OPN KAZ I WIL GEV UA A KN OPENR
         (If you can open cans I will give you a can opener)

   b   PAULZ RABR SAF RABRZ KANT GT EN
         (Paul's robber safe. Robbers can't get in.)

The fourth stage is typified as the *transitional stage*. Features are: vowels appear in every syllable, pre-consonantal nasals are written, and the letter naming strategy is replaced by representation of both vowels and consonants. Unstressed vowels sounds are represented, though not always with the right grapheme (e.g. MONSTUR). Still, this resembles conventional spelling more than the phonetic MOSTR). The speller moves from phonological spelling to morphological and visual (or orthographic) spelling strategies. As a result of this new spelling strategy, children most of the time include all appropriate letters, but may mix them up from time to time, due to interference (Bissex, 1980). Examples are given in (4).

(4) a   THES AFTERNEWN IT'S GOING TO RAIN. IT'S GOING TO BE FAIR
         TOMORO

   b   FAKTARE'S (factories) CAN NO LONGER OFORD MAKING PLAY
         DOW (dough)

In the fifth and last stage, the spellers are spelling in a *conventional way*. Their knowledge of the English orthographic system and its basic rules is now firmly established. They have an extended knowledge of prefixes, suffixes, contractions and compounds. They have developed a visual (orthographic) strategy that enables them to judge whether words 'look right' or not.

The spelling development model of Henderson & Templeton (1986) also identifies five developmental stages, four of which are highly comparable to those in Gentry's model. In both the precommunicative stage distinguished by Gentry (1982) and the first stage of Henderson & Templeton (1986) no understanding of the relation between sound and letter is to be found. In the semiphonetic stage of Gentry (1982) and the second stage of Henderson & Templeton, children start grasping the principle that written language represents speech. This becomes clear in their writing products, which often contain one, two or three phonemes of the attempted written word. Henderson, however, also includes the notion that children, somewhere during this second stage, start attending school and consequently receive formal reading and spelling instruction. As a result of this instruction, they start developing a store of 'sight words', "which are considered to be the initial source from which children begin to learn the ways in which the spelling system represents speech" (Henderson & Templeton, 1986: 308). In the phonetic stage of Gentry and the third stage of Henderson & Templeton, children have understood the alphabetic principle: they provide a full reproduction of all audible phonemes in a word. According to Henderson & Templeton, they also start to develop the within-word pattern principle and are learning the principle that words that have similar meanings are spelled similarly (i.e., *sail*boat, *sail*or, main*sail*). In the Gentry's transitional stage (Gentry, 1982) and the fourth stage of Henderson & Templeton (1986), vowels appear in every syllable. In the last stage of Gentry's model (1982) children are considered to spell in a conventional way. Henderson & Templeton are

somewhat more careful here, stating that at this stage the children have developed full comprehension of the principle that related words (in meaning) are spelled similarly in most of the cases. They stress the importance of the more developed skill to derive spellings from the spellings of other words and argue against the idea that English spelling is opaque and solely to be learned by serial memory alone. Rote memorization is, according to them, unnecessary in writing words like 'sign', 'signal' and 'signature', or 'image' and 'imagine', because it does not take the notions of pattern relationships into consideration.

Even though stage models have been very influential in gaining insights into the development of spelling, there has also been criticism. Some scholars argue that stage models are too rigid in their interpretation of learning processes (Rittle-Johnson Siegler, 1999). One of the arguments presented is that children sometimes find themselves operating in two different stages. This seemingly operating at two different stage levels, however, might also be interpreted in a different way. A more primitive-looking spelling for a word like 'wedefokast' (weather forecast) compared to 'kant' (can't) could also be caused by the phonological complexity of the word at hand. To put it in other words, we are probably not dealing with a child that is applying a less advanced strategy, here but most likely with a child that is deconstructing the phonological structure of the word it is trying to write. Children mastering the skill to write a simple monosyllabic CVC-structure word applying the alphabetic principle can still have trouble applying the same principle to more complex multisyllabic words. This does not necessarily mean that they are reverting to an earlier stage.

Three remarks need to be made here. The stage theory models we have discussed so far were designed to be applied to children's developmental processes. However, the participants in our research were adults. Viewed from this developmental perspective, there is no reason why an adult learning process should basically be different from that of a child (Van der Zouw, 1999).

Both models have been developed for spelling development in English. Even though we would of course expect learning the whole of English orthography to be more difficult than learning the comparatively simpler Dutch orthography, we would not expect the acquisition of the basic principles of an alphabetic writing system to be different for these two languages. The third remark however, might be more relevant for the data we are going to present. Most models are developed for children learning to spell in their mother tongue, the phonological structure of which they are already very familiar with. The participants in our study are learning to write in a second language, with a phonological repertoire that might differ considerably from their L1 (just think of the fourteen different vowels in Dutch compared to three or five in some of the participants' own languages). It might be that the poor phonological segmentation skills that hamper correct phonological representations are caused by difficulties encountered in identifying sounds that do not belong to their own phonological repertoire yet.

3   The study

3.1 Design of the study

Research questions
The aim of this study was to investigate the previously mentioned skill of learning to represent spoken language in writing: the development of spelling abilities of beginning adult spellers in a second language. We analyzed test booklets of 90 participants in a literacy course. The participants were immigrants who were taught how to read and write in Dutch L2 literacy classes. Most of them had not received any previous education and were practically illiterate when they entered the literacy class. Literacy courses in the Netherlands operate on three levels: A, B and C, where level C gives students access to the course that needs to be passed in order to apply for a residence permit. Level C corresponds to the A1 level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001). This means that the participants can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases. Students starting at level A often have no or only very limited previous knowledge of script. When finishing level A, participants are able to copy words faultlessly and write short sentences like 'I am.... (Mimoun)'. When taking fluency of writing into consideration, one can conclude that these students write spelling letter-by-letter. Level B includes participants that have some knowledge of script and can write new, short words with a CVC-structure (consonant-vocal-consonant) like *dog* and *big*. Students at level B are able to write more fluently, and are also able to write consonant clusters like in *plaats* ('place') correctly. Participants at level C classes can write a lot more words and sentences, but may encounter difficulties with longer, more complex words; they write fluently but still at a slow pace.

Our main goal was to lay bare the facts of adult literacy development in a second language. Using the models presented before, we will focus on the developmental process in their learning to write in a second language.

Instruments
As part of their literacy course, the participants had to take tests to determine whether they could move on to a higher level. We analyzed the test booklets of 90 participants in literacy courses. The teachers assigned each of their students to a level they deemed fit: level A, level B or level C. Depending on the level, the test booklets contained the following tasks: filling out the address data of a card, filling out a form, writing down a number of words with the help of pictures, a dictation, filling out a complaint form and writing down a few sentences. We selected three tasks for this study that were used in all three levels of the booklets. This makes the outcomes easier to compare, even though the content of the task sometimes differed. One task we analyzed was filling in words on the basis of pictures and cues on quantity. The student was presented three pictures, and had to fill in what word should be put on the blank line. An example is given in (5).

(5)   2 kilo....   (picture of 2 apples)
       2 kilos of .....   (picture of 2 apples)

This task was represented in both the A level booklets and the B level booklets.

The next task we analyzed was an oral dictation task. The sentences presented to the student differed in complexity between the levels. A-level students were asked to write down sentences containing on average three or four words. B-level students were asked to write down sentences containing on average four or five words with words of a more complex structure. C level students were asked to write down sentences containing on average five words with longer words that are less common. An example of each level is given in (6) below.

(6) a Level A   De jas is duur.   *The coat is expensive.*

    b Level B   Ik bak een grote taart.   *I am baking a large pie.*

    c Level C   Schrijven is best moeilijk. *Writing is quite difficult.*

Booklets of level B and C also contained a picture task where the right word had to be filled in. An example of this task is given in (7).

(7)   Het huis heeft een ..... (picture of a door).
       The house has a..........
       Die maak ik open met een ...... (picture of a key).
       Which I open with a ......

Participants
The participants in this study were immigrants who took part in literacy courses. The immigrants attended different schools spread throughout the Netherlands, among other places in Venlo (south), Amsterdam (west), Nijmegen (east), and Leeuwarden (north). The group comprised 85,6% women and 14,4% men. Ages at the time of the test moment varied from 22 years old to 63 years old (mean age 41). The majority of the students were born in Morocco (36,7%), the second largest group were born in Afghanistan (11,1 %). The other students originated from the following countries: Armenia, Bangladesh, China, Dominican Republic, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Iraq, Cape Verde, Congo, Mauretania, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, and Turkey.

When viewing the countries of origin, it is not surprising that the language mostly reported as mother tongue was Berber, being one of the main languages spoken in Morocco (together with Arabic) and being spoken by 24,4% of the students. Somali, Turkish and Dari were also frequently reported as mother tongues. A majority of the students participating in this research did not have any previous education in their country of birth (55,6%) and were non-literate in their first language (L1) upon arrival in the Netherlands (60%). Most of the other students had (some years of) primary education, a small group had had more than seven years of schooling in their home country (5,5%). Students who had attended school for more than two years (a few had had even more than six) in their country of origin were considered to be alphabetized in a different language, often using another script (37,8%). The years of residence in the Netherlands varied from less than one year to thirty-seven years. The mean number of years of residence in the Netherlands was 12; 10% had resided in the Netherlands for less than 2,5 years. 19% had lived in the Netherlands for 2,5 to 5 years, 23% for 6 to 10 years, 43% for more than 10 years.

3.2 Results

To determine the development of our participants in their writing process, we judged the spelling strategies the students were applying. Departing from the models we discussed in the previous section, we defined five categories of strategy use.

The first category we distinguish is the *pre-phonetic.* The participants do not yet have the notion that writing represents spoken language. This becomes visible in their writing products, which show no relation between what they are asked to write down and what is actually written down.

The second category we distinguish is the *semi-phonetic.* Participants who write words using this strategy, are beginning to grasp the notion that spoken language is represented in writing. Very often, words are represented with only two or three letters. The third category we distinguish is the *phonetic.* Spellers using this strategy are able to represent a full representation of a word, on a phonetic basis. They often do not include unstressed vowels like schwa or 'r' before consonants in words like *hard.*

The fourth category we distinguish is the *phonemic.* Participants using this strategy are able to write down all the phonemes occurring in a word, but not always with the right grapheme or graphemes in the right order (vowels or diphthongs written with two letters like 'ou').

The fifth category we distinguish is the *conventional.* Participants write words according to the conventions of the orthography. Also, they are able to write down words they do not know and that they hear for the first time, since they are able to derive how to spell these words from the spelling of words they already know.

This last category could be identified as words spelled correctly. When participants pluralized words in a non-standard way (for example writing *appelen* (apples), using the common *–en* instead of *–s* for the plural of *appel*) but spelled them correctly, we judged this as correct/conventional as well. All other categories consisted of incorrectly spelled words.

We were especially interested to see which strategy the participant had used to form a word. Also, we were interested to see whether we would find instances of all the categories we distinguished.

When analyzing our data, we came across many linguistically interesting data, a selection of which we will present below. We focused on strategy use and found examples of all spelling strategies that were used to identify the different stages of spelling development. Table 1 presents examples of each, arranged by category.

Table 1: Examples of different spelling strategies

Strategy Word	Pre- phonetic	Semi- phonetic	Phonetic	Phonemic	Conven- tional
Appels *apples* (level A, B)	Hol Efpo	Pal Appier	Apl Apols	Apels Appal	Appels Appelen
Bruin *brown* (level B, C)	Lee Pos	Dron Blorwn	Beraun Braouwn	Brauin Broun	Bruin
Vol *full* (level A)	-	Vos Vuer	Foor Wool	Fool Vool	Vol
Grote *big* (level B)	Co	G Gut	Groed Graatn	Groete Groot	Grote
Moeilijk *difficult* (level C)	M	Murlijku Moeen luk	Moulk Mollek	Moeilek Muilike	Moeilijk Moeilijke

As we can see in Table 1, there is a great deal of variety in strategy use. Students that use *pre-phonetic* strategies write words that have no relation to the word that had to be written. Even though their productions contain actual letters, they are not decodable to someone who does not know what is supposed to be written.

Students who write words in a *semi-phonetic* way, are clearly beginning to grasp the notion that spoken language is to be represented by written language. They are starting to comprehend the alphabetic principle. Their words clearly contain phonemes that actually occur in the words presented. Obviously, they do not yet succeed in presenting a full phonetic representation of a word, but in their writing products their starting to comprehend the grapheme-phoneme correspondence principle is trickling through.

Students writing words in a *phonetic* way clearly have a full notion of the fact that written language represents spoken language. They succeed in providing a full representation of all audible phonemes in a word, even though they sometimes have trouble selecting the right phoneme (*graatn* for "grote"). This is hampered by the fact that our participants are learning to write in a language that is not their mother tongue. Several examples, like *beraun* (including a vowel between two consonants), *foor* (difficulties hearing the difference between r-l) *groete* or *moulk* nicely illustrate that there the spelling is close to how they would pronounce the words themselves.

Students writing words in a *phonemic* way give a full representation of all the phonemes in a word, but do not do this in a conventional way yet (*brauin* for "bruin"). They have a full understanding of the alphabetic principle, but have some trouble representing the diphthong *ui* /œy/ in the conventionally correct way (although their use of *aui* is quite adequate). As we can see, they often have trouble representing the proper vowel signs (*muilike* for 'moeilijke').

Students writing words in a conventional way have a full understanding of the alphabetic principle and understand that words are often spelled slightly differently from the way they are pronounced. They are able to derive ways of spelling words from

other words that they already know and have developed a visual strategy (sometimes also called orthographic) that enables them to judge whether words 'look right' or not.

This review shows that we come across all strategies that were formulated as being indicative of stages in spelling development. When taking a closer look at some words that were clearly not learned before the test was taken, it becomes even clearer where the bottlenecks in learning to write in a second language are located.. The word *sleutel* ('key') turned out to be a very difficult word for our participants, on multiple levels. Of all the students, 65 were asked to write down this word, with the help of a pictorial cue. We noted 50 different ways of writing this word (see Table 3). Some were coded as *other*, as we assumed these participants attempted to write a different word, such as *slot* ('the lock') or *sluiten* ('to lock'), which in Dutch are close in pronunciation to *sleutel* ('key').

Table 3: Overview of 50 different ways of writing sleutel ('key') according to spelling strategies

Semi-phonetic	Phonetic	Phonemic	Conventional	Other
selt	slouwtel	sluitel	sleutel (5)	dit
soltos	sloten	slutel		gesleijto
soetl	sloute	slotel (3)		slot (2)
sleut	sleuiter	sloetel (2)		srood
schluit	sluite	sloutel (2)		sloet (2)
suoetil	slocto			sluit
salt	sleutol			schloet
gelost	sluter			slut
sletoen	sloeten (2)			sluiten (2)
slauit	sloto			stuitels
slool	slouten			*not filled in* (2)
suot	sleuten			
sletole	slauter			
sclotrs	slauten			
seltel	schlotel			
	slutjel			
	slurul			
	slouitl			
	sletouen			

This assignment provided us with a wealth of material, because it shows exactly what a complicated task it is to provide a phonetically proper reproduction of a common, but phonologically rather complex word in a language that is not your mother tongue: the consonant cluster *sl* at the beginning, the Dutch vowel 'eu' /ö/(which is sounded like the middle vowel in Goethe), written with two letters, and the unstressed last syllable. Remember that in this item the word is not pronounced by the teacher as in oral dictation, but represented by a picture. Since this word has been offered to participants taking a test on levels B and C it is already interesting to see that we find no *pre-phonetic* accounts. We do see many *semi-phonetic* and *phonetic* accounts. Even though this may appear as if B and C level participants do not apply more advanced strategies, this is not in itself the case. Most probably, this is a fairly new word for the participants; they probably sound it out to themselves, but do not have a firmly established grapheme-

phoneme correspondence for vowels written with two different letters or diphthongs. This is plausible, since almost all of the mistakes are made with regard to the vowels. This is thus probably due to poor phonological decoding. As far as we know, the vowel 'eu' /ø/is not to be found in any of the languages spoken by our participants. As a result, it is difficult for them to map and identify the right sounds and to select the proper grapheme when asked to write this word down. This phenomenon has been reported on earlier (Kurvers & Van der Zouw, 1990). Also, this word shows us very clearly what the differences in strategy use provide in terms of writing. It distinctively shows that the people who use a *semi-phonetic* strategy only reproduce the word partially and often omit clusters. For students using the *phonetic* strategy, we can clearly observe that the cluster at the beginning of the word (sl-) is represented in every writing production. Apart from the difficulties representing the exotic vowel *eu*, we observe most of the errors in the final unstressed syllable, ending in 'l'. Participants struggle to identify a final consonant. If they do perceive the final consonant, they have trouble identifying its form. We notice the occurrence of final *r*, *l* and *n*, rather common transpositions for students from Asian countries. In the phonemic stage we see that the word structure is firmly established, the only difficulty that is observed is how to represent the *eu* sound. In the *conventional* stage participants have learned that the vowel sound is represented as 'eu' in Dutch.

Since the students at the three literacy levels (A, B and C) used different booklets for their writing tests, with a different number of items that also differed in difficulty (students at level C were asked to write more complex words than students at level A), we first calculated the percentage of correctly written words for each of the books and subsequently used the scale score the testing institute (CITO) provided to be able to put the scores for the different test-booklets on one and the same underlying scale. In this case, this means that that we got a scale-score for each of the students as if they all had made the writing test at level B. Since levels B and C also consisted of students that had more than two years of schooling in their home country (level A only one student), we also compared these scores for those students who had two years or less of schooling in their home country (the non-literates). Table 4 presents the mean percentage of correct spellings and the mean scale score B for each of the groups and the outcomes of the analysis of variance for both measures.

Table 4: Mean percentage of correct spellings and Scale score by level-group for all students and non-literates only

All students (n=88)	Level A	Level B	Level C	F(df)	p
Mean % correct	.49	.53	.58	F 2,88=2.03	.14
Sd	.21	.18	.13		
Mean scale-score	12.9	27.55	28.57	F2,72=24.31	.000
Sd	5.08	8.32	3.81		
Non-literates (n=54)					
Mean % correct	.47	.51	.61	F 2,37=2.32	.10
Sd	.21	.17	.134		
Mean scale-score	12.78	26.15	28.91	F 2,51=5.14	.000
Sd	5.38	8.79	3.48		

Although all students at level C write 58% of the words correctly according to the conventions, level B students score 53% and level A students 49%, the difference

between the groups is not significant. At each level, about half of the words are written correctly. As expected, on the underlying scale the groups differ significantly (p=.000). More interesting however, is the fact that the students at level B do not seem to differ much from students at level C. The pair-wise comparison reveals that only students of level A differ significantly from level B and C, while the students of level B do not differ significantly from the students of level C. Students seem to grow in writing, but more so when they go from the lowest literacy level to level B, than when progressing from level B to level C. The same picture emerges when we compare the non-literates only. The groups do not differ in the percentages of correct efforts, but they do differ significantly in scale-score. But also for the non-literates only there seems to be a major improvement between level A and level B, not between level B and level C.

More interesting for the investigation of developmental patterns are the word-writing strategies students use when they do not write words correctly. If the developmental stages that have been revealed in research with young children are indicative as well of adults' learning to spell in a second language, one would expect the level A students to more often use the more pre-and semi-phonetic strategies and the level B and C students to more often use the phonetic, phonemic and conventional strategies. Again we have to consider that the words the students at level B and C had to write were more complex in structure than the words at level A and B. Table 5 and Figure 6 present the outcomes.

Table 5: Percentages of word writing strategies by level group

All students (n=88)	Level A	Level B	Level C	Total	
Pre-phonetic	57%	31%	12%	42	(100%)
Semi-phonetic	29%	35%	36%	214	(100%)
Phonetic	17%	48%	34%	335	(100%)
Phonemic Conventional	18%	44%	38%	377	(100%)
	18%	41%	42%	1461	(100%)

First of all, it turns out that overall the most advanced conventional strategy is used the most often (see the Total column), followed by the phonemic strategy, which shows that most students in Dutch L2 literacy classes have grasped the alphabetic principle (see Total column). The least advanced strategies (pre-phonetic and semi-phonetic) are used in less than 10% of all spellings, the pre-phonetic strategy is hardly used at all (less than 2%). Table 5 also shows the relative occurrence of the different strategies for each of the level groups. The pre-alphabetic strategies pre-phonetic and semi-phonetic are relatively much more often used by students at level A, while the alphabetic principle (one sound-one grapheme) is more often applied by students at levels B and C, although level B students tend to stick closer to the phonetic level of the language than students at level C do. Level C students hardly use pre-phonetic strategies anymore. Figure 2 presents the same outcomes graphically.
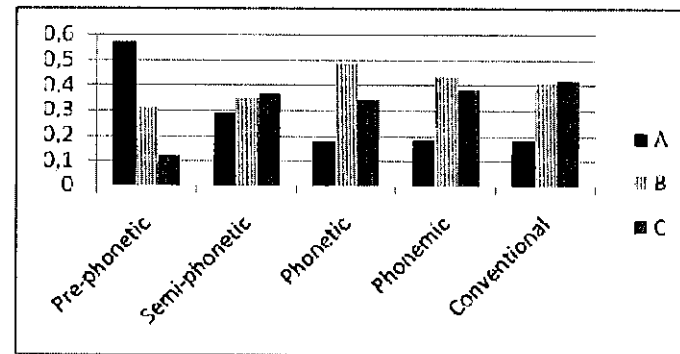
Figure 6: Use of word-writing strategies for each of the level-groups

The height of the bars in Figure 6 nicely illustrates the developmental pattern: for the level A group the height of the bars goes down from pre-phonetic to the conventional strategy, for level C students the height of the bars goes up from left to right, and the results of the level B students are nicely in between, showing relatively high scores at the intermediate strategies.

4 *Conclusions*

Adult migrants learning to read and write in a second language are by and large well aware of the representational features of writing. From the very beginning in adult L2 literacy classes, they most of them are trying to represent the phonological structure of the words they hear or want to write using configurations of letters that are somehow related to the sounds of the words.

It makes sense, we conclude, that the developmental patterns that have been found in research with children are also indicative of the development of adult beginning writers in a second language. The examples show that adult LESLLA students gradually develop the skills to address the representational features of an alphabetic orthography: they move from the semi-phonic to phonetic and from phonetic to phonemic representations: they gradually start representing unstressed vowels and syllables and frequent consonant clusters in an appropriate way. The strategies found in research with young children are all traceable in the data we presented as well. Besides, the data revealed that the less advanced strategies decrease and the more advanced strategies increase when students reach a higher level group. Looking through the lens of spelling development, the methodology used in most adult L2 literacy classes in the Netherlands seems to be sound: the majority of the students do not write the words they want to write simply by guessing.— the choices they make are motivated.

The very fact that we uncovered spelling strategies comparable to those found in children, and the use of more advanced strategies by students in the higher level groups, underscores the likely existence of developmental stages. Several students in our study, however, did apply different spelling strategies in the same task. This could

be interpreted as a counter-indication for the validity of the stage-model (Rittle-Johnson Siegler, 1999).

We will try to interpret our findings in the context of this discourse. First of all, we did not investigate invented spellings only (as Gentry, 1982, did): some of the words and word-patterns in our study had been practiced in class. This might mean that students can apply what they have already learned (for example writing simple monosyllabic cvc-words), and that they cannot apply this strategy in writing more complex words so that they have to revert to a less advanced strategy. It might also mean, however, that students in principle do use a more or less stable strategy (for example trying to apply the one sound-one grapheme principle), but that their performance is severely hampered by the fact that they have to write a word in a second language. To put it more concretely, they might well be able to apply the alphabetic spelling principle, but they simply do not know precisely what they heard the teacher say or how to pronounce a word. What looks like a mixing up of several stages (for example the same student using both semi-phonetic, phonemic and conventional spellings) is probably caused by the three-fold challenge these students are facing at the same time: trying to detect the phonological structure of a word the sounds of which they are not very familiar with, learning that a phoneme is an abstraction, not always detectable from what they hear (the phonetic level) and learning the basic principles of an alphabetic script and the Dutch orthography. More research is needed to disentangle which problems are attributable to the universals of emergent writing and spelling, and which problems to adults trying to get a grip on the phonological repertoire of an unfamiliar language. It might be interesting to compare these findings with research on adults learning first language writing.

The developmental patterns we found can indeed be compared to those of young children learning to spell. A big difference with young children, however, is (apart from the second language) the amounts of practice young children get in learning to write. It may well be that more practice (and feedback) would be very valuable for these adult L2 literacy students as well. Not for the sake of spelling correctly as such (there are more tools that can be used to that end) but mainly because practicing writing might be a very useful tool in improving people's listening skills as well, in particular the skills to deconstruct what teachers are dictating, or, more importantly, what other people are telling them in daily conversations.

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NON-LITERATE IMMIGRANTS – A NEW GROUP OF ADULTS IN FINLAND

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1   Introduction

Finland has placed at the top in the PISA reading achievement studies year after year (OECD, 2010: 117). The success confirms the impression of the good quality of our public education launched in the 19th century. Literacy has remained close to 100% since records were kept. Even before that, since the 17th century, the church required reading skills. No reading – no marriage! Finnish people are eager to read and Finnish culture and everyday life is based on written language. We could call Finland, as well as other Western countries, a country of papers and texts.

Finnish people have been, for quite a long time, used to taking literacy for granted. However, in the last few years the number of non-literate people in Finland has increased due to immigration. Because of high literacy and society based on written language, non-literate immigrants encounter many difficulties in Finland. The population of Finland in 2010 was 5,375,276 and it is estimated that there are now approximately 1,500 non-literate immigrants living in the country. This number may still increase because a large percentage of refugees and asylum seekers have had little or no opportunity for education in their home country.

In the last few decades, there have been a large number of published studies describing the acquisition of Finnish as a new language by literate learners. Only a limited amount of research describes how non-literate adults acquire Finnish (see *Suomi toisena ja vieraana kielenä -alan bibliografia 1967–2010* (2010)). In this paper, I will outline my on-going PhD study as well as the integration environment of the non-literate learner. The paper is organised as follows: First, I will discuss refugees, asylum seekers and the variety of languages in Finland. Then I will describe characteristic features of Finnish language. Section 4 deals with education system of Finland. Finally, in Section 5 I will present my PhD research.

2   Immigrants in Finland

In Finland, refugees and other immigrants are a new and small group of inhabitants when compared with many other Western countries. Only approximately 4.2% of the

population uses other than the traditional languages of Finland as their native language. Of these, just 37,587 persons immigrated as refugees from 1973 to 2010 which is as little as 16.8% of all immigrants living in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2011b). Most immigrants have moved to Finland because of work, studies, marriage or some other reasons.

The first refugees after World War II came to Finland in 1973 from Chile. Since 1986 Finland has accepted a quota of refugees annually (Alanko, 2009: 10). According to Finnish Immigration Service (2011), "Within its refugee quota, Finland accepts for resettlement persons defined as refugees by the UNHCR (refugee organisation of the United Nations) and other aliens who are in need of international protection." In the late 1980's close to all the refugees coming to Finland were quota refugees. However, since 1990 the annual volume of asylum seekers has exceeded the number of quota refugees (Alanko, 2009: 10).

In 2010 Finland accepted 634 quota refugees coming from Afghanistan, Iraq, Myanmar, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and The Democratic Republic of Congo. There were also urgent quota referrals from different countries. The number of asylum applicants was 5,837 but only 1,784 positive decisions were made, hence the percentage of acceptance was 30.56%. Asylum seekers were for example from Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Iran (Finnish Immigration Service, 2011a, b). In all of these countries non-literacy is common. Table 1 shows the statistics on refugees and asylum seekers in 2010.

Table 1: Asylum seekers (nine most common nationalities) and refugees in 2010 in raw numbers (Finnish Immigration Service, 2011a, b)

Nationality	Pos. decisions on asylum	Quota refugees
Angola	21	-
Afghanistan	196	153
Egypt		1
Iran	58	-
Iraq	607	144
Myanmar	-	131
Nigeria	22	-
Pakistan		6
Russian Federation	61	-
Somalia	653	-
Sri Lanka	20	10
The Democratic Republic of Congo	21	126
Different nationalities (urgent)	-	63

In 2011 Finland will resettle 200 Myanmar refugees from Thailand, 150 Congolese refugees from Rwanda and 300 Afghans from Iran. Finland is also prepared to take in an additional 100 emergency cases (Ministry of Interior, 2010).

3 Languages of Finland

3.1 National languages and new languages

There are two official languages in Finland, Finnish and Swedish, while Finnish Sign Language, Romany and Sami have the status of official minority languages. Table 2 shows the languages and the number of native language users in 2010.

Table 2: National languages of Finland in 2010*)

Language	Native language users	
Finnish	4,857,903	90.375%
Swedish	291,153	5.417%
Finnish Sign Language	~5,000	~0.093%
Romany	~4,500	~0.084%
Sami	1,832	0.034%

*) Statistics based on Statistics Finland (2011a); suomi.fi One address for citizens' services (2010); Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (2007b).

As can be seen in Table 3, the most common new language is Russian. It is significant that all the ten most common new languages have larger groups of native language users than the official minority languages.

Table 3: Ten most common new languages in Finland in 2010 (Statistics Finland, 2011a)

Language	Native language users	
Russian	54,559	1.015%
Estonian	28,493	0.530%
Somali	12,985	0.242%
English	12,855	0.239%
Arabic	10,415	0.194%
Kurdish	8,032	0.149%
Chinese	7,546	0.140%
Albanian	7,113	0.132%
Thai	5,722	0.106
Vietnamese	5,637	0.105%

Among people living in Finland, altogether more than 140 different languages are spoken. 76 new languages have over 100 native speakers, while 41 languages have 10 or less users (Statistics Finland, 2011a).

3.2 The characteristic features of Finnish

Almost all the languages spoken in Europe are related to each other, because they belong to the same Indo-European family of languages. Finnish, however, is a Finno-

Ugric language like Estonian, Sami languages[1] and Hungarian. Finnish is known as an inflected language with many suffixes and many stem changes. Due to the extensive possibilities of derivation and compounding, Finnish words are often quite long. These features may make Finnish a challenging language for non-literate learners who have little support from the written form. However, if someone can speak Finnish, reading is quite easy because of the almost perfectly regular phoneme-grapheme correlation.

Structure

The basic characteristic of Finnish is the use of suffixes instead of prepositions or other free morphemes to express different meanings or grammatical relations. Therefore the information necessary to understand Finnish expressions is in most cases at the end of the word. In Finnish both verbs and nouns may have several suffixes. Verbs gain personal suffixes for each person. These suffixes are grammatically more important than pronouns, which may be dropped. Verbs have present, imperfect (simple past), perfect and pluperfect tenses in four moods (indicative, imperative, conditional, potential). Present corresponds to English present and future tenses. Finnish verbs have two verb voices: active and passive. As well as the tenses, voices and moods are expressed by suffixes. The examples in (1), of *istuisimme* and *istuttaisiin*, are to demonstrate the verb inflection.

(1)   a   *istu-isi-mme*
          sit-COND-1PL   (COND = conditional, 1PL = first person plural)
          'we would sit'

     b   *istu-tta-isi-in*
          sit-PASS-COND-AGR   (PASS = passive, AGR = agreement)
          'would be sat'

There are no articles or grammatical genders in Finnish nouns – even the personal pronoun 'hän' (meaning (s)he) refers to both genders. Nouns may have suffixes with the markers for a case, plural and possessive. There are also many enclitics and derivational suffixes. Finnish has fifteen noun cases: four grammatical cases, six locative cases, essive, translative and three marginal cases. It is possible and common to have more than one suffix in a single word. Pronouns have suffixes like other nouns. The examples in (2) are to demonstrate the inflection of nouns.

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[1] According to Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (2007a), "There are ten known Saami languages. The Western Saami group includes South, Ume, Pite, Lule and North Saami, while the Eastern group consists of Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami. Only a few dozen people speak Ume, Pite and Ter Saami as their native language. Akkala Saami recently became an extinct language. Saami languages are spoken in four countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia. Depending on how 'Saami' is defined, the Saami population numbers between 60,000 and 100,000, of whom 6,000-7,000 live in Finland. Saami is spoken by no more than half of the Saami population. Three Saami languages are spoken in Finland: Inari, Skolt and North Saami. Each has its own standard written form and orthography, and they are not mutually intelligible."

(2)   a   *kirja-lla-ni*
          book-ADES-1POSS   (ADES = adessive, 1POSS = first person possessive)
          'on my book'

     b   *kirja-sto-i-ssa-kin*
          book-DER-PL-INES=TOO   (DER = derivational marker, PL = plural, INES = inessive)
          'in libraries, too'

Since Finnish is an inflected language, word order within sentence can be comparatively free, the function of a word being indicated by its ending. The most usual neutral order, however, is subject-verb-object.

Derivation and compounding are the most important methods of creating new words. One method of assessment claims that as much as 44% of Finnish words are derived and another 44% of words are combined (Brown, Lepäsmaa & Silfverberg 1996: 12). However, the more complex compounds and derivatives are on average not used as much as more simple basic words.

In derivation, a new word is derived by attaching suffix(es) to the word stem. Derivation is possible in nouns, verbs and adverbs and it is also possible that the word class changes after derivation (e.g. *pyytää > pyyntö, 'to ask > a request'*). Derivation makes Finnish in some ways an effective language because it is possible to express many implications in just a one word. The example in (3) is taken from Brown, Lepäsmaa & Silfverberg (1996: 14) to show the idea of effectiveness.

(3)   *perhee-lli-syys*
          family-DER-DER
          'the fact whether a person has a family or not'

Compounding is easier than deriving words because the combined words of a compound are quite easy to recognise as lexemes and there are few restrictions for compounding. The most important compounding rule is that the combined words must make an intelligible and semantically logical entity. It is possible to form compounds by using basic words, derivatives, compounds and open compounds. Besides, the combined words do not have to be from the same word class. Most of the compounds are substantives or adjectives but words to combine may be from any word class. (Brown, Lepäsmaa & Silfverberg, 1996: 12). The examples of *turvapaikanhakija* and *turvapaikkapäätös* in (4) show the idea of compounds and their possible length.

(4)   a   *turva-paika-n-haki-ja*
          shelter-place-GEN-seek-AGT   (GEN = genitive, AGT = agentive ending)
          'asylum seeker'

     b   *turva-paikka-päätös*
          shelter-place-decision
          'decision on asylum'

Orthography

Finnish has an almost purely phonemic alphabetic orthography. The grapheme-phoneme correspondences are regular and the number of phonemes is relatively small. Each phoneme is marked with a corresponding single letter, except velar nasal [ŋ]. It is marked with *nk* when short and *ng* when long (e.g. *kenkä, kengät 'a shoe, shoes'*). The number of standard Finnish vowel phonemes is 8 and the number of consonant phonemes is 13. Furthermore, there are three consonant phonemes used only in loan words. Lexical and grammatical role of the vowels is highly important. Almost all consonants and all vowels can be short (written with one letter) or long (written with two letters). The length is distinctive, and there are a lot of words differing only in the length of a sound. For instance, *lakki* (cap) is pronounced with a geminate *k* to distinguish it from *laki* (law) and *tuuli* (wind) with prolonged *u* to separate it from *tuli* (fire).

Holopainen (2002) has studied the development of reading skills by Finnish speaking children. According to her, just after pre-primary education at age of seven, approximately 16% of the children could read pseudo-words completely without errors and 25% with some errors. Two other studies show that approximately one third of Finnish speaking children can read when starting the basic education and most of the children recognise the letters very well (Aro, 2004; Lerkkanen, 2003). Finally, the findings of the study by Leppänen et al. (2004) indicate that 10% of their participants could read in the beginning of pre-primary education. In the end of pre-primary education the number had increased to 26% and in the beginning of basic education it was 40%. Close to all children learn the basic reading skills during the first year of basic education (Aro, 2004; Holopainen, 2002; Lerkkanen, 2003). Basic reading skills mean here both decoding and understanding the text.

In older studies, Somerkivi (1958) and Röman (1962) suggest that when starting the school, approximately 48% of children know the letters, 10–13% can read words fluently and 4–6% can read uncomplicated text fluently. Somerkivi (1958: 35, 46) also brings up 45% of children reading fluently in the end of the first school year. After the second school year the percentage is 68. When compared to the recent studies mentioned above, the children of 1950's and 1960's acquired reading skills much slower than the children of present-day.

It seems that the regularity of the language, simple phonological structure, almost perfect phoneme-grapheme correlation and small number of phonemes facilitate acquiring literacy in Finnish if the learner can speak Finnish. When discussing the development of reading skills by Finnish children, it must still be emphasized the meaning and influence of books and reading habits at their homes and reading instruction given at home and during pre-primary and basic education.

4   Education in Finland

This section will deal with both public education and adult education in Finland. National curriculum guidelines guarantee the quality of public education. At the same time, there is only a recommended curriculum for education of adult immigrants. This situation is changing along with the new law of improving the integration.

4.1   Public Education

In Finland, legislation provides for compulsory schooling and the right to free pre-primary and basic education, altogether 10 years. Normally, children start the basic education in the same year they turn seven years of age. Pre-primary education of one year is not compulsory but most of the children go there at six years. Most other qualifying education is also free for the students, including the universities. There are approximately 3,000 comprehensive schools in Finland and only 60 of them are private schools.

4.2   Adult education

Some 800 Finnish institutions arrange a great variety of courses and programmes for adults at all levels of formal education, and the provision of non-credit-learning is extensive. There are also many private commercial companies providing for example labour market training for the unemployed. According to Finnish National Board of Education (2010a) "The annual number of participants in adult education and training is 1.7 million, which makes half of the working age population [...]. The aim of the adult education is to

1.   enhance the knowledge and skills of the adult population,
2.   increase educational opportunities for groups that are under-represented in adult learning, and to promote equality and active citizenship."

In Finland, the basic right to education and culture is recorded in the Constitution. Public authorities must secure equal opportunities for every resident in Finland to get education also after compulsory schooling and to develop themselves, irrespective of their financial standing.

Language courses for immigrants

The law on the integration of immigrants has been recently reformed. The new law of improving the integration will become valid on September the 1st 2011. According to the Ministry of the Interior (2011), its aim is to ensure that immigrants can take part in Finnish society and its activities in the same way as anyone else living in the country. Learning Finnish or Swedish is an essential requirement for integration.

The current educational system for immigrants was developed when immigration to Finland was less common than it is now. Language education is divided into two separate types of courses, integration training for literate adults and literacy education for non-literate adults. Both of them are provided by adult education centres and other educational institutions. The length of integration training may vary with basic training, skills and goals of each student. For a student starting with Finnish basics, it is provided an average of 1,400 hours (40 credit units) of integration training (Opetushallitus, 2007: 5).

Quality of the courses varies considerably because adult education is not strictly supervised or legislated. Furthermore, the existing education system does not sufficiently accommodate different educational backgrounds of the students, including

non-literacy. Language education for adults is mainly financed as labour force training and the main aim for working-age immigrants is to find employment, thus allowing the whole of society to benefit from their skills and qualifications. In Finland, asylum seekers and refugees are allowed to get employment without any restrictions after six months of living in the country.

Employment and Economic Development Offices as well municipal officials dealing with immigration matters help people moving to Finland get started in their new home country. In order to implement integration measures, the Ministry of the Interior guides the work of the immigration units of the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment, which are responsible for immigration and integration matters at regional level. They also guide the local Employment and Economic Development Offices in providing immigrants who have registered as jobseekers with labour market services that promote and support integration. The individual municipalities have responsibility for developing, planning and monitoring the integration of immigrants within their areas. Municipalities organise measures and services promoting and supporting the integration of immigrants. However, the system excludes for example housewives and the elderly who are not registered job-seekers. For them municipalities, associations and the church provide Finnish language groups if they have the financial and human recourses for that kind of activity. These groups are often led by volunteers who are not qualified teachers.

Literacy education

Thus far, there has been only recommended curriculum in adult literacy education and no obligation for education providers to comply with it. According to the recommended curriculum, literacy courses consist of 1,400 hours (40 credit units) of education. The courses continue approximately 10 months. (Opetushallitus, 2006: 13.) In the new law, it is stated that literacy education must be provided according to the curriculum guidelines for literacy education provided by the Finnish National Board of Education (Finlex, 2010). Curriculum guidelines is a decree to insure educational basic rights, legal protection and equality as well quality and consistence of the education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2011). It remains to be seen how this change will affect the literacy education.

5   A case study of five immigrant Finnish learners

5.1   Research themes

The focus of this study is on vocabulary, phrases and constructions the subjects do or do not acquire during the data collection period, and their acquisition of some elements of the reading and writing system. The main themes for the research are:
- How does the learning process begin?
- What kinds of language constructions are typical in the beginning of learning Finnish?
- What kind of strategies do the subjects use when communicating with their teacher, with each other and with the researcher?

One of my expectations is that concrete everyday phrases such as 'food and family related words' are rather easy to acquire.

5.2   Setting of the study

My PhD study is a qualitative longitudinal case study. The framework of the study is the sociocultural view of acquiring a new language. Sociocultural view is based on Vygotskyan psychology and according to it human interaction is the basis of all learning. (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006.) The aim of this research is thus not only to add to the knowledge of second language acquisition by non-literate adults but also to provide information for improving their teaching and the education of their teachers.

5.3   Participants and their Finnish learning environment

The study includes five women with no literacy skills or schooling in their native or any other language. In the beginning of the data collecting period they had lived in Finland for no more than 18 months and have been attending their first language course in Finnish in two adult education centres in two towns. Asra and Jamiila are students in town A and Amina, Husna and Rana in town B. The participants are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Participants of the research

Name	age*)	Home country	Native language	Other languages	Months in Finland*)
Asra	24	Afghanistan	Dari	Farsi	18
Jamiila	31	Somalia	Somali	-	8
Amina	45	Afghanistan	Dari	Russian	15
Husna	45	Afghanistan	Dari	-	16
Rana	28	Iran	Kurdish	Farsi	12

Note: *) in August 2010

The two adult education centres are located in two of the larger cities in Finland. In the centres, teaching methods and goals of learning differ from each other to a surprising degree, even if the teachers are equally experienced in teaching non-literate adults and the number of students in the single course is close to the same. In town A, language teaching and learning is functional with many kinds of learning activities. The teacher uses a lot of visual material (i.e. theme-related photographs and realia and authentic materials) during the lessons, and learning-by-doing is a very often used method. The main goal is to acquire vocabulary and oral language skills for everyday life. Reading and writing skills come along with acquisition of vocabulary. The language course of ten months is split in two study modules with a test between them. The new streaming is determined by the students' success in the test. It is also possible to change the learning group at another time if one makes progress faster or slower than the other students of the group. If the student does not succeed in the test (s)he may take the same five-month course again. In the classroom, there is always at least one

person helping the students (and the teacher) during the lessons. If there is more than one helper, at least one of them has immigrant background and speaks at least one language of the learners. Close to all the helpers are working as a participants in employment procedure.

At the same time in town B, teaching is very reading-oriented. The teacher uses some visual material but most of the teaching is dependent on the textbook and most of the time is spent learning how to read and write. The main learning goal according to the teacher is to acquire reading and writing skills, while vocabulary is something the students either acquire or not. Furthermore, the ten-month course is single entity with only one literacy learning group at a time and therefore no possibility to change the group or to start over. During the lessons the teacher is working alone with no help.

5.4 *Methods for collecting and analysing data*

I began collecting data for my research in August 2010 and the data collecting period extended to ten months. In town A, I collected data approximately one day of five hours per month and in town B approximately one day of five hours per week. Because of the long distance between my hometown and town A, it was not possible to go there as often as to town B which is close to my hometown.

The data collecting methods were mostly ethnographical: observing, taking notes and recording the Finnish lessons. Furthermore, data was collected by interviewing the participants and utilising the tests and tasks they did before and during the Finnish course as well the language and memory tests prepared for this research.

The verbal data will be analysed in light of Construction Grammar (Tomasello, 2005). As a usage-based theory, Construction Grammar approves all the constructions and details of a natural language. A usage-based theory coheres with analysing the language constructions of preliminary language learning where at least some of the constructions are learned from memory without analysing them (see Myles 1998; 1999; 2004). The diversity of language constructions is emphasised particularly in the early stages of acquiring Finnish as a new language when so called language norms have not yet become evident to the learners.

6   *Conclusion*

Adult non-literacy is a new phenomenon in Finland. Furthermore, there is only limited research of how non-literate adults acquire Finnish, and hence educators and decision makers have no research-based knowledge to support their teaching methods or decisions on education of non-literate adults. My on-going PhD research is to add to the knowledge of second language acquisition by non-literate adults and to provide information for improving their teaching and the education of their teachers as well as the decision making on language education of non-literate adults.

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ADULT LITERACY INSTRUCTION IN GERMANY: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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1   Introduction

During the United Nations Literacy Decade from 2003 to 2012, the field of adult literacy instruction has received renewed attention in Germany. The German government has announced basic education and social participation as two major goals in the field, especially in the context of immigration politics and changes in the educational system. The present paper presents some of the fundamental issues and challenges that arise, especially regarding the education of literacy teachers as well as regarding class policies for the assessment of learners' oral and literate skills in German as a Second Language (GSL).

2   (Il)literacy in Germany: the status quo

Although adult literacy instruction has been recognized as an educational and political challenge in Germany since the 1970s, it has not attracted much systematic qualitative or quantitative research to date. Schramm & Roll (2010: 5) point out that this research is starting to be carried out only now, much delayed, which is due to the longstanding socio-political and academic marginalization of the field. The recent efforts in investigating the illiteracy situation in Germany both socio-politically and scientifically are a consequence of an initiative of the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, taken in the context of the current United Nations Literacy Decade. The Ministry has declared literacy and basic education for adults as one focal point of academic and educational interest and has provided financial funding for 24 research groups in the field. The general aims of these projects are: improving the current state of research, increasing participation of adults in education and facilitating access to literacy instruction, improving policies in teaching, assessing and counseling, professionalizing and improving teacher education and, finally, interconnecting research and practice (cf. Alphabund, 2010). The research projects are taking place between 2007 and 2012, hence, providing an empirically corroborated, complete picture of the (il)literacy situation in Germany with its numerous facets is not yet possible, but first results are starting to become available.

In addition, it is hard to get bold of definite numbers representing the illiteracy situation in Germany. First, official statistics often do not differentiate between native speakers of German who left school without adequate literacy skills and immigrants that do not have sufficient literacy skills in GSL, but who may or may not have them in their native language. The latter group, i.e. immigrant learners, however, is by far the majority among illiterate learners in Germany. It is also an especially heterogeneous group because the native languages of immigrants as well as their degree of education in the native language differ, as do their oral skills in German and their time spans of residence in Germany and exposure to the German L2. It is therefore not infrequent that there are learners in L2 literacy classes that are, in fact, literate and adequately educated in their first language and could be alphabetized in GSL easily, if only their oral skills in GSL could be improved. This seems to be especially true of learners whose L1 uses a writing system that is different from that of German, such as Chinese or Russian. At the same time, these groups may also have learners with no prior schooling at all who are, in fact, primarily illiterate, i.e. they cannot read and write in any language and have to start from the absolute beginning, e. g. learning the alphabet.

In the large group of immigrant learners that are regarded as 'illiterate', insufficient oral skills in L2 German are often confounded with insufficient reading and writing skills. Additionally, learners of very diverse backgrounds and levels of proficiency are instructed together, which puts the instructors in a very challenging and difficult position, because they have to find the right teaching contents and methods for each individual learner. These instructors often report that instead of teaching a group of learners, they teach "twelve private lessons at the same time" (oral communication with a GSL literacy instructor). This is aggravated by the fact that the situation of instructors and teachers in the field is problematic also in terms of their professional education as well as in terms of occupational and financial conditions.

Finally, the diagnostic tools that exist for the assessment and evaluation of learners' existing oral and literate skills are insufficient and, in particular, they are not suitable for the ascertained degrees of diversity and heterogeneity that are the rule, rather than the exception, in literacy classes.

2.1 Facts and figures

In March 2011, the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research has published a study by the University of Hamburg that puts the number of illiterate persons in Germany at 7.5 million. The study investigated adults in the age range 18-64.[1] That represents an illiteracy rate among these adults of approx. 14.5%. This is a situation that Peter Hubertus, Director of the German Federal Association of Alphabetization and Basic Education (Bundesverband Alphabetisierung und Grundbildung e.V.), calls 'alarming' and 'requiring immediate action' (Bundesverhand Alphabetisierung, 2011).

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[1] The study is limited to this age range because it represents the group of potential employees who cannot be integrated in the job market because of their limited literacy skills. It should be pointed out that according to the current literacy policy in Germany, economic aims like employment and long-term integration in the job market are the strongest motivation for providing literacy instruction (cf. Schramm & Roll, 2010: 6).

According to the recent study by the University of Hamburg, an adult is regarded as being "functionally illiterate" if s/he is unable to participate actively and appropriately in society as a consequence of his/her limited literacy skills (Grotlüschen & Riekmann, 2011: LEO or Level One Studie). Social participation, hence, is a principal yardstick for the evaluation of illiteracy. This notion contains most importantly employment in the German job market, but also participation in the educational system and participation in social activities such as clubs, associations and societies, among other aspects.

The Level-One study examined literacy skills of adults on the lowest levels, hence level one. It differentiates between subjects whose literacy skills are below word level, below sentence level or below text level. These three subgroups represent the group of "functionally illiterate" persons and sum up to the percentage of 14.5%. This figure does not include those adults in the investigated age range that are not strictly illiterate, but have severe difficulties with orthography and spelling and whose literacy skills resemble (or are below) those of a primary school kid. This group constitutes an additional 25.9% of adults between 18 and 64, according to LEO.

Of the 14.5% of people who are functionally illiterate in the narrow sense (i. e. below, word, sentence or text level), 60.3% are men and 39.7% are women. Dividing the subjects into groups of smaller age ranges, a slight trend can be observed of illiteracy rates rising with age: the age group 18-29 contains 19.9% of subjects, as compared to 20.6% in the range 30-39, 27.0% in the range 40-49 and 32.6% in the range 50-64. This suggests that the type of illiteracy investigated in the study might be dependent on age-correlating factors, such as time spent in school etc. This, however, needs further investigation.

It has to be noted that the only piece of information that the study provides with regard to the native language context is limited to a differentiation between L1 and L2 speakers of German. According to LEO, 58.1% of the investigated functionally illiterate subjects speak German as their first language while 41.8% speak German as their second language. Immigrants who have no or very limited oral skills in L2 German are not included in these figures. This procedure clearly points to one of the higgest challenges in literacy practice and policy in Germany: who has access to literacy education and, more importantly, who is excluded from it and for what reasons?

2.2 Barriers to literacy education

It is an apparent paradox that while low-educated immigrants with insufficient GSL literacy skills represent the largest group of illiterate learners in Germany, it is not consistently this group that receives the greatest political attention and support. Although the funding for literacy classes for immigrants is better than for German native speakers, the decision who is assigned to a literacy course is often related to perspectives of employment and integration in the job market. This is evident in the current policy of the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research which has recently announced a new focal point of interest in the context of literacy instruction: literacy instruction in economy and employment. This means that primarily learners who are potentially relevant for the employment market receive access to literacy instruction, i.e. younger learners who have had (or are currently engaged in) professional training of some kind and who promise to be placeable in a job later on.

This practice excludes senior learners, immigrants with no work permit, housewives with no prior job training etc. It is not the case, however, that these groups cannot attend a literacy class. But in contrast to the first group of "potentially employable learners", they do not receive financial or other support (such as child care during class time, free public transport etc.).

A second barrier to literacy education is constructed by the social context and living conditions of immigrant learners, in particular. It is often the case that these learners prefer to remain in their familiar neighborhoods. Leaving their accustomed residential area and commuting to another part of town for the literacy class often means an insurmountable, worry-afflicted challenge for them. PAGES[2] project work over the last three years has shown that having to leave the area in order to obtain literacy instruction leads to higher drop-out rates, while these immigrant learners (mostly low-educated women living in traditional family structures and with no or very little prior schooling) are happy to attend a literacy class in their own neighborhood. This barrier could easily be dismantled if literacy instruction was offered in the home territory of these learners, e.g. in local social services institution, their children's schools, community halls etc. Such decentralized instruction, however, means a greater organizational and administrative challenge for the educational provider and hence, class offers of this kind are rare.

Finally, another barrier for access to literacy education lies in the learners' prior schooling experience. This is especially the case for those learners who have attended school and have left it without sufficient levels of literacy proficiency. Their motivation to attend another school-like class context is low. Feelings of frustration and disappointment often prevent these learners from making another attempt to learn. Traditional literacy classes often confront these learners with the same types of tasks, exercises and teaching methods that they have experienced in school and that have failed for them. Therefore, it can help these learners to engage them in learning contexts that make use of alternative curricula. Pilot projects have tried to do this and have offered cooking lessons, computer classes, drama groups etc. where the focus is on another content than learning to read and write and where literacy instruction is sneaked in through a detour. Results from these attempts show that learning results are good, the drop-out rates are low and, most importantly, learners often do not realize that they are being instructed in literacy, because their focus is on learning to handle a computer or performing a play.

Although it will probably be a long way to the establishment of such class offers on a regular basis and to their region-wide implementation, all these findings are promising first steps on the way to increased access to literacy instruction and improved class offers.

[2] PAGES (to appear) stands for Projekt Alphabetisierung und Grundbildung für Erwachsene im Sozialraum (Project Alphabetization and Basic Education for Adults in Social Areas); in addition to language and literacy acquisition the project has also focussed on aspects of adult education and migrational sociology, see project report for details.

2.3 Immigrant learners

As pointed out above, the degrees of oral proficiency in GSL differ greatly among immigrant learners. This is relevant for the situation in literacy classes because it can be observed that those learners who have solid oral skills may have a headstart in the early stages of literacy development over those learners who have very limited command of the spoken language. However, those learners who speak GSL more or less fluently often show numerous errors and fossilized structures which they may transfer into their literacy development, mostly because they "write as they speak" and thus transfer fossilized oral structures into their writing. It is not clear, though, in how far fossilization has an actual impact on their general process of literacy development, this point requires future investigations.

The existing literate skills that immigrant learners dispose of when they start attending a literacy class can be represented on a continuum ranging from those learners who have never read or written a word before to those learners who possess good literacy skills in their L1 which, however, uses a different writing system than German.

These various conditions and prerequisites combine to provide a complex and very heterogeneous situation for groups of immigrant learners that can be represented in the following chart:

	not literate in any language/writing system	literate in the home language/in a different writing system but not in GSL	literate (at least CEF-level A2) in GSL
no oral proficiency in GSL	I	II	III
basic oral proficiency in GSL	IV	V	VI
solid oral proficiency in GSL	VII	VIII	IX

Figure 1: Proficiency profiles of immigrant learners; (figure adapted from: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2009). Konzept für einen bundesweiten Alphabetisierungskurs. Überarbeitete Fassung für 945 UE.)

The chart shows that there are nine potential combinations of skills, each of these with various increments. While the majority of immigrant learners falls in Fields I, II, IV and V, i.e. they have no or only basic oral skills in GSL and no literate skills in German but sometimes basic literacy skills in the home language, there are also learners who

have lived in Germany for a long time and possess solid oral skills, albeit with grammatical errors and fossilized structures (Field VII). Learners from Fields VIII and IX are rare and should not, strictly speaking, be placed in a literacy course but rather in an advanced GSL class or alike.

In spite of these different profiles, all these learners are often instructed together in the same group. This situation calls for specific measures of group-internal differentiation and individual ways of support. In order to provide these, detailed assessments and flexible course curricula are necessary.

3   Literacy education

The German Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees has published guidelines for literacy classes representing a framework for the skills and proficiencies that should be achieved in these classes. It is based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEF) (Council of Europe, 2001) and the aim is for the learners to achieve CEF level B1 which is generally seen as the threshold level for independent speakers. However, for literacy skills in particular, level A1 to A2 is aimed at, which entails basic/elementary skills such as filling in registration forms or writing simple postcards as well as reading basic texts like names, familiar words or simple headlines. This apparent paradox between B1 as the general aim and A1/A2 as the particular aim for literacy skills exists because it is the task of this class type, according to the guidelines, to bring the learner closer to functional literacy skills while imparting GSL oral proficiency at the same time. This requirement points out an important fact: insufficient oral skills in GSL and insufficient reading/writing skills are often inseparable and therefore have to be addressed parallel in groups of immigrant learners. Consequently, literacy education for L2 learners is almost never exclusively dedicated to the teaching of reading, writing, sound-letter-correspondences, decoding strategies etc. but always also involves teaching oral GSL.

Therefore, in the first few weeks of class, it needs to be examined in detail what the specific needs of the individual learner are. However, assessment tools that take into account the described heterogeneity of learner profiles and the attested inseparability of proficiencies are scarce. Additionally, administering these assessments requires a solid degree of analytic and linguistic competence on the part of the literacy instructors, something that their academic training often does not sufficiently equip them with.

3.1   Assessment policies

To date, the existing assessment tools and testing instruments for the evaluation of learners' current level of proficiency in literacy skills are not applicable to the heterogeneous groups of learners described above. First and foremost, the existing tools fail to take into account the learners' existing knowledge in their L1, both in speaking and in writing. Also, they consider the learners' oral skills in GSL only to a limited extent. These shortcomings are due mainly to the highly standardized and very rigid nature of those assessment tools. Additionally, many of the assessment tools that

are being used in practice have been developed for the evaluation of children's literacy acquisition and are not suitable for adult learners (cf. Bulut et al., 2010). However, the increasing degree of heterogeneity in literacy classes has necessitated the development of a flexible, adaptive assessment tool that is suited for adult learners and that is applicable to their individual proficiencies and learning aims.

During the last three years, a research group at the University of Cologne has developed such an adaptive assessment tool (see Bulut et al., 2010 for additional information). The test instrument entitled ADISLA[3] (Adaptives Instrument zur Schriftsprachdiagnostik von Lernenden in Alphabetisierungskursen – Adaptive Instrument for the Assessment of Literacy Skills of Learners in Literacy Classes) combines the assessment of learners' reading and writing skills, both for learners of German as a First and as a Second Language, with longitudinal proficiency growth analyses and a portfolio component. It is highly flexible and enables the instructor who administers the assessment to proceed to more complex tasks (i. e. to higher levels of proficiency) or to interrupt the assessment procedure at anytime, according to the learner's individual performance. Additionally, the assessment tool contains teaching suggestions and examples of classroom practices and exercises that the instructor can use for the individual learner. It is, hence, a very comprehensive tool that provides support for both learners and instructors.

3.1.1   Teacher assessment

Course placement continues to be one of the most challenging issues in literacy practice. Often times, this placement takes place on the basis of standardized language tests, oral interviews or short reading/writing samples. These strategies can at best provide a cursory glance at a learner's existing skills. This results in the attested heterogeneity of learner groups, where learners with very different levels of proficiency are instructed together, because their competence has initially only been examined in part. For these groups, the ADISLA instrument provides a possibility for the class teacher to achieve a fine-grained and complete picture of a learners' proficiency at the beginning of the learning process.

The assessment can be administered to the individual learner on a one-to-one basis while the rest of the group is working on individual tasks. In addition to an initial evaluation at the beginning of the learning process, the test can also be administered repeatedly during the learning process to reveal the learner's progress and proficiency growth as well as potential learning plateaus. Such repeated diagnostics enable the instructor to adapt his/her teaching practices and class contents to each learner individually and to react immediately if a learner seems to stagnate.

The test ranges from letter recognition and testing the learner's knowledge of the alphabet over sound and grapheme isolation techniques and sound-grapheme correspondences to reading and writing on the word, sentence and text level. In the reading part it also involves the evaluation of text understanding. For GSL learners the test involves a vocabulary check (item-naming via photographs) in order to gain an

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[3] At present, the assessment instrument is in the final evaluation stage, therefore representative data regarding the instrument's successfulness do not exist yet. The instrument will be made widely available to literacy class providers by the end of 2011.

impression of their oral skills in L2 German. Additionally, GSL learners are asked to complete a questionnaire in their native language to find out to what extent they can master literacy in their L1.

Generally, the test design is impressionistic and it is intended specifically for the class instructor to achieve a detailed impression of each learner's performance. Also, the test is competence-oriented and based on 'can do' statements. This means, the testing procedure can be interrupted at anytime in order to avoid the learner's frustration. It is the principal aim to find out what the learner 'can do', i.e. what s/he is capable of doing with the spoken/written German language, instead of focusing on the learner's deficits, as many traditional testing tools do.

3.1.2   Self-assessment and portfolio work

In addition to the repeated assessments administered by the instructor, ADISLA also contains a portfolio component that fosters the learners' self-assessment. Especially learners with no prior schooling experience exhibit great difficulties in self-reflection upon their learning process. It is common for these learners to set unrealistic goals for themselves ("In three months, I want to be able to read a book") which, in turn, can lead to frustration and eventually to class drop-out. To avoid this, the assessment tool contains a portfolio component where learners can choose their individual aims for the subsequent class segment of, e.g. three months. These aims are then negotiated with the class instructor who can help to moderate them, if necessary, so that they can be realistically achieved within the agreed time span. The instructor can also show learners what steps and learning strategies they can use to achieve their aim, and the learners can subsequently work on these steps independently or with occasional teacher support.

This procedure will over time lead learners to estimate their own proficiency adequately and to set achievable learning aims for themselves that enhance the learning motivation. Also, this leads to a higher level of learner independence, something that adults with no or little schooling experience often lack.

Finally, the portfolio component serves to collect learners' writing samples and class results over the course of time. Whenever a learner reaches a learning plateau or has the impression to stagnate in his/her learning progress, these samples and results in the longitudinal portfolio show the learner how much his/her skills have increased over time. Especially older learners often feel that they forget class contents easily and have to "start from scratch every week". Confronting them with their earliest writing products and comparing them to their current ones visualizes their progress for them and has a very motivating effect.

Both, teacher assessment and self-assessment with the help of a portfolio instrument, should combine to provide a comprehensive picture of the learner's proficiency and literacy growth. The ADISLA instrument provides this combination and it also provides practical help for class instructors because it suggests classroom strategies, tasks and exercises for heterogeneous learner groups. Especially the latter is much needed since the expertise and education of literacy teachers is nearly as diverse as is the makeup of their learner groups.

3.2   Teacher education

"The assessment, especially the literacy component, should always be administered by experienced instructors who have extensive teaching experience in GSL and also abundant proficiency in literacy education." (Konzept für einen bundesweiten Alphabetisierungskurs: p. 40). This claim shows that whoever administers the assessment should also have prior literacy teaching experience. Ideally, these responsibilities should be undertaken by an experienced teacher who is now specialized in assessing and responsible for course placement. Testing and placement should not be the exclusive responsibility of the teachers, although this is often the case in reality. Very often, it becomes the responsibility of the class teacher to evaluate each learner's individual situation, their current level of knowledge and their learning aims. Subsequently, it is also the instructor's responsibility to select the correct type and amount of teaching content and, in the course of the class, to administer repeated assessments to evaluate the learners' progress.

However, when one compares these numerous duties of literacy instructors to the education that most of them have been able to get, it is obvious that many of them lack the sufficient expertise to fulfill all these responsibilities. First and foremost, this is due to the fact that there has not been, until recently, a university degree specifically designed for literacy teachers. Therefore, the educational backgrounds of literacy teachers are very diverse: only some have had some education in GSL, but many have had a teacher education for subjects other than German, or even possess a university degree for an entirely different field, such as pedagogy, social science etc.

So far, this situation has been remedied by additional teacher trainings for teachers who are already in-service, although the funding situation for such additional trainings is poor. It must be pointed out here that many literacy teachers are highly motivated and take these additional trainings on a voluntary basis and without receiving payment for it. In general, the salary situation of the large majority of literacy instructors must be called 'precarious' (cf. Schramm & Roll, 2010: 6), as it is unsteady and often based on non-permanent contracts or short-term fees.

In order to remedy the non-satisfying educational situation, the College of Education in Weingarten, Germany, has started a Master Degree for Literacy and Basic Education in 2009. It is a part-time degree that can be completed in two years on an extra-occupational basis. It is a practice-oriented modular system that aims at increasing the students' analytic competence and the application of their analyses to teaching practices. The study modules are 1. Literacy and Basic Education, 2. Adult Education, 3. Content Skills – Reading and Writing, 4. Content Skills – Basic Education and Employment, 5. Counselling and Assessment, 6. Academic Research. Unfortunately, the tuition fees for this Master Program are high and given the precarious financial situation of many literacy instructors, it is questionable how many of them have the chance to take part in the program. At present, the geographic location of the College of Education also seems to present an additional barrier to accessing the program, therefore, establishing similar programs in other German colleges and universities would be very desirable. Nonetheless, the Master Program closes a much-debated and very important gap in comprehensive literacy education and is a very promising model for future teacher qualifications.

4   Future perspectives and desiderata

As this article has shown, much is left to be done on the way to a comprehensive, individual and qualitatively high system of literacy education in Germany. However, during the past four years important changes have been initiated and promising initiatives have been implemented. Improved teacher education and increased access to literacy instruction for all learners continue to be the most pressing demands.

However, the combination of national efforts and the collaboration with other European and international literacy networks, such as LESLLA, strengthen the present endeavours and point out new paths to further improvements in the system.

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VIDEO-BASED TEACHER TRAINING MATERIAL FOR GERMAN-AS-A-SECOND-LANGUAGE LITERACY TEACHERS[1]

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1   Introduction

Teacher training for LESLLA classrooms has been identified as one of the major priorities by members of the EU-Speak project that aims to "capture, celebrate and share local best practice in provision of second language (L2) teaching and professional training of tutors to immigrant adults at Basic User Level" (see EU-Speak 2010-2011).[2] The number of MA programs and in-service teacher training programs in Europe explicitly addressing L2 literacy teaching to immigrant adults seems low compared to the educational challenges we are facing in this domain. The authors of this paper perceive not only the need to expand L2 literacy teacher training to meet the great demand of teachers in this field, but also to discuss on an international scale how such programs can best support professionals in their attempt to acquire and improve the teaching skills needed for their complex work. The question that we would therefore like to address in this paper with regard to German as a second language (GSL) is how video-based tasks can support literacy teacher training. As a starting point, we give a brief overview of literacy-oriented German integration courses in section 2 in order to show the urgent need for teacher training in the field of GSL literacy. Section 3 introduces major characteristics of an in-service teacher training program established at Leipzig University for GSL teachers in literacy classes because it provides the background for our attempts at developing video-based teacher training material. After brief reflections on the general functions of video use in teacher training and the particular challenges of videography in literacy classrooms, section 4 outlines and illustrates the four-step procedure "Watch – Describe – Reflect – Construct Teaching Maxims" that we use in video-observation and transcript-analysis tasks for GSL literacy teacher training.

2 *Demands of GSL literacy education and GSL literacy teacher training*

In 2005, a new immigration law came into effect that has great impact on language learning programs for adult immigrants who either want to live or already live in Germany (Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet Aufenthaltsgesetz – AufenthG 2004). For legal entry of immigrant spouses, the law – with some exceptions[3] – requires a certificate of basic oral and written German skills at the A1 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference (see Council of Europe 2001).[4] It also obliges immigrant residents with oral or written German skills below the B1 level who receive public welfare or who have been classified as being in special need of integration to participate in a so-called integration course; and it entitles other immigrants with German language skills below the B1 level to the right to participate in these federally subsidized courses at the price of 1€ (euro) per lesson. Integration courses usually comprise 600 lessons of language learning and 45 lessons of so-called (political and cultural) orientation. They aim at oral and written language skills at the B1 level, certified on the basis of a scaled A2-B1 language test that is compulsory for obliged participants. According to the figures of the *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (BAMF 2011: 10, 2011: 13), in 2010 83.818 people completed their integration course and 51.791 of those (including 2.570 who repeated the test) passed the test at the B1 level.[5]

After 2005, the number of learners in literacy-oriented integration courses sharply increased and made the urgent need for concepts for LESLLA learners more apparent than ever before in German history. As Table 1 shows, the percentage of learners in GSL literacy classes rose from 4.1 % in 2005 and 2006 to 14.1 % and 13.6 % of all participants in integration courses in 2009 and 2010. Altogether, more than 68.000 learners have attended GSL literacy classes since the establishment of the integration course system (see Table 1). The responsible *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (*BAMF*) reacted to this development with a "preliminary framework for integration courses including GSL literacy acquisition" in 2007 (Feldmeier, 2007) and, after two more years of experience and discussion, with the "framework for integration courses including GSL literacy acquisition" in 2009 (Feldmeier, 2009). It allows for 945 to 1245 subsidized lessons for GSL literacy learners (for combined training in literacy, oral language, and language learning autonomy) and provides general methodical and curricular guidelines for teachers in such classes.[6]

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[3] Exceptions are EU citizens and their spouses, mentally, physically or psychologically challenged persons, persons with a university degree and a so-called discernable lower need of integration, persons who only want to live in Germany temporarily as well as spouses of so-called highly qualified persons, of researchers, of company founders, of persons entitled to political asylum, of refugees, of permanent residents of another EU-state or from Australia, Israel, Japan, Canada, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand or the United States.
[4] For a critical review of the political development, see Krumm's position in Goethe Institut (2009) who argues that the current immigration laws may constitute a violation of the human right of families to be together.
[5] Learners who pass the test at the B1 level within two years of completion of their integration course receive a refund of 50% of their integration course fees; the B1 level also entitles them to permanent residency one year earlier than the regular requirement of 8 years.
[6] For a critical review of the GSL literacy course system, see Schramm (2011).

A survey study conducted in a representative sample of 60 integration courses by the *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (Rother, 2010) provides detailed information on the participants of these GSL literacy classes. According to this study, 72.2 % of the learners in GSL literacy classes are women (as opposed to 63.6 % in other integration courses, see Rother, 2010: 17). The average age of the learners is 41.6 years (as opposed to roughly 8 years younger in other integration courses); the age in this survey ranged from 16 to 82 (Rother, 2010: 17). The learners' most frequent first languages are Kurdish (22.4%), Arabic (14.1%), Turkish (11.0%), Russian (9.8%), Albanian (6.1%) and Farsi (4.7%) (Rother, 2010: 23; also see Table 2 on the countries/regions of birth of the learners).

Table 1: Development of absolute numbers and relative percentages of learners in GSL literacy classes

	2005 and 2006[7]	2007[8]	2008[9]	2009[10]	2010[11]
Number of learners in literacy-oriented integration courses	10.215	12.546	16.905	16.338	12.093
Percentage of learners in literacy-oriented integration courses compared to all learners in integration courses	4.1	11.0	13.9	14.1	13.6

Table 2: Countries/regions of birth of the questioned learners according to sex and age (translated from Rother, 2010: 20)

	Number	Percentage total	Percentage male	Percentage female	Mean age
Turkey	112	22.7 %	8.8 %	27.7 %	42.9
West, Central and South Asia (without Iraq)	85	17.2 %	25.0 %	14.4 %	41.0
Iraq	66	13.4 %	25.7 %	8.6 %	31.6
States of the Commonwealth of Independent States	58	11.7 %	19.1 %	8.9 %	47.1
Ex-Yugoslavia and Albania	41	8.3 %	5.1 %	9.5 %	43.2
East and Southeast Asia	36	7.3 %	2.2 %	9.5 %	45.3
Africa (without North Africa)	36	7.3 %	2.2 %	9.5 %	40.3
North Africa	30	6.1 %	2.9 %	6.9 %	43.8
EU-15	13	2.6 %	5.1 %	1.7 %	50.7
EU-12	6	1.2 %	1.5 %	0.9 %	44.2
Middle/South America	6	1.2 %	0.7 %	1.4 %	38.6
Germany	5	1.0 %	1.5 %	0.9 %	27.4

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[7] See BAMF (2008: 5).
[8] See BAMF (2008: 5).
[9] See BAMF (2009: 3).
[10] See BAMF (2011: 5).
[11] See BAMF (2011: 5).

| Total | 494 | 100.0 % | 100.0 % | 100.0 % | 41.6 |

Unfortunately, the information on learners' level of literacy provided by Rother (see Table 3) is somewhat skewed by a problematic use of terminology; against the background of a total lack of studies in this field, it nevertheless provides helpful hints about course structure. Her report is based on double-checked teacher- and learner-reports. Learners who were able to do so, filled out their written questionnaire in their first language. Other learners were questioned by their teachers orally – if necessary with the help of a translator – who marked the written questionnaires for the learners. Teachers were also asked to complete a written questionnaire concerning their observations of each individual student and concerning themselves and the whole class. In the case of a contradiction between learner and teacher report, Rother (2010) relied on the teacher information; in the case of a missing report, Rother (2010) relied on the single source of information.

On this basis, she considers the percentage of *primarily illiterate learners* to be 37 (also see footnote 13). *Functional illiteracy* in the first language, operationalized by Rother (2010: 28) as reading and writing skills below the B2 level,[12] is reported for another 19% of learners with a non-Roman alphabet in their first language and another 16% of learners using the Roman alphabet to write their first language. Yet another 6.6% of learners have originally acquired writing skills using the Roman alphabet at the B2 level or higher levels but are now nevertheless considered to be *somewhat functionally illiterate* in their first language (also see footnote 14). Finally, the percentage of so-called *second script learners* with reading and writing skills in a non-Roman alphabet at the B2 level and higher was established as 21.4 % (also see footnote 15).

The challenge of teaching groups of learners who are that heterogeneous in terms of age, language background, and literacy experience is further aggravated by the fact that the oral GSL skills of many participants are very basic; according to teacher-reports, the listening skills of more than 55% of learners are below the A1 level and those of more than 85% of learners are below the A2 level (see Rother, 2010: 32).

Teachers of these heterogeneous GSL literacy classes are certified and experienced in teaching German as a second language, but usually have no formal and little practical background in fostering literacy acquisition: Rother states that "33.3% of them have little or almost no experience in literacy classes, 13.0% have more than 6 months, 24.1 % more than one year, 14.8 % more than three years and another 14.8 % more than five years of experience in literacy classes" (translated from Rother 2010: 16).

To summarize, the recent increase in GSL literacy learner numbers, the challenges posed by learner heterogeneity and low orals skills combined with the fact that integration course teachers from a GSL background usually lack formal education and practical experience in the literacy domain establish an urgent need for teacher training in the field of GSL literacy.

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[12] The approach taken by Rother (2010) to use the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference to determine functional literacy appears questionable in terms of validity to the authors of this paper.

Table 3: Literacy levels of the questioned learners according to sex and age (translated from Rother, 2010: 29)

	Number	Percentage total	Percentage male	Percentage female	Mean age
Primarily illiterate[13] persons in L1	185	37.0 %	27.2 %	41.4 %	41.2
Functionally illiterate persons in L1 with...	... a non-Roman alphabet in L1 and an A1, A2 or B1 reading and writing ability in L1	95	19.0 %	25.7 %	15.9 %	41.7
	... a Roman alphabet in L1 and an A1, A2 or B1 reading & writing ability in L1	80	16.0 %	11.0 %	18.1 %	43.7
	... a Roman alphabet in L1 and a B2, C1 or C2 reading & writing ability in L1[14]	33	6.6 %	2.9 %	7.4 %	42.2
Second-script learners[15] (with B2, C1 or C2 level writing ability in an L1 using a non-Roman alphabet)		107	21.4 %	33.1 %	17.3 %	40.6
Total		500	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	41.6

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[13] In her study, Rother (2010: 28) defined *primary illiteracy* as being without reading and writing skills. As far as can be reconstructed from the questionnaires used in her study, this concept was operationalized by the following learner and teacher reports: The learner answered that he or she can neither write in his or her mother tongue nor in any other language. The teacher answered that the learner has "no" reading and "no" writing ability in his or her mother tongue (as opposed to "below A1 level", see Rother 2010: 61). The authors of this paper consider the term *total illiteracy* to be more suitable in this case because this operationalization concerns the skills level, not the temporal aspect of whether the students learned how to read and write in school (see Linde 2008).

[14] Rother notes that it is problematic to claim that this group is *functionally illiterate* and therefore calls them "somewhat functionally illiterate" (translated from Rother, 2010: 28). It is not clear from her study whether these learners are *secondarily illiterate* or not.

[15] Using the term *second-script learners* only for learners who have attained at least B2 writing ability in their first language, Rother (2010) considers learners with first language writing ability at a lower level to be *functionally illiterate*. The authors of this paper not only have doubts concerning the teachers' abilities to reliably assess the various L1 reading and writing skills of their learners, but also question Rother's use of terminology that does not distinguish between non-Roman alphabets and non-alphabetic scripts. Problematically, she defines *second-script learners* as learners "who have attained functional literacy in a non-Roman alphabet" and "who thus focus on learning a second script in the integration course" (translated from Rother, 2010: 28) – thereby simply overlooking the fact that non-alphabetic writing systems exist.

3   The Leipzig teacher training program for GSL teachers in literacy classes

To address the aforementioned reasons, we established the Leipzig program for in-service GSL literacy teachers at the Herder Institute of Leipzig University in 2008 (see Heintze & Schramm, 2010). It consists of 16 modules of five 45-minutes lessons usually offered on eight weekends (Friday afternoon and Saturday morning) over the span of nearly one year. Figure 1 shows the titles of the modules that are closely related to the relevant standards set by the *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF)* for GSL literacy teacher training and that therefore allow for a certification by the *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees.* Despite their usually high workload caused by their employment as rather low-paid freelancers[16], more than 120 teachers have completed this ambitious program that particularly aims at a strong interrelatedness of practical and theoretical issues. In one direction, the practical experiences and particularly the challenges faced by teacher participants generate the research agenda on GSL literacy at the Herder-Institute, and in the other direction we use case studies, learner data etc. from published and ongoing research in the teacher training program. This fruitful exchange has also led us to team-teach most of our modules in pairs of an experienced GSL literacy classroom teacher and a GSL literacy researcher. Using a moodle platform, an open source community-based e-learning environment, the program aims at building sustainable networks of teachers who continue to discuss classroom problems and to exchange ideas and material for their daily teaching after they have completed the 16 modules.

Module 1:	Target groups and goals of L2 literacy programs
Module 2:	Socio-cultural aspects and learner biographies
Module 3:	Linguistic aspects of literacy acquisition
Module 4:	Teaching methods for the literacy classroom
Module 5:	Placement, counselling, and learner evaluation
Module 6:	Learning difficulties / dyslexia
Module 7:	Phonological awareness
Module 8:	Contrastive elements in L2 literacy programs
Module 9:	Learner autonomy
Module 10:	Activity-orientation / literacy as social practice
Module 11:	Building (oral) vocabulary and grammar
Module 12:	Visual material in the L2 literacy classroom
Module 13:	Teaching material (development)
Module 14:	Digital media in the L2 literacy classroom
Module 15:	Transferable teaching skills
Module 16:	Transitions from literacy classrooms to regular integration courses

Figure 1:   Modules of the Leipzig in-service teacher training program for GSL literacy teachers

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[16] According to figures of the Ministry of the Interior, payment varies between less than 10 € to 25 € per lesson (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2006: 158.)

Constant evaluation by the teacher participants helps us to maintain and improve the quality of the program. A particular focus of quality improvement in 2010 and 2011 has been the integration of video material into several modules. We were able to reach this goal in a joint project with the Goethe Institute München that funded the development of video-based teacher training material for German-as-a-foreign-language teachers preparing spouses to pass the A1 level test (see Feick, Heintze & Schramm, 2010 and also Feick, Heintze & Schramm, in progress). The next section therefore outlines functions of video use in teacher training (section 4.1) and highlights aspects that are particular to videography in the L2 literacy classroom (section 4.2). We then make a suggestion on how to structure video observation (section 4.3) and transcript-analysis tasks (section 4.4).

4   Video-based GSL literacy teacher training

4.1   General functions of video use in teacher training

Since the TIMSS[17]-studies in 1995 and 1999 "have elicited a world-wide boom of video-based classroom studies" (translated from Pauli & Reusser, 2006: 775), the field of foreign language teaching has increasingly inquired into the particular research potential of videos and multimedia transcriptions for analyzing foreign language lessons (e.g., see Chavez, 2007; DESI-Konsortium, 2006; Dufficy, 2004; Mackey, 2006; Mempel, 2010; Morgan, 2007; Ricart Brede, 2011) and for teacher training (e.g., see Gregersen, 2007; Helmke et al., 2007; Mackey, Polio & McDonough, 2004; Osam & Balbay, 2004). In their review of video-based research on language teaching and learning, Schramm & Aguado (2010) conclude that video use holds high potential for language teacher training:

> Of particular interest for teacher training seems to be the video-based, co-operative, multi-perspective co-construction of professionally relevant knowledge and the joint development of alternative ways of action; these require critical, respectful as well as appreciative observations of lessons taught by others or by oneself. Detailed discussions of "cases" – be they one's own or those of colleagues –, serve (a) to heighten self-perception, (b) to detect habits and patterns, (c) to identify action-directing cognitions and finally (d) to develop alternative behavior and action patterns.
> (translated from Schramm & Aguado 2010: 209)

An important advantage of using videos as opposed to the observation of ongoing lessons is that they provide opportunities for collaborative reflection that is free from the time and action constraints in the classroom, and that they still allow for practically oriented, easily transferable, inductive learning from real lesson incidences. As Pauli & Reusser (2006: 792) have pointed out, they can also serve as reference objects for the development of a professional language.

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[17] TIMSS = Third International Mathematics and Science Study.

4.2 Videography in the L2 literacy classroom

In order to be able to use these advantages for teacher training in the field of GSL literacy, we need videos taken in such classrooms. In our videographic documentation of so far 42 GSL literacy lessons, several decisions were related to the specific nature of these classrooms. In the pre-production phase, access to learner groups was of special concern to us because we expected reluctance to videography on the side of the learners either related to an Islamic background or possibly due to shame concerning weak reading and writing skills. Ex-participants of the teacher training program outlined in section 3 and partner institutions for L2 literacy training from the EU-Speak project proved to be helpful gatekeepers in our attempts at winning the informed consent of learners to a videographic data collection. Written consent forms were explained to the students in detail by their teachers, and a payment of 30.00 € (in 2010) or 40.00 € (in 2011) was offered to them. The teacher received a payment of 50.00 € in 2010 and 100.00 € in 2011 for the additional effort of preparing and coordinating the videography with the camera team. Using a digital hand-held camera, two external microphones and no artificial illumination, a documentary film team of only two was to focus particularly on individual learning processes, partner and group interaction, but also to capture relevant teacher activities.

In the production phase, the deployment of a young cameraman with an immigration background may have increased the learners' confidence. He followed learner actions intuitively (e.g., gestures, dialogues) and used a combination of close-ups, medium shots and long shots to capture learning and classroom interaction conflicts in an audiovisually aesthetic way. A focus on close-ups of individual learners, especially their hands and working material, helped to capture the difficulties of LESLLA learners in (pre)writing and (pre)reading activities.

In the post-production phase, the cameraman cut and edited the material following dramaturgic principles (e.g., lesson phases and conflicts). Second language literacy experts used these videos to produce screening protocols concerning the chronological organization of the lesson and particularly the thematic relevance for specific teacher training modules. The chosen sequences retain their original order and synchronic sound, yet are narrated through the montage of shots of classroom scenes. In many cases, the combination of audible learner-teacher dialogues and visible close-ups of hands working with the material reveal problem solution processes generated by a task.

Without doubt, it is time-consuming and thus costly to produce such professional video material. For a two-day shooting of a class with eight to ten lessons, we needed about 70 hours of pre- and post-production including the selection of material for task development. The ratio of video material selected for the teacher trainer tasks to the edited material was 1:3.[18] This selected video material then served as the basis for the production of video-observation tasks (see section 4.3) and of transcript-analysis tasks (see section 4.4).

4.3 Video-observation tasks

The video-observation tasks we developed usually follow a four-step procedure outlined in Figure 2. In the first step, teacher participants are asked to watch the

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[18] The ratio of selected material to filmed raw material was 1: 4,5.

sequence at least once. The video material might show a longer classroom sequence (e.g., a lesson of 45 minutes) that has been reduced to a video sequence of about 10 minutes by focusing on the lesson's transitions between phases and/or representative pieces of each lesson phase so that the macro-structure of the lesson becomes apparent. Such macro-structural video sequences lend themselves to a reconstruction of the learning goals in step 2 and a critical appraisal concerning their sequential arrangement in step 3. Such critical appraisal can, for example, be based on a comparison with a theoretical sequence model and can include suggestions for improvement such as re-organizing the order of the lesson phases, changing, or enriching them. Step 3 also includes the responsible group's selection of a video segment for presentation to the whole class and its critical appraisal by the expert groups that serves as the basis for discussion in the whole group. This discussion does not necessarily have to lead to a group consensus concerning teaching maxims for each participant's own professional action. Instead, teacher participants are encouraged to construct autonomous teaching maxims and to share these with the group.

Step 1:	Watch	Watching the video 1-3 times
Step 2:	Describe	Describing the sequence
Step 3:	Reflect	Critical appraisal of colleague's work
Step 4:	Construct	Constructing maxims on own future teaching Sharing of individual teaching maxims

Figure 2: Four-step procedure "WaDeReCon"

Alternatively, the video-observation task sequence might be a short sequence of typically only 1 to 5 minutes with a focus on the micro-level; such video sequences allow for contrasting methodic procedures or for observing individual learning processes.

4.4 Transcript-analysis tasks

In addition to the video-observation tasks, we developed transcript analysis tasks that require a closer analysis of teacher-learner or learner-learner interactions. The basic structure of the four-step procedure of WaDeReCon remains, but with these tasks, teacher participants are encouraged to watch the video first and then follow the exact details in the transcript when they re-start the video sequence for a second time. Figure 3 shows an example of a transcript produced with the software EXMARaLDA (see Rehbein et al., 2004) using basic HIAT conventions (see Ehlich, 1992). The transcript provides information on simultaneous actions like a musical score does. One line documents the verbal actions of the teacher with the pseudonym L; another line shows the verbal action of a student with the pseudonyms ALMI. The five score areas numbered 8 to 12 show part of a student-teacher interaction on the German definite plural "die" (English: "the"). The two-page transcript that we work on with teacher participants is longer than the excerpt shown in Figure 3.

For the second step of describing the video sequence, we consider scaffolds like the one shown in Figure 4 to be helpful. On the left, the excerpt from an exemplary table lists the German student and teacher utterances which have been translated into English for the purpose of this paper. On the right hand side, the teacher participants

are expected to reconstruct the linguistic action steps realized by these utterances. Figure 4 shows four scaffolded examples of reconstructions on the right hand side. Likewise, teacher participants are expected to reconstruct the action steps at other points in the transcript that seem especially noteworthy in order to gain insights into this particular video sequence. The gray areas provide a segmentation at a higher grain-size level; the teacher participants are encouraged to find headings for these larger segments and thus reconstruct the interaction of students and teachers in the videotaped and transcribed sequence at a macro-level after they have finished the micro-level analysis of linguistic action steps.

The third step (reflect) in this transcript-analysis task aims at a critical appraisal of the teacher's classroom interaction. The complete material of the example excerpts shown in Figures 3 and 4 document an interaction between an Arab student who is trying to test his hypothesis that "many [items]" (see Figure 3, score area 8) always take the German article *die* (English *the*, plural) and a teacher who uses the explanation that "[w]ith, with two items [it's] always *die*" (see Figure 3, score area 8). The German language does not morphologically differentiate between a dual and a plural; therefore the teacher's focus on two items seems to be motivated by having talked about body parts like hands, eyes and ears that come in pairs of two. The student, whose first language Arabic does differentiate between dual and plural morphemes, however,

[8]			
L	Okay.	Bei, bei zwei Sachen immer "die".	
L [en]	Okay.	With, with two items always "die".	
ALMI	Bei viele immer "die"?		Immer
ALMI [en]	With many always "die"?		Always

[9]			
L	Wenn Sie zwei…		Genau!
L [en]	If you have two…		Exactly!
ALMI	"die".	((unverständlich, 0,5s)) zwei oder viele.	
ALMI [en]	"die".	((incomprehensible, 0,5s)) two or many.	

[10]			
L	Genau. Bei vielen, ne? Bei vielen.	Immer "die", ne? Also, die	
L [en]	Exactly. With many, right? With many.	Always "die", right? So, "die"	
ALMI	Bei viele.	Immer "die".	
ALMI [en]	With many.	Always "die".	

[11]			
L	Ohren, die Hände, die Füße, die Beine…	Die	
L [en]	ears, "die" hands, "die" feet, "die" legs…	"Die" eyes.	
ALMI	Die Füße, die Augen ((unverständlich, 1s)).		
ALMI [en]	"Die" feet, "die" eyes ((incomprehensible, 1s)).		

[12]			
L	Augen. Genau.	Die Haare.	
L [en]	Exactly.	"Die" hair.	
ALMI	Die Haare.		
ALMI [en]	"Die" hair.		

Figure 3: Example of a transcript used in step 1 (with translations into English)

UTTERANCES		LINGUISTIC ACTION STEPS	
STUDENT(S)	TEACHER	STUDENT(S)	TEACHER
First round (transcript score area 8-9):			
Bei viele immer „die"? *With many always "die"?*	Bei, bei zwei Sachen immer „die". *With, with two items always "die".*	*Asks for confirmation of his rule hypothesis concerning "many".*	*Confirms the rule hypothesis concerning "two".*
Immer „die". *Always "die".*	Wenn Sie zwei… *If you have two…*	*Repeats the application part of the rule.*	*Repeats the condition for rule application.*
Second round (transcript score area 9-10):			

Figure 4: Example of a reconstruction table used for description in step 2 (translated into English)

Singular	Dual	Plural
رقبة واحدة	رقبتان	خمس رقبات
(raqaba wāḥida)	(raqabatān)	(ḫams raqabat)
Literally: "neck–GENDER one–GENDER"	Literally: "neck–DUAL."	Literally: "five neck–PLURAL."
Meaning: "a neck"	Meaning: "two necks"	Meaning: "five necks"

Figure 5: Example of linguistic input used for critical appraisal of colleague's work in step 3[19]

insists on testing his many-items-hypothesis by introducing the German plural *Haare* (English: *hair*, see Figure 3, score area 12). Before teacher participants discuss the videotaped and transcribed teacher's interaction with the Arab student, we introduce morphological information on the Arabic language as shown in Figure 5 as well as impulses to study this chart.

Finally, the fourth step involves the individual construction of action maxims by teacher participants for their own classrooms. In this particular example, the conclusions that we draw from the analysis and confront the teacher participants with after they have drawn their own conclusions are the following:

(a) When students initiate conversation about language (here: grammar), I support and encourage them in this affair by providing time to the issues raised by them and by highlighting conversation about language as highly desirable.

(b) To be able to understand L1-driven learner agendas, I listen very closely in order to understand learner concepts.

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[19] Information that appears in English has been translated from German that appears in the original GSL teacher training material.

(c) If I do not speak the student's first language, I ask him or her for a comparison with the first language (contrastive approach).

(d) When such L1-related incidences occur, I try to learn about features of the student's first language from linguistic reference tools (e.g., see Buschfeld & Schöneberger, 2010) after class.

The suggested analysis and critical appraisal of an empirically documented teacher-student interaction on a linguistically informed basis is to serve as an example on how we envision the use of video-based transcript-analysis tasks in GSL literacy teacher training. It relies on the same pattern of watching, describing, reflecting, and constructing individual teaching maxims for use in the classroom as we suggested for video observation tasks in section 4.3.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, we intended to show that in Germany, an urgent need for GSL literacy teacher instruction has arisen since the introduction of the integration course system in 2005. We briefly sketched the Leipzig teacher training program for GSL literacy teachers in order to describe video-based teacher training material that we developed for this context. Videography in the L2 literacy classroom is an ethically, financially, and artistically challenging endeavor that, if done well, can serve for the development of video-observation tasks and transcript-analysis tasks. With examples, we illustrated a four-step procedure (WaDeReCon) for working with such video-based tasks. Further action research and more encompassing research on teaching skills (see e.g., Seidel & Prenzel, 2007) needs to provide empirical evidence of how successful such video-based tasks are, if implemented on a larger scale or in blended learning concepts.

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WRITING TO A BRIEF: CREATING FICTION FOR IMMIGRANT ADULTS

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1 *Introduction*

It is widely observed that we become proficient readers by reading both in our first language and in a second language, and that this is most successful when we read for pleasure and at our own pace; see e.g. Grabe (1988); Krashen (1988). What is variably termed extensive reading, sustained silent reading and free voluntary reading can also provide access to the sort of culturally rich materials which Pang & Kamil (2004) argue is essential in L2 reading development. Perhaps most importantly for second language readers, reading for pleasure is claimed to contribute to development of morphosyntactic competence and vocabulary (Krashen, 2004; Nation, 1997, respectively). Reading thus constitutes an additional source of input, and this can be crucial for immigrant adults who may otherwise have little contact with native speakers of the L2. However, reading for pleasure, outside the classroom, is not a common practice in adult low-educated second language and literacy acquisition (see Young-Scholten & Naeb, 2010).

LESLLA learners face a 'dual burden' (Tarone, Bigelow & Hansen, forthcoming; Young-Scholten & Strom, 2006): they are still in the process of acquiring linguistic competence in the L2 in which they are learning to read without native language reading skills to transfer. The burden is actual a triple one: unlike educated, literate L2 learners, LESLLA learners do not have access to the many written sources of additional (and often authentic) input, ranging from food labels, timetables and web pages to newspapers, magazines and books. Upon closer examination (see Young-Scholten & Maguire, 2009), it turns out that there is too little appropriate fiction available to motivate or enable LESLLA learners to develop the habit of reading for pleasure. This paper is devoted to this final point: how can sufficient fiction be made available to result in six books per student in each class (see e.g. Rodrigo et al. 2007). In the following, we describe how writers as well as (previously) non-writers can be engaged in the task of writing fiction to a brief that asked them to apply various principles of linguistic accessibility and incorporate elements of cracking good fiction in short books aimed at adult LESLLA learners.

2   *Extensive reading and the availability of books*

According to Rodrigo et al. (2007), adults in literacy classes in the USA rarely read for pleasure. To address this situation, they implemented an extensive reading programme with a group of 43 low-literate adults. Although the reading levels of the 16% in the group who were L2 learners were higher than that of LESLLA learners - comparable to eight-to-ten year old children's levels – the implications of their findings informed the present study: adults who had never read an entire book began to read for pleasure and they overwhelmingly preferred general fiction. Of the 249 fiction, biography and non-fiction books made available, there were 246 readings in the general fiction category. While extensive reading programmes begin in the classroom, the goal is to establish the habit of reading for pleasure outside the classroom. Success in doing so depends heavily on choice of books. Rodrigo et al. made roughly six books available for every student; others recommend between two and four different books for each student in a given class (Day & Bamford, 1998).[1] There may be a shelf books in the LESLLA classroom,[2] but the majority of publishers' books tend not to be at sufficiently low levels to allow indepedent reading or are not directed at the adult immigrant reader, but at native speaking illiterates or young children (see Wallace (2008) for problems adult immigrants have with the latter texts). Teachers and their LESLLA students have long attempted to fill the gap by writing their own books (Peyton, 1993). Yet while teacher- and student-written books might meet local pedagogical aims they might not be appropriate for a library of books for independent pleasure reading.

3   *Engaging and accessible fiction*

Our assumption is that writing to the brief described above will result in fiction as engaging as good children's (or adults') literature yet which is linguisticallly accessible to LESLLA learners. Children's literature might seem appropriate, but in addition to the cultural problems noted in Wallace (2008) we point out that books for five- and six-year old children are written for readers whose linguistic competence is nearing that of the adults in their speech communities (see Young-Scholten & Maguire, 2009). Syntax and lexis aimed at such readers severely reduces the LESLLA learner's inability to comprehend the text. When attempting to read independently, for pleasure, the reader always has the option of stopping and turning to another activity (Birch, 2002). This is equally true with respect to the story itself: if the narrative does not compel the reader to read the next sentence or to turn the next page, s/he will stop and do something else. The effect of an engaging text goes beyond its power to keep the reader on task; when the text is interesting, learning new vocabulary while reading is more likely to occur (Coady, 1997) and details more likely to be retained (Lee, 2009). Like all fiction, LESLLA fiction should be *accessible* and *engaging*, and there must be a *choice of books*. There

[1] Avid readers in literate societies may only experience reduced choice of reading material when living in countries where they do not speak the language. In minority languages and in less literate societies, choice of fiction is also often limited. In post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa, for example, there is fiction available in French and English, but in other languages there may be very little (e.g. in Rwanda, there are apparently less than 50 fiction books in Kinyarwanda).

[2] This assumption is based on our own observations of classrooms and discussion with teachers.

is considerable potential in establishing the habit of reading for pleasure with its attendant benefits if what we term 'simply cracking good stories' are available in sufficient quantity.

3.1   *Engaging fiction*

In order to write engaging fiction, the writer needs to consider character, story, scene and drama. The main character, the protagonist must be someone we care about. He or she must have a desire, one which is plausible for its context. Interest is enhanced if the desire is strong, and the stakes are high. In terms of structure, stories have a beginning, middle and end. The beginning establishes the main character's desire; in the middle, obstacles prevent the protagonist from fulfulling his/her desire. This can be drawn out, with obstacles mounting, and when this occurs, the desire becomes stronger in response as the story progresses. The reader's sympathy for a character is heightened with each mounting obstacle. At the end, something has changed for the character, and not necessarily fulfillment of that desire. Thus the story starts with a status quo which is disrupted by a 'trigger' (which could be anything, from a change in the weather to a murder) that alters the character's circumstances. It is this change of circumstance that creates a desire. In the end, the protagonist's circumstances, relationships, understanding/world view will have changed. Final surprises and twists of narrative (reversals) enhance the reader's experience upon completing the book.[3]

Writing in scenes creates immediacy and draws the reader in. This involves focusing on what the character does in time and place, and requires both more effort from the writer as well as from the reader who thereby becomes more engaged with the text through making inferences. Concrete details impart a sense of reality. Adjectives and adverbs are used sparingly not only because they add to linguistic complexity but also because they impede the reader's personal visualisation of the situation and characters. Use of direct speech/dialogue rather than reported speech or no speech is both linguistically simpler and also helps to create a scene because with its use, time and place are implied. Use of dialogue generally means use of the present tense which in turn keeps the action vivid and immediate, thus engaging the reader.

In summary, a character we care about whose life is disrupted by a succession of obstacles that build the character's desire to return to the status quo or to change it creates page-turning dramatic tension, and writing in present tense, in scenes and using direct speech/dialogue, encourages the adult reader to interpret the text, to make inferences from his/her own life experiences, which further enhances involvement with the story and the characters.

3.2   *Why inferences are important*

Requiring a reader to interpret a text, no matter how linguistically simple, is a way of involving the reader directly in the story. In fact, the reader's response is necessary in order to complete, understand, and enhance the story. Providing the reader with incomplete information, or delaying the release of information, is also a technique to

[3] Hollywood films nicely demonstrate reversals; see (or watch) for example Tom Hanks in Castaway or George Clooney in Up in the Air.

keep the reader turning the pages of a story in order to find this information. The need to read more deeply into a text, and to make inferences from a vast wealth of life experiences, is particularly appropriate for adults, including emergent LESLLA readers. While the argument could be made that this is too cognitively challenging for such individuals, all adults constantly make inferences during interactions with others, and emergent readers simply need to transfer to written text what they automatically do during speaking. Therefore our advice is always to:

(1) a   Avoid spoon feeding the reader information
    b   Avoid stating things explicitly
    c   Write in scenes
    d   Write in present tense
    e   Avoid making explicit observations and summations
    f   Delay the release of information
    g   When possible, use dialogue.

Writing in scenes in present tense encourages the writer to say less and imply more because the action is described moment by moment as it occurs. This discourages the writer from summarising events for the reader, interpreting events for the reader, and/or coming to conclusions for the reader. The reader must do these things for him/herself.

Well-written dialogue, occurring in scenes, also asks the reader to get involved by interpreting what is said. In this way the adult reader in particular uses his/her own expectations, experiences, and assumptions in order to infer relationships, context, emotions, objectives and conflict, particularly while reading dialogue. In short, good dialogue is brief, under-written, usually not linguistically challenging, and yet requires the reader to participate by inferring meaning. Likewise, well written scenes, containing good dialogue, are immediate, under-written, but still not linguistically challenging- yet such scenes challenge the reader in ways appropriate to their life experience, by requiring interpretation.

3.3   Linguistically accessible fiction

Adults with little or no native language education whose linguistic competence is at a low level seem to make the slowest progress in reading (see e..g. Young-Scholten & Strom, 2006). It is also this group of readers for whom there are by far the fewest books (Young-Scholten & Maguire 2009). The linguistic component of writing to a brief therefore takes such learners into consideration. The objective is to write text that is easy enough to process to enable comprehension. Readers who are just beginning to be able to sound out words require mono- or bisyllabic words composed of CVC syllables. These should be regularly spelled words, and if the orthography is opaque, with a range of irregular spelling patterns (as in Danish and English), any irregularly spelled words should be those high frequency words which are already in readers' sight word repertoires. The writer can exploit LESLLA readers' awareness of syllable, onset and rhyme through rhyming and alliteration, and text can also be effectively repeated. This will result in prose more closely resembling poetry. Vocabulary should consist of concrete verbs, nouns (and only where necessary adjectives and adverbs) which are

relevant to readers' lives; 98% of the vocabulary used in a fiction book should be known by the reader (Hscuh-Chau & Nation, 2000). The requirement that most words be known by the reader is one that should be taken seriously. While the verdict is perhaps still out on whether one can learn vocabulary through reading, i.e. implicitly, the goal of reading for pleasure is first and foremost building LESLLA learners' reading stamina.

Sentences in the stories should be written with reference to Organic Grammar stages 1 and 2 (Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 2005); MacMillan Starter Level (Appendix 2) is along the same lines, but not sufficiently detailed. The table in Appendix 1 is the result of work on uninstructed immigrant learners of German dating back to Vainikka & Young-Scholten (1994) and more recent work on L2 English (see Young-Scholten & Ijuin, 2006). Under Organic Grammar, the learner builds up the syntax of the L2 from the basic lexical projection, Verb Phrase (VP) whose order is initially transferred from the native language. Thus when they are first starting to learn English, Farsi learners, for example, whose native language VP is head-final (the complement precedes the verb) produce utterances such as those in (2) (Mobaraki, Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 2008) from children who were eight and nine years old when data collection began (as soon as they were exposed to English in school in the UK); 'S' stands for the (usually fortnightly) session.[4]

(2) a   My ice-cream like.   (Melissa S 4)
     b   We tennis play.   (Bernard S 4)
     c   Spot cupboard have.   (Melissa S 7)
     d   This chicken on the tractor sitting.   (Melissa S 8)
     e   Monday apple eat.   (Bernard S 9)

At the next stage of early development, second language learners figure out the order of the target language VP. For English, expected utterances at this stage are (S)VO or (subject) verb-object. Subjects may be missing, and pronominal subjects and objects are overall much less frequent than proper nouns. Learners produce single-clause declarative sentences, with no embedded or conjoined clauses. At these stages, there is an overall absense of functional morphology. When writing fiction for learners at this stage, this then means that proper nouns instead of pronouns should be used, sentences should contain only a single SVO clause where the verb is a main/thematic one. Although learners at this stage produce few copulas, given the near impossibility of writing a story without them and certainly given the teaching of third person singular copulas, in writing fiction *is* (or its equivalent in other languages) can be used. It is also impossible to write grammatical fiction without using various other function words such as articles. While adjectives, adverbs and prepositions may have high semantic content, their inclusion in fiction can slow down readers' processing of written text. The guiding principle for the writing of LESLLA fiction is that sentences be short and every word chosen have very high semantic content to allow maximum ease of processing while reading. The longer it takes an emergent reader to get to the end of a sentence, the worse his/her comprehension of the story. Accessibility also

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[4] Although examples here are from (older) children, these are also representative of adult second language acquisition; since 1994 we have claimed that there are no fundamental differences in younger and older learners' second language acquisition of morphosyntax.

entails avoiding discourse devices typically employed for text cohesion (see Whiteside 2008 for LESLLA readers' difficulties with these). Creative use of dialogue and of supporting illustration can substitute for many of these linguistic elements.

3.4   Images

Books for young emergent readers are illustrated and we have generally followed suit (but see below). We kept in mind that images influence the reader's choice of book (Rodrigo et al., 2007), and that images should *clearly* depict the concepts words represent (Nation, 2001). The illlustrations and photographs writers used turned out to support the narrative by substituting for difficult text, e.g. to indicate passage of time. Writers also used both book-end and bottom-of-the-page miniature picture glossaries. When the university student writers field tested their books (see below), they discovered that the LESLLA learners found the latter enjoyable and useful.

4   Writing to the brief: How the student writers did it[5]

During one semester, teams of three language and linguistics and/or creative writing university students in northeast England were given a brief to write and illustrate a fiction book of around 300 words that applied the above described principles of engaging fiction and principles of linguistic simplification. This constituted a module/course assignment for the language and linguistics students, who prepared team-based posters and then wrote individual essays about the linguist decisions they made as they wrote their books. Students were not marked on the fiction quality of their books, but prizes were given for the best five books written (by creative writing and language and linguistics students), as judged by the first author of this article (a creative writer). Under the guidance of the second author, students began the process of writing their books by visiting local ESOL classes to determine the interests of the potential readers. Through focus groups, the future writers discovered that LESLLA students were interested in (in this order): funny stories, life in the UK, crime stories, stories about the past, about immigrants and about famous people. They were less interested in adventure, horror, fantasy and romance. The language and linguistics students had the opportunity to attend (optional) workshops on creative writing, and the creative writing students had the opportunity to attend the weekly lectures on literacy that comprised the content of the module/course the language and linguistics students took. Some students opted to write books in languages other than English. Four of the students whose native languages were not English wrote their books in Polish and German, following versions of Organic Grammar as applied to these languages. One student studying linguistics and Japanese recognized the lack of such books for beginning Japanese second language learners, and after the end of the semester wrote a third book in Japanese. Students provided images to accompany their

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[5] See http://simplycrackinggoodstories.wordpress.com for posters describing the process the 2011 students followed in writing their fiction books for LESLLA adults.

books using clipart, their own photographs and their own drawing. See Appendices 3 and 4 for text and images from two books.

Before their assignments could be submitted, students had to field test the books in the ESOL classes they visited. This typically involved two students listening to a LESLLA student read the book out loud and keeping an account of where problems occurred, and it also involved a focus group organized by one of the teachers where the entire class evaluated eight books. During field testing, the writers discovered that readers did not find the books sufficiently easy. Level of morphosyntax (as described by Organic Grammar) was too high, and sentences contained difficult adverbs, idioms and phrasal verbs. They further discovered that they had not attended to visual presentation of the text: Sans serif font neither too large nor too small was suggested, and each sentence needed to have its own line. With respect to images, readers preferred either photographs or realistic – not cartoon-like – drawings in bright, primary colours. While the LESLLA readers expected the images to unambiguously support the narrative, evidence that this might not be necessary comes from their comments. When readers can articulate displeasure with images where there is no one-to-one match with the text, this indicates that they understand the text. We do not yet know what the relationship should be between images and text in books intended for pleasure reading, and this is certainly an area worth further research.

After field testing, the writers revised their books and submitted them. These books, including some which used proprietary images and Hollywood story lines, were colour photocopied and distributed to the ESOL classes with which we worked.

5   From workshop to finished product in detail: Chiko (see Appendix 3)

It would be useful to look in more detail at exactly how the writer moves from imagining a story to actually writing it. The story we describe here shows an outcome of the process, demonstrating many of the points we have determined to be crucial in writing good stories for new readers. These points include a sympathetic main character, writing in scenes, liberal use of dialogue, use of concrete details, under-written text allowing the reader to infer information, few adjectives and adverbs, narrative build, change of circumstances, desire, frustration of desire, growing problems, complications and conflict, and, of course, linguistic simplification. In this story, there is a sympathetic character, Katie, who has a problem. Katie is uneasy with her new husband's family. She wants them to like her, but they are very different to her own family. Moreover she is lonely, bored, and far from home. In the story, *Katie and Jali drive and drive and drive and drive...* indicating but not stating that Jali's family live very far away; the reader must infer this information not only from the next sentence, but from the next several sentences. This pushes the emergent reader to work on comprehension beyond the individual sentence. There are many other inferences to be made by the reader as the story progresses. Events are not interpreted for the reader, however using the context, the reader can infer conflict, emotions and objectives. Most important, inferring rather than telling creates in the reader a need to know and therefore to read on. Katie's loneliness and her position as a stranger in the house due to marriage is something many LESLLA readers will relate to. A temporary solution to

Katie's loneliness is a dog (Chiko) Jali brings home, but the problems Katie encounters with her new in-laws grow worse and worse as her new dog causes more and more chaos. This serves to make the reader care about Katie.

The story has been written entirely in scenes. The reader is shown, in scenes, the action of the story rather than told the story. When a story is shown in scenes, the reader must participate to make sense of events. When the reader is told the story, conclusions have already been drawn for the reader, who as a result remains outside the story. Our advice to write in scenes, especially in present tense (as demonstrated in *Chiko*) puts the writer in a position in which the action can be described moment by moment as it occurs, therefore discouraging the writer from summarising or interpreting events for the reader. Writing in scenes also encourages the use of concrete and/or significant detail. In each scene perhaps one item is described and focused on, giving the story grounding in the real world. Writing in scenes also encourages the use of dialogue. Well-written dialogue, dialogue that does not obviously give out information, but is motivated by conflict or desire, is another opportunity for the reader to feel close to the characters and to infer meaning.

This process of writing a story involved several workshops conducted by the first author. The first workshop focused on writing a synopsis with a main character in his/her normal situation and coming up with a series of problems and a resolution. Subsequent workshops entailed writing the synopsis as scenes, writing the actual story and then subjecting it to editing (by the first author). The first two scenes establish how Katie's life has just changed and begin to introduce obstacles.

1. The sun shines. The cows moo. The dogs bark. The cats meow. Katie and Jali kiss. Katie's mom smiles. Katie's dad smiles. Katie and Jali smile. They are married.

2: The sun shines. Katie and Jali drive and drive and drive and drive. They see many buildings. They see many houses. They see a big house. Jali stops the car. Jali and Katie see Jali's mom, dad, grandmother and grandfather.
   "Welcome!" says Jali's mom.
   "Come in," says Jali's father.
   "Welcome, come in, come in," say Jali's grandmother and grandfather.
   "Thank-you. You have a lovely home." Says Katie.

Scene 4 introduces additional obstacles: Katie discovers there is no internet access, no phone signal and no shops in the vicinity of the house. Scene 16 is the story's climax. Chiko brings a snake into the house, but no one has been able to find it. Although it is established in an earlier scene that the snake is not dangerous, the snake is still at large and Jali's family has banished Chiko to outside. This scene also serves the purpose of Chiko starting to win Jali's mum's approval.

16. "Come! Eat." says Jali's mum.
   "Eeeeeeeeeek! Snake in the beans!" Jali's grandmother screams.
   The snake is on the table.
   The snake is on the floor.
   "Get Chiko!" says Jali's mum.
   Chiko sees the snake.

   The snake is in Chiko's mouth.
   Jali opens the door.
   "Good dog!" says Jali's mum.

The book ends with the solution to Katie's loneliness: Chiko is further accepted by the family after he goes to dog obidience school.

The prize-winning books similarly involved a single focus and sustained conflict, kept questions temporarily unanswered, used concrete and logical details along with dialogue and repetition . The plots in these five hooks unfolded over a period of hours, days, weeks or years. Crucially, each had a twist of plot and endings were ambiguous. It is the unexpected and the ambigous that delight and stimulate the reader.

6   Discussion

Our on-going Simply Cracking Good Stories project has shown that writing fiction to a brief, for LESLLA readers, is indeed possible for both experienced creative writers and neophytes. The project does confirm the challenge of writing fiction books for adults with very low oral proficiency, suggesting that this is why so few such books exist. With respect to the process of guiding writers to create fiction books, as experts in creative writing (the first author) and second language acquisition (the second author), we have realized the importance of working closely with writers on both principles of accessibility and of fiction. Fiction writing workshops, including subsequent editing of books, are essential in producing high quality fiction.

The project also raises a number of issues each of which is worth empirical investigation. How long should books be? While teachers recommend books not longer than 300 words, the length of books preferred by readers will remain an open question until we are able to observe a range of LESLLA learners' pleasure reading habits. What is the role of images in these fiction books? Writers have thus far included in their fiction books on each page at least one and sometimes several of their or a friend's drawings or photographs or clipart images. Do books require images for the story to be comprehended? We are currently in the process of field testing *Chiko* without any images (apart from clocks showing the time). Images might well make a more attractive product, but we think the story might be strong and vivid enough for the text to stand alone. If this is correct, when this (and other stories created according to these guidelines) are accompanied by images, the illustrators or photographers may feel free to bring a new dimension to the text, illustrating the characters' expressed (and unexpressed) emotions for example. It would be very exciting to think of images that could be more sub-textual, even for new readers, because images do not have to explain or clarify the text. This would also, for example, provide new ways in which teachers might work with LESLLA learners on beginning to understand the use of images in the wider societies in which they live. The most important issue is, of course, LESLLA learners' reading these books. Until LESLLA classrooms have a library even half the size of what Rodrigo et al. (2007) recommend (e.g. three different books per student (=45 for a class of 15 students), an investigation of the development of the habit of pleasure reading by LESLLA adults will simply not be valid. Thus we are still –

with the enthusiastic help of language and linguistics students and creative writing students – working on amassing a suitable amount of engaging and accessible fiction.[6]

7   Conclusion

Through a project which is laying the groundwork for an on-going effort to create a real choice of fiction for LESLLA readers, we have made a number of discoveries. First and foremost, we have determined that there is a hunger for engaging and accessible books. When we distributed the final books to the ESOL classes, the readers immediately wanted to take them home. Teachers asked when there would be additional books and they cooperated in arranging times for university students to return the following year to interact with the readers in the process of writing more books as part of their module/course. The project is also being extended to languages other than English. One of the winning books *Fishing for Love* (see Appendix 4), has been translated into Dutch (see Young-Scholten & van de Craats, 2010), and the project has now begun in Spain. We now know that anyone can write fiction for LESLLA learners. Out of a group of around 30 language and linguistics and creative writing students, it was not just the latter who won prizes for their books. Indeed, the language and linguistics students who had never before seriously written creatively grasped and successfully applied the principles of fiction. Fiction requires editing, and we did not allow sufficient time to implement this process. Had we been able to do so, every fiction book written could have been as engaging as the five prize winners. Our most interesting discoveries lie at the interface between fiction and language. First, as noted above, writing in scenes, writing for immediacy, translates into simple text. Consider the linguistically complex *John sat in his kitchen, utterly and hopelessly depressed by the crisp white letter from his fiancée Mary telling him that she was through with him.* Now consider the linguistically simpler *John eats his soup. He looks at the table. He sees the letter. He reads the letter. He drops his spoon.* Writing in scenes also requires the reader to make inferences; in this case that John is shocked and perhaps unhappy, that the letter contains bad or surprising news. Delaying the information that the letter is from Mary adds further dramatic tension because the reader wonders what was in the letter and who it came from. Here we strongly suspect (but further research is needed) that application of pragmatics (in terms of implicature) to produce maximally engaging text is what will prompt the LESLLA reader – like all readers – to turn to the next page.

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[6] The undergraduate students taking this module/course have repeatedly remarked to the second author (who teaches it) how rewarding it is to have the chance to apply what they have learned about language structure and about second language acquisition.

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Appendix 1

Organic Grammar (Vainikka & Young-Scholten 2005; Young-Scholten & Ijuin 2007)

STAGE	1a	1b	2	3	4
Order in declaratives	**L1 word order**, then from 1b onwards, target language word order				
Verb type	Main verbs only	Main verbs; copula *is*	Main verbs, modals, new copula forms	Main verbs, modals, and copula forms beyond *is*; range of auxiliaries expands	
Main verb inflection	None	Very little	Some tense and aspect forms	Productive tense, aspect and agreement	
Subject pronouns	Absent	Begin to emerge	More forms; subjects optional	Subjects obligatory; *there*, existential *it* emerge and become productive	
Complex syntax	None	Single clause sentences; only formulaic or intonation-based SVO questions	Conjoined clauses; questions are still formulaic or without inversion	Simple subordination; questions may still be without inversion	Complex subordination; questions with inversion.

Note that there is some overlap with Starter Level and Organic Grammar Stage 1.

Appendix 2

Starter Level (300 words; MacMillan Readers Structural reading
www.macmillanenglish.com)

	Verb Group	Nominal Group	Adverbials	Adjectives	Sentence Structure
	Present simple Present continuous Future with *going to*	Simple common nouns Proper nouns	Verb + on simple adverbial phrase of manner, place or time	One adjective before the noun or in the predicate	Sentences of one clause only – verb + subject; subject + complement; subject + verb + object. Sentences introduced by There is/There are/It is. Simple questions with yes/no answers
Occasionally found at Starter Level and frequently at subsequent levels				Two adjectives before the noun	Questions beginning with wh-words

Appendix 3

Chiko

1. The sun shines. The cows moo. The dogs bark. The cats meow. Katie and Jali kiss. Katie's mom smiles. Katie's dad smiles. Katie and Jali smile. They are married.

2. The sun shines. Katie and Jali drive and drive and drive and drive. They see many buildings. They see many houses. They see a big house. The car stops.
   "Welcome!" says Jali's mum.
   "Welcome," says Jali's father.
   "Come in!" say Jali's grandmother and grandfather.
   "Thank-you. You have a lovely home," says Katie.

3. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet. Jali goes to the car.
   "See you tonight," says Jali.
   Jali kisses Katie.
   Jali drives to work.
   Katie goes to the kitchen.
   "Good morning!" says Jali's mum.
   "Tea?" asks Jali's mum.
   "Thank-you," says Katie.

4. Katie goes to the dining room. No computer! No internet! Katie goes to the living room. No computer! No internet! Katie turns on her phone. No signal!
   Katie goes out of the house. She goes down the street. She goes up the street. No shops!

5. (clock with 6 pm)
   "You are late," says Katie.
   "Sorry!" says Jali.
   "My job is very good. Lots of work!" says Jali.
   "Oh," says Katie.
   "What?" asks Jali.

"I miss my mum. I miss my dad. I miss my cats. I miss my dog. I miss my friends. I miss my computer. I miss -
"Please stop," says Jali.

6. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet. Jali goes to the car.
   "See you tonight," says Jali.
   Jali kisses Katie.
   "Are you ok?" asks Jali.
   "Yes," says Katie.
   Katie goes to the kitchen.
   "Good morning!" says Jali's mum.
   "Tea?" asks Jali's mum.
   "Thank-you," says Katie.

7. (clock with 8 pm)
   "You are late. You are very late!" says Katie.
   "Shhh!" says Jali.
   "Look." Jali gives Katie a box.
   "What?"
   Katie opens the box.
   "A puppy!" Katie says.
   "He is Chiko," says Jali.
   "Chiko!" says Katie.
   Chiko licks Katie.
   Katie laughs.
   "Shhh," says Jali.
   "My parents!"
   "Oh," says Katie.

8. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet. Jali walks to the car.
   "See you tonight," says Jali.
   Jali kisses Katie.
   Katie kisses Jali.

9. Katie and Chiko go outside
   Chiko goes up the street.
   Katie goes up the street
   Chiko goes down the street.

   Katie goes down the street.
   Chiko barks.
10. Jali's mum opens the door.
    Chiko runs into the house.
    Katie runs into the house.
    Chiko runs into the living room.
    "Dog!" says Jali's dad.
    "Dog!" says Jali's mum.
    "Dog!" says Jali's grandfather.
    "And snake!" says Jali's grandmother.
    Chiko runs into the kitchen.
    "Snake!" says Jali's grandmother.
    Chiko runs into the dining room.
    "Snake!" says Jali's grandfather.

11. "Black snake!" says Jali's dad.
    "Big head!" says Jali's grandmother.
    "Very long," says Jali's grandfather.
    "Dangerous!" says Jali's mum.
    They look in the kitchen. They look in the living room. They look in the dining room. They look in the bedrooms. They look in the bathrooms.
    "Where is the snake?" asks Jali's grandmother.
    "Where is the dog?" asks Jali's mum.
    "Put him outside," says Jali's dad.
    Katie puts Chiko in the garden. The garden is small. The garden has a wall. The wall is high.
    Chiko barks.

12.   (clock with 7 pm)
    "You are home!" says Katie.
    Jali kisses Katie.
    "Chiko was bad. Chiko is in the garden," says Katie.
    "Oh, no!" says Jali.
    "A snake is in the house," says Jali's mum.
    "Black snake!" says Jali's dad.
    "Big head!" says Jali's grandmother.
    "Very long," says Jali's grandfather.

"Very big," Says Jali's mum.
"Dangerous?" asks Jali.
"Dangerous," says Jali's mum.

13. "Put Chiko inside. Chiko can find the snake," says Jali's mum.
Chiko goes to the kitchen.
Chiko goes to the bedrooms.
Chiko goes to the living.
"Chiko has the snake!" says Jali's grandmother.
"Black snake!" says Jali's grandfather.
"Long snake!" says Jali's grandmother.
"No snake. My belt!" says Jali's mum."Chiko! Outside!" says Jali.
Katie puts Chiko in the garden. The garden is small. The garden has a
    high wall.
Chiko barks and barks and barks.

14. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet.
    The telphone rings.
    "Your dog barks!" says a neighbour
    "Sorry!" says Jali.
    Jali goes to the car.
    Katie goes to the car.
    "See you tonight," says Jali.
    Jali kisses Katie.

15. "Dad goes to the library every day. He reads the newspaper," says
Jali.
    "Go with my dad?" says Jali.
    "Find the snake on the internet," says Jali.

16. The library is big.
  Katie sits at the computer.
  Katie finds snakes.
    Black snakes do not live here.
    Long snakes do not live here.
    Big snakes do not live here.
    Green snakes live here.

17. (clock with 7 pm.)
    Jali goes to the bedroom.
    "Green snakes live here," says Katie.
    "Green snakes are not dangerous," says Jali.

    "Come! Eat!" says Jali's mum.
    "Eeeeeeeeeek! A snake in the beans!" Jali's grandmother screams.
    "Get Chiko!" says Jali's mum.
    Chiko sees the snake.
    The snake is in Chiko's mouth.
    Jali opens the door.
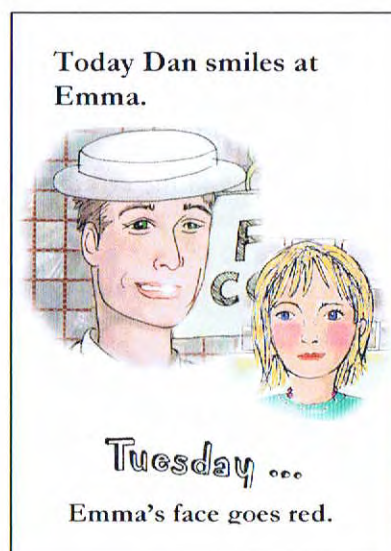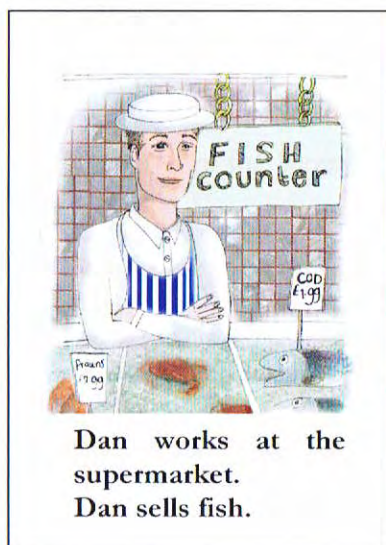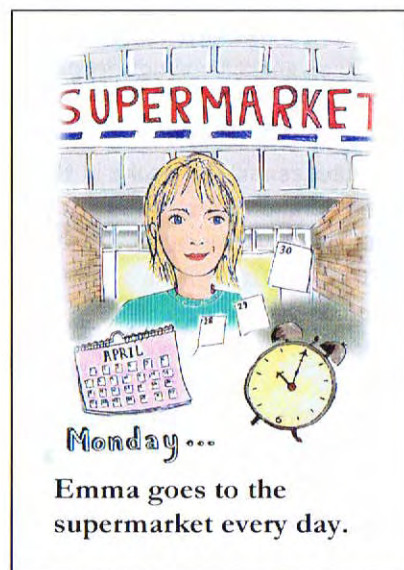   "Good dog," says Jali's mum.

18. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet. Jali goes to the car.
Katie goes to the car. Chiko goes to the car. They drive to the dog
schoal.
Chiko is a good student, says the teacher.

19. Chiko sleeps inside.
    Chiko does not bark.

20. The sun shines. Birds sing. The grass is wet. Jali walks to the car.
    "See you tonight" says Jali.
    Jali kisses Katie.
    Katie kisses Jali.
    Katie walks down the street.
    Chiko walks down the street.
    Katie walks up the street.
    Chiko walks up the street.

Appendix 4

Somes pages from Fishing for love.

Emma goes to the supermarket every day.

Dan works at the supermarket.
Dan sells fish.

Today Dan smiles at Emma.

Emma's face goes red.

Today, Emma returns. She hides.
Dan talks to a girl.

Emma runs home.
She drops her purse.

Dan finds her purse.

Dan arrives at Emma's house with the purse.
Dan invites Emma to a restaurant.

They arrive at the restaurant.
Emma hates fish!