PROFILES OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

A Comparative Study of the Characteristics of Finnish and American Students

by

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Cover: Hanna Lehtilä-Lehto

To Rosa-Maria and Fanni-Sofia,
my lovely daughters

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The purpose of this comparative study is to profile second language learners by exploring the factors which have an impact on their learning. The subjects come from two different countries: one group comes from Milwaukee, US, and the other from Turku, Finland. The subjects have attended bilingual classes from elementary school to senior high school in their respective countries. In the United States, the subjects (N = 57) started in one elementary school from where they moved on to two high schools in the district. The Finnish subjects (N = 39) attended the same school from elementary to high school. The longitudinal study was conducted during 1994-2004 and combines both qualitative and quantitative research methods. A Pilot Study carried out in 1990-1991 preceded the two subsequent studies that form the core material of this research.

The theoretical part of the study focuses first on language policies in the United States and Finland: special emphasis is given to the history, development and current state of bilingual education, and the factors that have affected policy-making in the provision of language instruction. Current language learning theories and models form the theoretical foundation of the research, and underpin the empirical studies. Cognitively-labeled theories are at the forefront, but sociocultural theory and the ecological approach are also accounted for. The research methods consist of questionnaires, compositions and interviews. A combination of statistical methods as well as content analysis were used in the analysis.

The attitude of the bilingual learners toward L1 and L2 was generally positive: the subjects enjoyed learning through two languages and were motivated to learn both. The knowledge of L1 and parental support, along with early literacy in L1, facilitated the learning of L2. This was particularly evident in the American subject group. The American subjects' L2 learning was affected by the attitudes of the learners to the L1 culture and its speakers. Furthermore, the negative attitudes taken by L1 speakers toward L2 speakers and the lack of opportunities to engage in activities in the L1 culture affected the American subjects' learning of L2, English. The research showed that many American L2 learners were isolated from the L1 culture and were even afraid to use English in everyday communication situations.

In light of the research results, a politically neutral linguistic environment, which the Finnish subjects inhabited, was seen to be more favorable for learning. The Finnish subjects were learning L2, English, in a neutral zone where their own attitudes and motivation dictated their learning. The role of L2 as a means of international communication in Finland, as opposed to a means of exercising linguistic power, provided a neutral atmosphere for learning English. In both the American and Finnish groups, the learning of other languages was facilitated when the learner had a good foundation in their L1, and the learning of L1 and L2 were in balance. Learning was also fostered when the learners drew positive experiences from their surroundings and were provided with opportunities to engage in activities where L2 was used.

Keywords: second language acquisition, foreign language learning, models of second language acquisition, theories of second language acquisition, sociocultural theory, motivation and attitude in language learning

Tämä tutkimus on kvantitatiivis-kvalitatiivinen pitkittäistutkimus, jonka avulla pyritään luonnehtimaan toisen kielen oppijoiden profiileja ja oppimisen laatuun vaikuttavia tekijöitä kaksikielisessä opetuksessa. Tutkimuksen koehenkilöt tulevat kahdesta eri maasta: Yhdysvalloista ja Suomesta. Yhdysvalloissa koehenkilöt (N=57) opiskelivat Milwaukeen kaupungissa ensin ala-asteella, ja sitten kahdessa eri lukiossa. Suomen koehenkilöjoukko (N= 39) opiskeli koko koulu-uran samassa koulussa Turun kaupungissa. Pilottitutkimus toteutettiin vuonna 1990-1991, minkä jälkeen varsinainen tutkimusaineisto kerättiin vuosina 1994-2004.

Tutkimuksen teoreettisessa taustassa luodaan aluksi katsaus Yhdysvaltojen ja Suomen kieli- ja koulutuspolitiikkaan ja tarkastellaan erityisesti kaksikielisen opetuksen historiaa ja nykytilannetta sekä koulupoliittiseen päätöksentekoon vaikuttavia seikkoja. Kielen oppimisen teoreettisen taustan muodostavat vieraan kielen oppimisen mallit. Kognitiivispainotteisten mallien lisäksi lähtökohtia empiirisille tutkimuksille antavat sosiokulttuurinen teoria sekä ekologinen lähestymistapa kielen oppimiseen. Tutkimusmenetelminä käytettiin kyselylomakkeita, haastattelua ja oppimispäiväkirjoja. Aineistoa kuvataan tilastollisin menetelmin ja sisältöanalyysin periaatteita soveltaen.

Tulosten mukaan kaksikieliset oppilaat suhtautuivat pääosin myönteisesti kahdella kielellä opiskeluun ja olivat motivoituneita kielten opiskeluun. Taustatekijöistä nousivat esille ensimmäisen kielen osaaminen ja vanhempien merkitys äidinkielen kehityksen tukemisessa. Tämä tulos korostui yhdysvaltalaisessa aineistossa. Yhdysvalloissa toisen kielen, englannin, oppimiseen vaikuttivat oppijan asenne valtakulttuurin edustajiin, koettu valtakielen puhujien negatiivinen suhtautuminen toisena kielenä englantia puhuviin ja osallistumismahdollisuudet ympäristön tarjoamiin aktiviteetteihin. Tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi myös yhdysvaltalaisten koehenkilöiden eristäytyminen englanninkielisestä valtakulttuurista ja suoranaiset pelot käyttää englantia kommunikoinnissa. Tutkimustulosten valossa näyttää siltä, että suomalainen, kielipoliittisesti yhdysvaltalaista neutraalimpi ympäristö oli suotuisa englannin oppimiselle. Ympäristön paineiden puuttuessa suomenkielisillä koehenkilöillä oli voitettavanaan vain omat asenteet ja motivoiduttava kielen opiskeluun. Englannin asema kansainvälisenä kommunikoinnin välineenä, ei niinkään valtakulttuurin kielenä, tarjosi suomalaisille koehenkilöille hyvän lähtökohdan oppimiselle.

Sekä suomalaisilla että yhdysvaltalaisilla koehenkilöillä ensimmäisen kielen oppiminen ja sen tukeminen kotona edesauttoivat toisen kielen oppimista. Kahden kielen oppiminen onnistuu hyvin, kun niiden oppiminen on tasapainossa koulussa ja ympäristön asenne on positiivinen toisen kielen käyttäjiä kohtaan ja tarjoaa mahdollisuuksia toisen kielen käyttämiseksi.

Avainsanat: vieraan kielen oppiminen, toisen kielen oppiminen, teoreettiset kielenoppimisen mallit, kognitiiviset kielenoppimisteoriat, sosiokulttuurinen kielenoppimisteoria, motivaatio ja asenteet kielen oppimisessa

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ABBREVIATIONS

CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Class
FL	Foreign language
HL	Home language
IB	The International Baccalaureate (Programme)
IBO	The International Baccalaureate Organization
L1	Mother tongue, first language
L2	Second language
ML/ MT	Mother language, mother tongue
MPS	Milwaukee Public Schools
SL	Second language
SCT	Sociocultural theory
SLA	Second language acquisition
TL	Target language

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Setting the scene

When I first embarked on my career as a teacher and later as a teacher of English, I was fascinated by my pupils' various ways to learn English. But what was even more significant for me as a novice teacher was the fact that I had students in my classes who, despite their efforts and determination, either took a long time to learn or did not learn English very well at all.

Yet, my transformation into a teacher-researcher was not brought about solely by the realization that learning foreign languages was an intriguing process that I was able to witness first-hand in the classroom. Looking back, it seems that along both my personal and educational path of life, I was destined to meet tutors who, unbeknown to either of us at the time, implicitly guided me in the right direction. My first tutor was the Swedish-speaking grandmother of my cousins in the southwestern part of Finland. At a very early age, and a monolingual Finnish speaker at that, I was entrusted to the care of this elderly lady who knew only a handful of Finnish words in what was a predominantly Swedish-speaking community.

The second event that had an important impact on my later professional growth was the fact that in the early 1980s I moved to Vaasa, a bilingual coastal city with a then newly established university. I lived and studied in Vaasa at a time when Christer Laurén (1994a & b, 1999) was introducing the idea of immersion classes into Finland. Professor Laurén was interested in training practicing teachers to become immersion teachers and he encouraged both students and in-service teachers to carry out research in collaboration with the community and the university. Needless to say, being a student of professor Laurén and an eye-witness to the arrival of immersion education had a tremendous impact on my career.

An interest in languages seemed to be an inherent characteristic because after moving to Turku to pursue Master's level studies in the Faculty of Education to become a teacher, I simultaneously commenced language studies in the English Department of Turku University. It may well be apparent by now that my educational background parallels the interdisciplinarity of this research.

After I had worked in a dual role as both class teacher and English teacher, I realized that the role could be combined. Thus far I had been a follower of the principles of immersion whereby a minority language of the country could be taught to majority language speakers. But, like many other teachers in the early 1990s, I realized that the principles of immersion could be adapted to the needs of teaching content in any foreign language. As a result, a colleague and I asked for permission to start a teaching

experiment in the elementary school section of Turun normaalikoulu (Teacher Training School of Turku University) where students would be introduced to English starting from the first grade. We were granted permission to start our experiment, which later turned into a permanent bilingual stream encompassing grades 1 to 9. Around the same time, Turun normaalikoulu was granted special status as a senior high school by the Ministry of Education to implement the International Baccalaureate Programme where the medium of instruction is English. I have been teaching English as well as doing research in the bilingual classes of Turun normaalikoulu since 1992.

In the mid-1990s, I was granted a Fulbright teacher-exchange scholarship which enabled me to both teach and do research in a bilingual school (Spanish-English) in Milwaukee, in the US. I had harbored a desire to compare Finnish second language learners to American ones in order to explore what effect the surrounding culture had on language learning. The scholarship enabled me to complete my licentiate thesis in which I compared a group of American and Finnish elementary school students studying in bilingual programs.

This present thesis consists of three studies, which were all conducted in schools in which I worked as a teacher-researcher. The students involved in the three studies were all studying in bilingual programs at the time.

The three studies complement each other and form a continuum, which enables a longitudinal research approach. This longitudinal study fills a gap in the research data on adolescent learners enrolled in bilingual education classes, in Finland and the United States. The data has been acquired from two groups of Finnish and American students, whose lives and studies I have monitored since 1994. These groups of students were first under observation in 1994-95 (Study 2, Chapters 7 and 8) and again in 2003-04 (Study 3, Chapter 9). This study differs from many others in that it monitors the same group of students from their elementary years to their final year in high school and until the last year of senior high school. Studies on bilingual learners have mostly examined specific groups of students at a certain stage for a limited time. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no follow-up studies like this one to date.

1.2   Purpose and structure of the research

Purpose of the research

This research seeks to shed light on the factors that affect second or foreign language learning by profiling students enrolled in the bilingual programs of two schools in America and Finland (for research questions, see Chapter 6). The research has been carried out in two culturally and educationally diverse countries, focusing on the commonalities between those students who do well on the one hand, and those who do do so well on

the other. Observations, interviews and questionnaires were used to profile the learners in terms of their academic success in the L2.

Structure of the research

The research is divided into two parts – theoretical (Chapters 2-4) and empirical (Chapters 5-9). Chapter 10 discusses the work as a whole. In the theoretical part, relevant SLA literature is reviewed and the foundation is laid for the three empirical sub-studies. In addition, in the theoretical part an overview is given of bilingual education in the United States and Finland (Chapter 2) and some of the historical, political and educational aspects that have led to the language situation of today are outlined. A brief look into the concepts of second and foreign language acquisition and learning will be taken to check their relevance to this study. Conscious and subconscious processes and the various concepts describing explicit and implicit learning are presented in Appendix 1.

In Figure 1, the structure of the research is visualized. What emerges from it is the profile of a bilingual language learner.
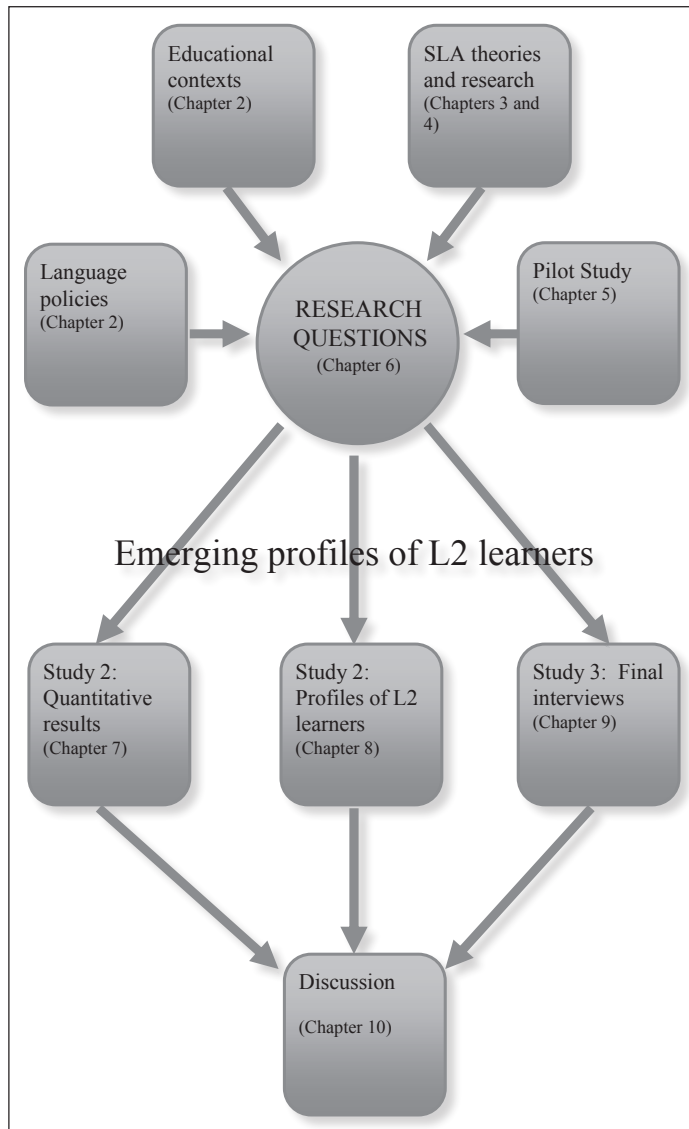
Figure 1. Structure of the research.

Chapters 2-4: Theoretical foundation

The five models of SLA and sociocultural theory in Chapter 3 are presented to outline the theoretical foundation of this study. As will become clear, it is the researcher's firm belief that a single model cannot tap into all the phenomena this study addresses. In the first instance, it seems that it is essential to make a distinction on the one hand between language learning that takes place within the culture where the learners are exposed to the target language all the time, and on the other, the kind of language learning that happens in a context where the learners are not "surrounded" by the target language. What is more, the status of the learners – including their socio-economic backgrounds – need to be accounted for.

One of the challenges in this research is the different social standing of the subjects and the groups they represent. Another major difference are the administrative (political) decisions taken regarding language instruction both in Finland and America, which also need to be addressed. What follows from the diversity of the Finnish and American samples is that a single model or theory of SLA is not multidimensional enough.

As no-one, to date, has been able to create a single model which serves as a comprehensive theory of SLA, the need for interdisciplinarity has become apparent and has been expressed by many researchers. Spolsky (1989) and McLaughlin (1991) and later van Lier (1994), Firth & Wagner (1998), Dewaele (2005), Ellis & Larsen-Freeman (2006) and Swain & Deters (2007), among others, argue for a multi-theoretical approach which is dynamic and adaptive, a transition theory, rather than a property theory (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman 2006:558). According to Ellis and Larsen-Freeman a transition theory (models of acquisition) would further the interests of language researchers better than models of representation (property theories). Long (2007) addresses the issue of interdisciplinarity within the SLA field postulating that the field has become increasingly fragmented during the past 15 years and is characterized by a multiplicity of theories due to the fact that the theories have been developed by individuals from diverse disciplinary backgrounds and with varied epistemological allegiances (Long 2007:3). The learner experiences theorized in this research draw from cognitively labeled theories as well as sociocultural theories.

Chapters 5-9: Empirical studies

The empirical part spans over a decade and comprises three studies linked by the same quest, namely to profile learners in order to tap into their learning. The research questions for Study 1 can be found in Chapter 5. Study 2 and Study 3 are linked by the same research questions, which were modified after the completion of Study 1 (the research questions are in Chapter 6).

Study 1: The pilot study

A summary of this qualitative study and its results can be found in Chapter 5. The study was conducted in 1991-92 in the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme of Turun normaalikoulu. The focus was on the characteristics possessed by successful students. The instruments employed to gather the data were both quantitative and qualitative, including observations, interviews, diaries and questionnaires.

Study 2 (Chapters 7 and 8)

Study 2 – the first part of the longitudinal study – was carried out in Forest Home Avenue School in Milwaukee, USA in 1994-95. The subjects of the study were American bilingual students between 8 and 10 years old, enrolled in 3rd and 4th grades, and a group of Finnish bilingual students from Turun normaalikoulu aged 10-11, as well as

a group of older learners from the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme. The study is quantitative, combining elements from qualitative research (profiles of four individual students will be constructed and illustrated in Chapter 8). For this part an extensive questionnaire with a battery of questions focusing on background factors such as motivation, attitude, personal characteristics and strategies was created (Appendices 5-8). The questionnaire that was used was an improved version of the one that was first employed in the pilot study.

Study 3 (Chapter 9)

The subjects of the third study were the same as in Study 1. Their development and profiles will be studied against the sociocultural theory of second language learning. The research findings are mostly based on interviews, which are supported by data from the questionnaire that was re-administered (first used in Study 2).

Finally

Since the start of this decade-long research, there has been a shift in the focus of SLA theory and research, which is reflected in this study. Until the mid-nineties, the cognitive accounts of second language acquisition were at the forefront, whereas today sociocultural theory is attracting mounting interest in L2 research. This shift can be seen in the increase in research which places a greater emphasis on social and contextual aspects (Dunn & Lantolf 1996, Lantolf 1996, Norton & Toohey 2001, Laurén 2008). That said, studies based on cognitive accounts continue as a strong paradigm.

Although intriguing from a purely theoretical viewpoint, this study does not go into the ontological disputes between the various models of SLA (for more on the disputes see, for example, van Lier 1994, Lantolf 1996, Firth & Wagner 1997 & 1998, Long 1997 & 2007, Swain & Deters 2007). The teacher-researcher's original intent remains true: To explore the factors that lead to learning and success, and the commonalities that exist between students who learn well and those who do not.

2   LANGUAGE POLICIES AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN FINLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

The focus of this chapter is on the language education and policy-making thereof in Finland and the USA and the bilingual education programs in these countries. The background to the current situation is described from a historical perspective, illuminating what has led to the present-day situation in language education in the two countries where the empirical studies were conducted. It has to be remembered, however, especially with regard to the American circumstances, that it is hard to present a concise or precise overview of a phenomenon that has variations from state to state and from one school district to another. Homogeneity is not a feature of American society and this applies to schools as well: what is true of a school district today might change within weeks if a new district superintendent is elected. After an overview of language education in both countries, a closer look will be taken at the two schools, Forest Home Avenue School, Milwaukee and Turun normaalikoulu, Turku, where the empirical data were gathered, in order to understand the specific educational contexts in which the students study.

2.1   Language education in Finland

Swedish and Russian rule

Finland has been able to practice its language education as an independent country since 1917. Before becoming independent, Finland was first part of Sweden for some eight hundred years and subsequently an autonomous part of Russia for about one hundred years. During the Russian period, Finland enjoyed a fairly large degree of autonomy as far as culture and education were concerned. The protracted Swedish rule left its mark on language education in the country, however: Latin and Swedish were the official school languages for a long period of time and the only languages used in education and administration until the 18th century. After Swedish superseded Latin in the 1700s, Finnish was used alongside Swedish in some schools. In the 1870s, legislation dictated that either Swedish or Finnish could be used in instruction, and thus the era of bilingual education came to an end. It should be noted, however, that only a very small proportion of the population participated in formal education (Takala 2005, 2009).

After 1917

When Finland gained its independence, both Swedish and Finnish were ratified as official languages, but the two languages became a compulsory subject for everyone only fifty years later when the comprehensive school system was introduced throughout Finland in the 1970s. At that time, students were streamed in the comprehensive school (lower secondary), which for the lowest ability group constituted a dead-end as far as

upper secondary education was concerned. On the basis of research results and generally accepted education policy, which strongly emphasized educational equality, streaming was eliminated in 1985. Takala (1998) calls the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s the golden era in foreign language education in Finland because the whole age group studied either Finnish or Swedish, and on top of that received tuition in at least one foreign language. Foreign language education flourished during this period: It started early (first foreign language at the age of 9 and the other official language at the age of 13), with many opting for a second foreign language in lower secondary school, with the result that language studies at upper secondary expanded (based on the number of students taking final examinations in foreign languages) and foreign language studies became compulsory in vocational education as well (Takala 2005, Sajavaara & Takala 2004).

Current situation, new trends

In the 1990s, some undesirable policy decisions were made concerning the provision of the second official language. The number of classes was cut and in the early 2000s the matriculation examination became optional. Yet Swedish and Finnish were not the only casualties of the new policies: the second foreign language was also made optional for students in upper secondary. These new trends were in stark contrast to the recommendations of the European Union, which stated in a White Paper in 1995 (European Commission) that all European citizens should have a working knowledge of at least two languages.

The repercussions of the cuts in language provision colored the early 2000s. When the second official language became optional in the matriculation examination and most students consequently chose only one foreign language in upper secondary school, it satisfied those parties who claimed that the curriculum of the national public school system was too language-dominated. At the same time, these trends worry language educators and some policy-makers, however, since fewer and fewer upper secondary students study more than one foreign language, let alone take final exams in more than one foreign language. The results in English are quite good, but considerably lower in Swedish when comparing them to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) proficiency levels (for more about CEFR levels and Finnish students' English and Swedish skills, see Tuokko 2007 and CEFR). The general attitude toward studying Swedish has deteriorated (Takala 2005) and fewer languages are studied. These Finnish trends conflict with the European Commission's educational goals, where plurilingualism has been elevated as one of the central themes. With good reason, an increasing number of language educators feel that language education is at a crossroads in Finland (for more, see Sajavaara & Takala 2004, European Commission 1995).

2.2   Language education in the United States

The following chapter on language education in America takes a look at some historical incidents and other phenomena that characterize language education, planning and policies in the States.

Early history: 18th - early 19th centuries

The predominant policy of the United States in the early part of its history was to eradicate everything that had to do with Native American cultures and languages. Despite the active efforts of the government in this respect, the Cherokee (in the east) managed to create a written form of their language. The Cherokees also established a system of bilingual education, which resulted in high levels of literacy in both Cherokee and English. Although the Cherokee had a higher literacy rate than the surrounding English-only states of Texas and Arkansas, the Federal Government insisted that Native American children be placed in all-English boarding schools away from the reservations where they had been forcibly relocated. Native languages were considered detrimental to the cognitive development of the children. Political views were reflected in these decisions and the resulting policy of assimilating the Cherokee into mainstream American life was considered essential. The upshot was that the literacy rate dropped and they became marginalized members of society.

19th century

Historically, bilingual education in the United States has gone through four different stages: permissive (from the eighteenth century to WW1), restrictive (the first two decades of the 20th century until the 1960s, continuing today), opportunist (late 1950s till 1970s) and dismissive (1980s and continuing). The division is not clear-cut, neither chronologically nor politically, and naturally there are variations between states in policies and practices (Baker 1996:166).

Since Germany was a major source of immigration to the United States, German was predominantly used in communities throughout the country, and many of the schools used German as the medium of instruction. Until the mid-18th century this was accepted, but attitudes changed when immigration from other non-English countries increased (for example from Italy and Mexico). The predominant English-speaking population felt threatened and laws were consequently introduced restricting the use of languages other than English. German, in particular, became a target of the anti-foreign languages movement. Some cities went as far as to pass laws criminalizing the use of German in all areas of public life. The outbreak of World War I only served to aggravate the already inflamed situation. The English-only trend and the discrimination against other languages continued until the Supreme Court ruled that states could not punish residents for teaching languages other than English in the schools. (Cartagena 1991, Baker 1996:166-168).

Current situation, new trends

The terms English-only, Official English, and English First are variously used by a movement whose goal is to have English declared the official language of the United States. This would mean, for example, that all government affairs would be conducted only in English. The English-only movement can be traced back to 1981 when Senator Hayakawa of California (whose parents had immigrated from Japan to Canada and who was a noted linguist by profession) introduced a joint resolution to amend the US constitution and establish English as the official language. In 1986, California became the first state to pass an Official English measure by a ballot initiative. To date, 27 states have declared English as their official language. In such states as Florida and California the Official English trend has had a dramatic impact on education in general, and bilingual education in particular. The cuts in bilingual programs and the tendency to favor programs that ease the transition from the learner's L1 to English rather than guarantee development in both L1 and L2 have been some of the effects of this trend, not to mention the termination of bilingual education and services altogether (U.S. Census Bureau 2003, Crawford 2008, Dicker 1996: 158-172). Probably the most dramatic victory of the English Only movement was when Proposition 227 known as "English for the Children" overcame the huge opposition it had been confronted with during the campaign and won a landslide victory at the polls. Proposition 227 put an end to bilingual teaching in California, where the need, according to many educators, would have been the greatest (Crawford 2008, Wong Fillmore 1998).

With the notable exception of bilingual education, foreign language education in the US is not a political issue, nor is it a subject that needs to be discussed at length here. The American education system as a whole is not particularly interested in, nor geared toward, producing high levels of proficiency in foreign languages. Most students enroll in a foreign language course for only one or two years, which naturally results in negligible progress in the language. It goes without saying that many US native speakers of English do not see the benefit of learning another language.

The antagonism toward bilingual education in the US has historical roots. The controversy stems from the claim that children in bilingual programs do not learn sufficient English. Lily Wong Fillmore, an active educator and researcher has followed the development of public bilingual education since its inception. She blames the failure of some of the programs on sabotage from within (Wong Fillmore 1992:369). Bilingual education, in her opinion, is "implemented", whereas it should liberate children from the obligation to assimilate as soon as possible. This, she says, has been at the heart of the controversy for the past 20 years. The crux of the problem is that as bilingual education recognizes the value of other languages and cultures, it is regarded with suspicion and treated accordingly (Wong Fillmore 1992:376). Cummins (2001), a Canadian expert in language education, has also taken an active role in the debate on bilingual education in the US.

He approaches the subject from the perspectives of language as a resource, language as a right, and language as a problem (Cummins 2001: 170). In his view, the focal areas to be discussed and developed with regard to bilingual education are language as enrichment education and language as a resource. By championing these two concepts, coupled with a framework for empowerment and a recommendation for all stakeholders to continue the dialog, Cummins has participated vigorously in the current discussion, which all too often frowns upon bilingual education in the US (when it is intended for minority students) (Crawford 2008, Dicker 1996).

2.3   Bilingual education in Finland

In Finland, the immersion approach to bilingual education was adopted from Canada, where it had emerged in the province of Quebec in the 1960s (Genesee 1987, Baker 1996). The political and ideological reasons for immersion programs are no different from Roman times: both Canada and Finland have two official languages and knowledge of the two is required in administrative positions in both countries. Apart from the obvious political reasons, educational grounds were given as well: in both Canada and Finland, students were required to study the second language of the country, French or either Swedish or Finnish, in which very few succeeded well enough. Thus there was an imbalance between economic input and educational output.

Immersion fashioned after the Canadian model was the forerunner of many other more recent forms of bilingual education. The idea of immersion is that different subjects are taught through the medium of the second language. There are weaker and stronger forms of immersion depending on the balance between MT and SL. Early and late immersion are terms that describe the time when the students enter the immersion program. The pioneer and architect of the Swedish immersion programs for Finnish speaking children was Christer Laurén, a professor from the University of Vaasa who, together with researchers, teachers in the local schools, and the city and school administration bodies, launched the first larger scale Finnish immersion program in 1987. From Vaasa it spread to other, mainly bilingual, parts of Finland (see for example Laurén 1991a & b, 1992, 1994, Swain & Lapkin 1982).

Today the phrase bilingual education is used as an umbrella term which embraces a number of different language enrichment programs. The obvious successes of immersion programs and the research conducted and publicized in connection with these programs, has provided the necessary impetus for many other language enrichment experiments.

The number of Finnish schools that implement bilingual education has remained quite stable (4-8%). Most schools manage to realize this aim within the framework of the national curriculum. There are some, however, who have adopted, for example, the

International Baccalaureate Preliminary Years and Middle Years or Diploma Programme curricula. The majority of the Finnish schools provide teaching in English and Finnish, and their common goal is for the students to learn English not only during their FL classes but also during classes where content is taught through the medium of English. The language experiments have adopted a number of names: language shower (*kielisuihku* in Finnish), language bath (*kielikylpy*), language class (*kieliluokka*), foreign language class (*vieraskielinen luokka*), bilingual class (*kaksikielinen luokka*) and language enriched or language oriented class (*kielipainotteinen luokka*). More recent terms such as TCE (Teaching Contents through English, for more see Brinton, D. et al. 1989) and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) are also used to describe the kind of bilingual teaching taking place (Järvinen 1999, Laurén 1991a & b, 1992, Nikula & Marsh 1996 & 1997, Räsänen 1999, Virtala 2002).

Turun normaalikoulu started a bilingual stream in its elementary school in 1992. Literacy at the school is taught through the first language, meaning that children learn to read and write in their mother tongue, which is the case in all European schools according to Beardsmore (1993), while the foreign language is introduced gradually. In Turun normaalikoulu the percentage of instruction in English during the first and second year of schooling is about 25 (Seppälä 1996). The percentage of English instruction increases and reaches 50% by the sixth grade. The goals expressed in the school curriculum state that by the end of the sixth year the student should be able to understand English spoken with various accents and at different tempos, be able to communicate orally with near native-like competence, be capable of producing written texts using different registers, and should also be conversant with different genres and their conventions (Seikkula-Leino 1998).

The other Finnish sample, the International Baccalaureate (IB) students, study in the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme where the medium of instruction in all subjects but the mother tongue is English. The IB is a two-year pre-university course whose principal ideology is to facilitate the mobility of students and promote international understanding. The exams that the student takes in six different subjects are prepared by the Examination Office in Cardiff and lead to an IB Diploma, which is recognized by most major universities throughout the world. In Finland there are currently thirteen high schools that have been approved by the IBO (International Baccalaureate Organization) to implement the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (Opetusministeriön työryhmän muistioita 1990). In most Scandinavian high schools, a pre-IB year precedes the two-year IB Programme. Since 1991, the number of students applying for the IB Programme at Turun normaalikoulu has been more than double the possible intake. Consequently, the students are screened by means of an admission test, which has the following components: Final report from the comprehensive school and written exams in Finnish, English and mathematics (Turun normaalikoulu).

2.4   Bilingual education in the United States

In the year that this study was carried out in one bilingual school in Milwaukee, out of the estimated 45 million school-age children and young people in the nation, about 9.9 million (more than one in five) came from households in which languages other than English were spoken. Furthermore, nearly six million were from Spanish-speaking homes. In California nearly half of the school-age population, which was five million, came from non-English-speaking homes and out of them 1.75 million were from Spanish-speaking households (NABE News 1994, Vázquez & Ramirez-Krodel 1989). The projections of the Census Bureau through 2050 indicate that between 2000 and 2050, the Hispanic population will grow from 35.6 million to 102.6 million, which is an increase of 188 percent. The group's proportion of the nation's population will almost double, rising from 12.6 percent to 24.4 percent in 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau 2001). Needless to say, research data from bilingual programs is vital for the US education system.

In 1958 the National Defense and Education Act was passed, which marked a milestone in the period of opportunity during which bilingual education was re-established. One of the most remarkable court cases, known as Lau versus Nichols, was brought against the San Francisco School District by Chinese students in 1970. This class suit challenged the school district's ability to provide equal educational opportunities for the Chinese-dominant students without bilingual education. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Chinese students and this verdict resulted in the nationwide "Lau remedies", which acknowledge that students who are not proficient in English need special assistance (Baker 1996:168-170). The dismissive period is marked by attacks against the strong versions of bilingual education. Since the 1980s there has been a preference for submersion (immersion designated for minority children to assimilate them into the American culture and the English language) and transitional programs (designated for minority children to bring about the transition from minority language to majority language in order to assimilate them into the majority language and culture) (Baker 1996:170-175, Dicker 1996:102-103).

The bilingual programs offered in many states can be grouped roughly into three kinds (Dicker 1996: 102-103, Cummins 2001: 169-171):

Transitional

In the transitional programs initial academic instruction is given in the native language. As the minority students start to demonstrate greater proficiency (in English), content instruction in L2 is phased in. At the same time instruction in the native language decreases. Most academic advocates of bilingual education have argued strongly against quick-exit transitional programs because they are inferior to programs that develop bilingualism and biliteracy (Cummins 2001:169).

Immersion

These programs are intended for language majority students and they use a language other than English to teach at least 50% of the curriculum (Canadian models, see for example Baker 1996, other models Cummins 2001:169-170, Beardsmore 1993).

Developmental

Developmental programs are geared to language minority students. Students' L1 is used 50% of the instructional time during the elementary grades. The goal is to strengthen the students' academic L1 proficiency during the elementary school years, sometimes the program continues into middle and high school).

(Two-way) immersion or dual language

These programs serve both language minority and language majority students in the same classrooms. The time spent on studying L1 and L2 varies. A 50/50 model means that L1 and L2 are equally represented from the very beginning of schooling.

The American subjects of the present study attended Forest Home Avenue School (FHA School) in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which pioneered one of the first bilingual education programs in the country, starting in 1969. Since then, the city has expanded the Bilingual Program from one to seventeen elementary schools and from two to four middle schools and high schools. Children are placed in the Bilingual Program according to the Lau guidelines (the students are first identified and interviewed and then tested for English proficiency using the Language Assessment Battery, LAB). On the basis of the LAB test results, students are placed in a Bilingual Education or English as a Second Language Program (ESL) because of their non-English-speaking or limited English proficiency status (MPS 1994a).

Milwaukee Public Schools offer four different programs: a developmental bilingual program, a pullout ESL Program with bilingual support provided in the content areas, an in-the-mainstream-class ESL program with bilingual support provided in the content areas and a bilingual resource program. The program being implemented in FHA School is a developmental bilingual program, whereby Spanish-speaking students receive academic instruction in a self-contained classroom setting from a bilingual teacher and a bilingual paraprofessional teaching assistant. For Spanish-dominant children, reading is always introduced in the student's native language, so reading in English begins after the student has learned to speak English and has mastered the basic literacy skills in the first language. There are no specific stipulations regarding what proportion of the teaching should be in Spanish and what proportion should be in English. The guideline is that in the early years, when the focus is on developing literacy skills, instruction in Spanish is essential and therefore the latter accounts for a higher percentage of the total instruction

time. As the students become more proficient in English the percentage of instruction time in the language increases (MPS 1994b).

When it comes to the socio-economic status of American students, the percentages of free or reduced lunches serve as a good barometer: in Forest Home Avenue most students receive a free or reduced lunch (the percentage has fluctuated only a little, standing at 96% in 1994). Percentages in all the big cities are higher than in the suburbs. FHA is located on the south side of Milwaukee, which is predominantly Hispanic. When the students graduate from elementary school they continue in either South Division or Pulaski high school, both of which are also on the Hispanic south side. High schools are bigger units and hence the student population is more mixed. In the high schools, free or reduced lunch rates are therefore lower (in both schools around 70% at the time of Studies 2 and 3) (MPSa, MPSb)

2.5 Conclusion

Language education in Finland is taken seriously, despite the fact that decisions at the administrative level sometimes demonstrate that there is insufficient interest in dealing systematically with the array of issues in language policy and planning (Takala 2005). Knowledge of foreign languages is still promoted in Finland relatively strongly and it is unanimously acknowledged that one needs English at least to get ahead in life. The positive attitude toward English is reflected in the generally good performance attained by students in the matriculation examinations they take at the end of their upper secondary education.

In the US the discussion about language education is centered around bilingual education which is geared toward minority students. Language education Stateside hinges, to a large extent, on questions of *language* (Which one or ones?), *power* (Who exerts it over whom or with whom?) and *pedagogy* (Which bilingual pedagogy? Which studies to "trust"?).

3   SECOND LANGUAGE THEORIES

In the previous chapter, the Finnish and American educational contexts and language policies for the subjects of this study were in focus. A brief overview of the historical and political aspects that have impacted the prevailing educational realities in language education was provided. This chapter describes the theories that have influenced the language education policies at both the administrative level and at the practical grass-roots level in language classrooms. Both cognitively and socioculturally oriented theories fall within this scope. Before the theories are dealt with, however, some key concepts linked to the SLA theories will be discussed. The concepts s*econd* and *foreign language, bilingual* and *bilingualism* and finally *learning* and *acquiring* are not only important per se, but also underpin some of the fundamental differences between various SLA theories (for more on SLA theories and models, see for example Long 2007:22, VanPatten & Williams 2007b: 5.)

In this chapter the concepts of *second* and *foreign language* will be discussed first, and after that the notion of *bilingualism* will addressed. The concepts of *learning* and *acquiring,* which are closely linked to foreign and second language acquisition/learning will be delved into before the focus shifts onto the cognitively labeled theories of SLA and the Sociocultural Theory.

3.1   Second language vs. foreign language and bilingualism

The concepts second language (SL) and foreign language (FL) are sometimes used synonymously in the literature and sometimes to describe two different phenomena. In Finland there are two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, so a distinction needs to be made between the two concepts. The status of the second language officially refers to either Finnish (for Swedish-dominant Finns) or Swedish (for Finnish-dominant Finns) in Finland. Yet, in everyday parlance the two concepts are used interchangeably, which is justified since there are more and more young people who acquire a language other than Swedish as their de facto second language. For some researchers it is not the difference between a second and foreign language that is of the essence, but rather how to define the concept of mother tongue, to ascertain whether there can be more than just one, and how to define bilingualism (see for example, Skuttnab-Kangas 1981, Ringbom 1987:9). In theory, America has not established itself as a monolingual country since it has not stated in any official documents that English is its official language. This has led to many heated debates about whether English alone should be used in all official documents (Baker 1996, Dicker 1996).

If the distinction between a second and foreign language is hard to make, it is equally hard to define bilingualism. If bilingualism is narrowed down to mean individual as opposed

to societal bilingualism, it can be defined using the four traditional language skills: listening and reading (receptive skills) and speaking and writing (productive skills). Yet even within the classification system of skills we encounter further problems as each skill can be developed to a greater or lesser degree. The range can vary from very basic to fluent and accomplished within each skill. To further complicate the basic division, it has been suggested that there is a fifth competence, thinking, during which a person does not speak, listen, read or write (Baker 1996:7). The distinction between speaking and "inner speaking" is an important one since bilinguals can use two languages as thinking tools. Baker concludes a chapter which focuses on defining bilingualism thus: "Defining who is or who is not bilingual is essentially elusive and ultimately impossible." (Baker 1996:6-14, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Cook (2002: 10) agrees with Baker and has even gone as far as to recommend avoiding the use of 'bilingual' altogether. To replace this ambiguous term, which has connotations of the expression 'native-like' when L1 and L2 are compared, Cook introduced the concept of multi-competence to refer to the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind (for more, see for example Cook 1993, 2002, 2003). Despite Baker's advice and Cook's recommendation, in this study bilingualism is used to describe those students who have varying competencies in the four or five skill domains (for discussion, see for example Järvinen 1999).

Since SLA research seems to be an ever-expanding branch of applied linguistics, the terms *second language* and *second language acquisition* have become umbrella terms under which a wide range of studies conducted in this area can be placed. The tradition can be traced back to North America where SLA studies and ESL (acquisition of English as a second language) were practically one and the same discipline, and where English was the subjects' second language in the studies that were conducted. The rest of the world followed the American tradition, although the contexts were not the same (Baker 1996, Ellis 1995).

In this study the English of the bilingual groups, that is Spanish-English bilingual, is referred to as a second language as it is strongly embedded in the surrounding culture in which the subjects live. Often the subjects are of Hispanic extraction (Mexico, Peru, Chile, Puerto Rico), and depending on the length of their stay, their home environments have become bilingual to some degree. The English of the Finnish groups is referred to as a foreign language or as a second language, although it is acknowledged that it is a "foreign" language to some more than others.

3.2   Learning vs. acquiring

The two types of learning, learning and acquisition, have been and continue to be a contentious issue in the field of SLA. In Krashen's view, there is a clear distinction between acquisition and learning (Krashen 1981a, b & c, 1987; see also VanPatten & Williams

2007b:26). He proposes that acquisition takes place naturally and subconsciously in situations where the focus is on meaning. Learning, however, occurs when L2 is the object but not necessarily the medium of instruction. Acquired knowledge is spontaneous, whereas when gaining or using learned knowledge the user makes a conscious effort. The Monitor Theory is referred to as a non-interface model because it postulates that what has been learned is separate from what has been acquired and the two knowledge stores can never interact (Ellis 2005, VanPatten & Williams 2007a). Krashen's theory has come in for a lot of criticism amongst fellow SLA researchers. McLaughlin (1991:21) claims that Krashen's theory not only makes unfounded hypotheses such as the one between learning and acquiring, but also fails to meet the criteria set for a good theory (for more, see for example Long 2007:31-33, 36-38).

Stevick (1982:21-23), one of the pioneers of a humanistically oriented approach to language teaching and learning, draws a distinction between 'learning' and 'acquiring'. According to his line of reasoning, learning refers to what goes on in the classroom, whereas the term 'acquisition' is reserved for the ability to achieve fluency in one's first language. In order to learn there has to be some kind of teaching. To Stevick's mind, teaching is understood to consist of a presentation phase in which one item at a time is presented, and a practice phase during which this item is practiced. In acquisition formal teaching does not take place. There are no drills and so forth, and there is usually no testing in the academic sense. Furthermore, Stevick points out that what has been learned may be forgotten, but what has been acquired is more permanent. Acquisition is a longer process where results cannot be perceived immediately, whereas after an item has been taught, one can immediately measure how well it has been learned. Some aspects of the target language can be learned, but according to Stevick these have to be fairly simple things such as words. In language learning these two concepts cannot be separated but, instead, have to be balanced against each other and combined so that they will promote one another. Good teaching and good learning create favorable conditions for acquisition (Stevick 1982:21-23).

According to Ellis (1991, 5-6), no contrast needs be made between second language acquisition and foreign language acquisition. In his view, second language acquisition is used as a general term to cover both untutored and tutored acquisition, namely learning that takes place in a classroom setting (tutored) and in a naturalistic setting (untutored). However, Ellis does not discuss whether the processes that take place in these settings are similar or not. Furthermore, he declares that the terms acquisition and learning can be used interchangeably as he does not see a real distinction between the two concepts. Yet he mentions that acquisition is sometimes used in connection with subconscious processes (picking up a second language through exposure), whereas learning may be more appropriate with conscious processes.

In this study, the words 'acquisition' and 'learning' will be used interchangeably since this study focuses on the classroom learner and it is assumed that both acquiring and learning take place during instruction and then continue after it. This stand is taken because during an optimal language class, acquiring can occur (viz. explicit knowledge can turn into implicit knowledge) after the learning and teaching of explicit knowledge (for more, see for example Ellis 1994, 2005, 2006, Bialystok 1994a & b, Stevick 1982:21, Krashen 1987:10).

When addressing learning (or learned knowledge) and acquisition (or acquired knowledge) the terms implicit, explicit, competence, proficiency, declarative and procedural must also be accounted for. Implicit, procedural, acquired and competence or proficiency are all terms that describe the same type of knowledge, that is, knowledge that has become automatic. According to the four approaches, implicit knowledge is a result of informal acquiring and is difficult to measure since it is an abstract, subconscious representation of the rule system that has emerged within the learner. Explicit, declarative and learnt knowledge and competence or communicative performance refer to knowledge or linguistic rules which have emerged as a result of learning (tutored). Both linguistic (based on Chomsky's notion of UG, Universal Grammar) and cognitive theories (based on cognitive psychology) share common ground as far as implicit and explicit linguistic knowledge are concerned (Ellis 2005, 2006; for more on how linguistic, cognitive and social approaches describe L1, L2 learning/acquiring see Appendix 1).

3.3   Six approaches in modeling second language acquisition

Ellis (1994:347) makes a broad distinction between cognitive and linguistic models representing SLA. Within the broad category of cognitive models, we can find examples that were constructed to model the communicative aspect of language learning, namely theories that explain how L2 is comprehended and produced in actual usage, and others that explain how learners develop their L2 knowledge, or construct their mental representations of the L2 (see also McLaughlin 1991, Gass & Schachter 1990:4). What is essential to all cognitive models is that the learner is actively processing linguistic and other data (compare Other Knowledge in the Bialystok Model, Chapter 3.3.3) in the language learning process. When learning a language in a formal or informal setting the learners set goals for themselves and actively classify, store, retrieve, memorize, guess, invent, and use linguistic data in order to reach the set objectives. Linguistic theories consider linguistic knowledge to be different from other types of knowledge, whereas the cognitive theories regard linguistic knowledge and its development to be no different from any other types of knowledge (Bialystok 1991:63, Ellis 1994:347-420, 2005:142).

In the subsequent chapters, five cognitive theories of SLA and the Sociocultural Theory (not to be confused with the Socio-Educational Model by Gardner 1985) will be discussed in more detail with the following aims:

1.   to find commonalities between the theories that stem from different schools of thought,

2.   to clarify terminology, and

3.   to find practical applications, that is, in this case factors involved in the SLA process which are relevant and consequently applicable to SLA in bilingual settings.

The first theories under scrutiny are Krashen's Monitor Model and, in connection with it, Burt and Dulay's Creative Construction Theory. Ellis' model, Integrated Theory of Instructed L2 Learning, is based on available findings of research concerning SLA. A more recent version of Ellis' theory is presented in Instructed Second Language Acquisition (1990). Bialystok's model, (General Theory) is interesting because it attempts to serve as a general theory of SLA and clearly shows how data derived from empirical studies have affected her thinking and interpretation in the attempt to devise a general SLA theory. Bachman's model, Communicative Language Ability, developed primarily for the purposes of language testing and assessment, emphasizes the communicative aspect as a manifestation of SLA, but in so doing, also serves to represent the whole SLA process.

The Cummins model, the Interdependence Hypothesis, is clearly a cognitive one and it is concerned with the language learner's level of bilingualism (Threshold theory) and the differences between basic and more developed language skills (BICS = basic interpersonal communicative skills and CALP = cognitive/academic language proficiency). The last theory to be discussed is the Sociocultural Theory (Lantolf & Pavlenko 1995, Dunn & Lantolf 1996, Lantolf 1996, Lantolf & Thorne 2007), which entered the SLA field in the mid-1990s and is subject to some controversy (for discussion on its role in SLA, see for example Long 2007, van Lier 1994, Firth & Wagner 1997, 1998). What has to be kept in mind is the fact that none of the theories to be dealt with in subsequent chapters can explain or describe the whole SLA process. On the other hand, all the models reveal one or more pieces of the puzzle, and by combining the results of many studies we can get a clearer picture of the total SLA domain.

Before moving on to the specifics of the six models, their key concepts are contrasted in five areas (Table 1 below): language knowledge, internal processing factors, factors that affect L2 learning and the objective of each model.

Table 1. Six SLA theories in a nutshell (Bachman & Palmer 1996, Bialystok 1983, 1991, 1994a & b, Baker 1996, Cummins 1984a & b, Cummins & Swain 1986, 2000, Ellis 1994, Burt, Dulay & Krashen 1987, Lantolf & Thorne 2007, Ortega 2007).

	LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE	INTERNAL PROCESSING FACTORS	FACTORS AFFECTING L2 LEARNING	NATURE OF THE MODEL
Burt, Dulay, Krashen	verbal performance: acquired (subconscious) learned (conscious)	filter, organizer, monitor	personality input age L1 language environment	general theory of L learning
Ellis	explicit (declarative) * conscious concepts * metalinguistic implicit (procedural) * formulaic expressions * analyzed knowledge	learning style control procedures	form- or meaning-focused input	instructed L2 acquisition
Bialystok	explicit linguistic competence (knowledge) implicit linguistic knowledge (competence) other knowledge	control analysis * inferencing * monitoring * functional practicing	analysis of linguistic knowledge control of linguistic process * Other knowledge * Explicit linguistic knowledge * Implicit linguistic knowledge	general theory of L learning
Bachman	organizational: * grammatical * textual pragmatic: * propositional * functional * sociolinguistic	metacognitive strategies	metacognitive strategies: assessment planning goal setting	communicative model for testing language performance
Cummins	common underlying proficiency L1 and L2 are different on the surface but have underlying commonalities. CUP refers to the cognitive system which is the same in each individual regardless of the language.	* a strong connection between a learner's L1 and L2 * L2 learning process is of a cognitive nature	threshold theory: 1. low competence in both languages result in negative consequences 2. appropriate competence in one language results in either positive or negative differences between monolingual learners 3. age-appropriate competence in both languages result in positive cognitive advances.	representation of L1 and L2 ability and the interdependence of their abilities
Lantolf & Thorne	mediation by symbolic artifacts	First inner-mental (private speech) then intra-mental Key concepts: mediation (regulation) and internalization	participation in socioculturally and institutionally organized practices Key concept: Zone of proximal development	sociocultural

Each model offers a unique representation of how language knowledge can be characterized. Burt, Dulay and Krashen divide it into acquired (subconscious) and learned (conscious) verbal performance. Ellis and Bialystok (Bialystok has replaced the term *knowledge* with *competence* in later works) both see language knowledge as comprising explicit and implicit knowledge. Furthermore, Bialystok has added a third component, Other Knowledge, to describe what language knowledge consists of.

Bachman draws on Halliday's functional grammar and defines language knowledge differently from Cummins and Bialystok, dividing it into organizational and pragmatic, whereas Cummins clearly makes a distinction between L1 and L2 by claiming that they are different on the surface, but have underlying commonalities. Common underlying proficiency (CUP) refers to the cognitive system that processes linguistic data in the same way regardless of the language. The Sociocultural Theory of SLA stands apart from all the other theories in every respect. Neither linguistic nor cognitive concepts are used to describe language knowledge. Instead, the terms associated with language knowledge stem from the work of Vygotsky (1986), in which the central idea is the distinctive dimension of human consciousness and its capacity for voluntary control over biology through the use of higher level cultural tools (language being one of them). The higher-level tools mediate between the person (individual) and the environment (social-material world).

The six models describe the internal processes with which linguistic data are handled in different ways. Burt, Dulay and Krashen call the internal processes filtering, organizing and monitoring. Ellis uses the term 'control procedures' to describe what happens to the linguistic data after input until output. Bialystok, Bachman and Cummins have described the internal processes differently. According to Bialystok, control and analysis are the main internal processes. In Bialystok's view, the strategies the individual employs when executing control and analysis are inferencing, monitoring and functional practicing. Bachman and Cummins do not try to describe or label the processes, but rather call them metacognitive strategies (Bachman) or cognitive processes (Cummins), which are similar in SLA and in all learning. Sociocultural Theory, again, views inner-processing differently. In SCT, inner-mental and intra-mental activities and mediation are central to the internal processing of language (in SCT, language is a symbolic artifact).

Bialystok, Bachman and Cummins all mention that the level of L1 is crucial prior to the learner's embarking on L2. Burt, Dulay and Krashen also mention L1, coupled with personality, input, age and language environment as factors influencing the SLA process. Ellis defines input in more detail, dividing it into form- and meaning-focused. In SCT, L2 learning follows the same principles as L1 learning, in that it is voluntary and conscious and preceded by private speech, and in all language development, participation in socioculturally and institutionally organized practices is crucial. As the six models stem

from different disciplines their objectives vary, which explains their different scopes concerning the factors that affect language learning. The nature of the models also reflects the empirical environments from which they have gathered data. The phenomena occurring during the SLA process have been described either by using existing concepts within the discipline or by creating new ones. The focus and objective of each model varies, and thus I have labeled them in the following way: Naturalistically Oriented (the Creative Construction Theory and the Monitor Model by Burt, Dulay and Krashen), Instructionally Oriented (the Ellis Model), General Theory Oriented (the Bialystok Model), Communicatively Oriented (the Bachman Model), Balanced Development of L1 and L2 (the Cummins Model) and finally Socioculturally Oriented (the Sociocultural Theory).

3.3.1 Naturalistically oriented: the Creative Construction Theory and the Monitor Model

The Krashen model, or *the Monitor Model,* (Burt et al. 1987, Krashen 1977, 1978, 1981a, b, c, 1987:16) is one of the earliest of its kind. It was first published in the 1970's by Krashen and subsequently elaborated by Burt and Dulay in their *Creative Construction Theory* (Burt & Dulay 1981:189).

The Monitor Model or the elaborated version of it, the Creative Construction Theory, is mentioned here despite the severe criticism it has received over the years (for more on criticism, see for example Long 2007:31-33, Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991:292). Although the Monitor Model may have lost ground to the more recent theories, it has to be acknowledged that many of the later models have utilized either the Monitor Model or the Creative Construction Theory as a starting point to explain the SLA process (VanPatten & Williams 2007b:25).

Krashen has worked along the same lines as Burt and Dulay, and together they have published articles and a major work on language learning, *Language Two* (1987). The common denominator in their thinking is apparent in Krashen's Monitor Model, namely the distinction between acquiring, which is subconscious, and learning, which takes place consciously. The learner's internal processes (Filtering, Organizing, Monitoring), are also significant and occur in both models. Some researchers are opposed to this view as they posit that subconscious and conscious processes cannot be separated or that there is no empirical evidence to support this hypothetical assumption (for more, see for example Ellis 1991, Long 2007, Macnamara 1978, McLaughlin 1991).
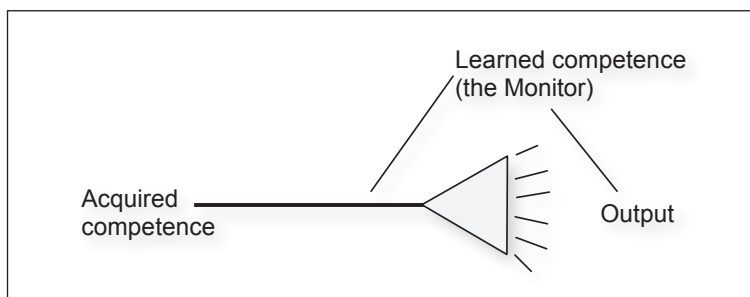
Figure 2. The Monitor Model (Krashen 1987).

In trying to ascertain which environmental features affect language learning, Burt and Dulay have drawn four major conclusions on the basis of relevant studies. These findings are central to their theory and also of importance in this study as the learning environment is one of its primary concerns. Burt and Dulay's statements read as follows (1981:178-186):

1. *a natural language environment exists whenever the focus of the speaker is on the content, not on the language itself.*

An ordinary conversation between two persons, as well as reading for information or entertainment, and watching TV or a film, are natural uses of language.

2. *communicative interactions must match the learner's level of language development.*

Here Dulay and Burt make a distinction between three kinds of communication phases that language learners pass through: one-way, partial two-way and full two-way. In one-way communication the learner mainly listens to or reads the target language. In partial two-way communication the learner sometimes responds orally, while in full two-way communication the learner both sends and receives verbal messages in the target language.

3. *target language input must be comprehensible to the learner.*

At an early stage of language learning, concrete referents are an important ingredient in a learner's language environment. To be able to understand the meaning of the sounds in the target language, the learner needs to see, hear or feel what the unfamiliar sounds refer to.

4. *language learners attend to and acquire the language and dialect spoken by people with whom they identify.*

Language learners choose selectively different target language speakers as role models. Learners in an environment where there are native speakers tend to take after their peers rather than their teacher for example (Burt & Dulay 1981:178-186).

Environment is only one factor in the language acquisition process, but a crucial one nevertheless. It provides the raw language material, which is filtered, organized, and monitored within the learner according to principles common to all language learners. Similarities in acquisition order, errors and transitional rules, which are a result of internal processing, have been observed in the performance of second language learners all over the world. Such factors as personality, age, and the role of the first language lead to differences in the learner's verbal performance (Burt & Dulay 1981:189).

As Figure 3 shows, the Filter is the first hurdle that the incoming language must overcome. Whether the language data get past the filter or not depends on the affective factors: the learner's motivation, attitude, needs and emotional state. After the filter has let some language data in, the organizer subconsciously organizes it. In contrast to the subconscious processes of the organizer, the last internal mechanism, the monitor, works consciously. Burt, Dulay and Krashen compare the monitor to an editor that is switched on when a language learner begins to formulate sentences and to correct their own writing and speech (Burt et al. 1987:59).
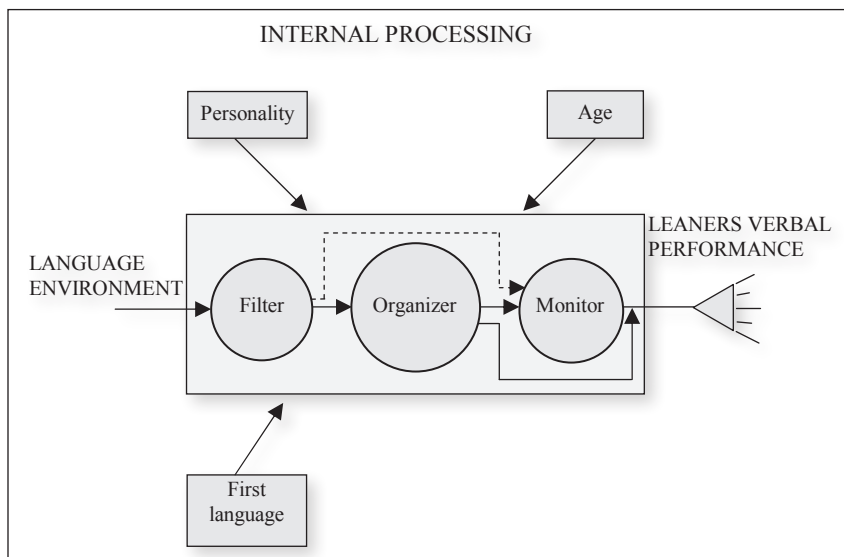
Figure 3. The Creative Construction Theory (Burt & Dulay 1981:189).

3.3.2 *Instructionally oriented: the Ellis Model*

In Ellis' theory (1991: 264-265, 2005, 2006), the Integrated Theory of Instructed Learning, which is based on existing theories and on the findings of various studies and relevant research literature, L2 knowledge is differentiated. ***Explicit*** knowledge is conscious and declarative, while ***implicit*** knowledge is subconscious and procedural, but not necessarily fully automatic. The model concedes that different aspects of L2 learning require different kinds of explanation. Ellis' view is that neither a purely linguistic nor a

purely cognitive framework can provide a complete explanation (Ellis 1991: 184). His more recent work is concerned with how one can operationalize implicit and explicit knowledge in order to create tests to measure them (Ellis 2005, 2006). According to Ellis, there is a need in both the SLA field as a whole, and in language testing in particular, to construct convincing models of L2 proficiency and to develop instruments capable of providing reliable and valid quantifiable data concerning L2 knowledge (2005:168). Until clear differentiation between a learner's implicit and explicit knowledge of an L2 can be achieved, it will not be possible to test the interface and non-interface hypotheses (explicit knowledge turning or not turning into implicit knowledge) which are pivotal issues in the current SLA debate.

According to Ellis, neither type of knowledge is developmentally primary in that the learner may acquire a particular linguistic phenomenon explicitly in the first instance and then proceed to acquire the same rule implicitly at a later point. The model, which attempts to describe what happens to input before it becomes output, can be summarized in diagrammatic form as follows:
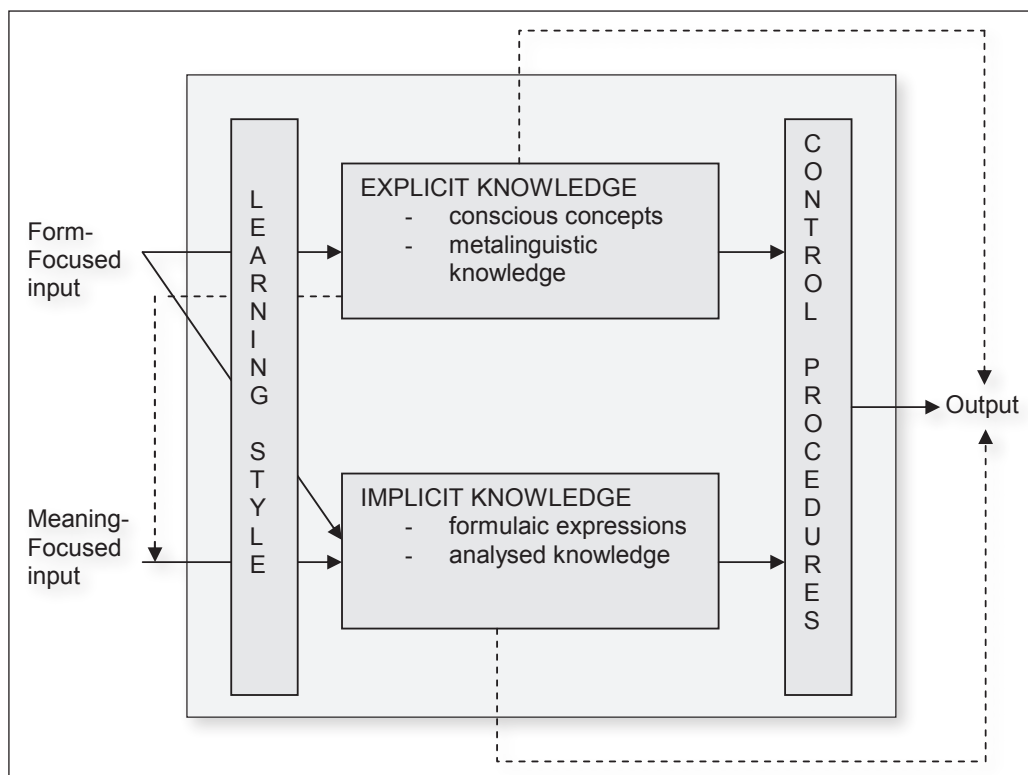
Figure 4. A Model of Instructed L2 Acquisition (Ellis 1994:195).

In the model, instructional input is filtered by the learner who, in turn, is affected by his learning style. If the learners respond positively to the type of instruction (affectively or cognitively), they will be predisposed to attend to linguistic features in the input. Implicit

and explicit knowledge represent two kinds of knowledge which are not convertible, and which are stored separately in the brain. This theory claims that different kinds of instruction typically result in different kinds of knowledge in L2. According to Ellis' line of reasoning, the relationship between instruction and explicit knowledge, and instruction and the acquisition of implicit knowledge must be taken into account. It is stressed that there is no simple correlation between form-focused instruction and explicit knowledge or between meaning-focused input and implicit knowledge. Meaning-focused instruction provides the learner with input for processing. In order for input to become intake it must fulfill the following conditions:

> "1. the learner must attend subconsciously to the presence of a specific feature in the input (i.e. notice the feature without reflecting on it);
>
> 2. the learner must have reached a stage of development which makes it possible to incorporate this feature into their interlanguage system." (Ellis 1994:190).

It is also possible to teach implicit knowledge directly if the learner is developmentally ready or if the target forms are not dependent on developmental constraints. Explicit knowledge makes the learner sensitive to non-standard forms in his interlanguage. Thus for acquisition to take place the learner must be ready to use specific linguistic features to which he has become sensitized in the input phase. The last factor in Ellis' theory is Control, which learners achieve in meaning-focused instruction when they perform under real operating conditions. Ultimately, as in Krashen's Monitor Model, the learner's own output acts as input for the language-processing mechanisms. If there are non-standard language forms in the output that are corrected, they raise the learner's consciousness and this in turn facilitates the acquisition of correct forms.

3.3.3 General theory oriented: the Bialystok Model

Bialystok's theory of the SLA process has changed over the years, but despite the obvious terminological modifications and additions to the explanations of the factors, the structure and the variables accounted for in the model have remained intact (for details, see for example Ellis 1994:179, 1995:356, Stern 1984:407). Although the Bialystok Model incorporates aspects similar to Krashen's Monitor Model, such as the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge, it has proved to be more dynamic in trying to modify the variables in line with new relevant research carried out by Bialystok herself among others, and ultimately, in trying to accomplish a general theory (for details, see for example Bialystok 2002, Spolsky 1989:2,47). Even though the model has remained the same since its first appearance in 1978, the interpretation has changed somewhat over the course of time[1].

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[1]   For example, concerning first and second language, see e.g. Bialystok 1991, 2002 and Hulstijn 1985, 1989, 1990.

Bialystok views both L1 and L2 acquisition as a cognitive activity whereby language is processed, that is, learned and used, by the human mind in the same way as other kinds of information (Bialystok 1983:122, 1988: 32). 'Inferencing' describes how a language learner surmises from minor details the hypothesis which he tests in communication. There are three types of inferences which are attributable to the three sources of knowledge in Bialystok's Model (Figure 5): Implicit Knowledge, Other Knowledge and Context. It is possible to make inferences from Implicit Knowledge to Explicit Knowledge. Inferencing from Other Knowledge occurs when information about languages other than the TL or general knowledge of the world are being used. Finally, inferencing from Context takes place when both the linguistic and physical aspects of a situation which provide cues to meaning are being utilized (Bialystok 1983:106, Bialystok 1991:152-153).

According to Bialystok (1991:63, 2002), language processing is based on two interacting subskills, namely analysis of linguistic knowledge and control of linguistic processing. 'Analysis' is the process by which an abstract mental linguistic phenomenon is built up, structured, and made explicit (1991: 65). 'Control', the second processing skill component, refers to the ability to focus attention on relevant and appropriate information and to integrate those forms in real time. The highest achievement in this skill area is intentional processing and fluency as a measurable outcome (Bialystok 1991:71). Language proficiency and language processing involving the above mentioned two subskills thus have a direct application to second language acquisition. The cognitive differences in the mastery of the two skill components explain the differences between attempts to learn a second language during childhood and adulthood respectively. Children face two tasks when learning a language: first, building up their knowledge of the world (including language to refer to that world) and second, building up the structure of the linguistic system (including control procedures for retrieving data of the representations). Adults, on the other hand, only have to master the analysis and control relevant to the language system.

Despite this essential difference at the initial skill level between young learners and adult learners, the skills needed for processing both L1 and L2 are the same (Bialystok 1991, 1994a). These same skill components underpin both second and first language processing.

Figure 5 depicts the three levels of Bialystok's Model, namely Input, Knowledge and Output. The Input level focuses on external factors that provide the conditions for learning (such as the language classroom or language exposure in general). The Knowledge level is probably the most interesting as it is where the aforementioned three types of knowledge are located:

Other knowledge
Comprises the learner's first language and all the information gathered about languages, and knowledge of the world in general.

Explicit linguistic knowledge

Consists of conscious knowledge such as grammar rules and vocabulary and is facilitated by 'formal practicing'.

Implicit linguistic knowledge

Consists of intuitively, passively known items in the language derived from communication or exposure to communication. This type of knowledge is facilitated by 'functional practicing'.
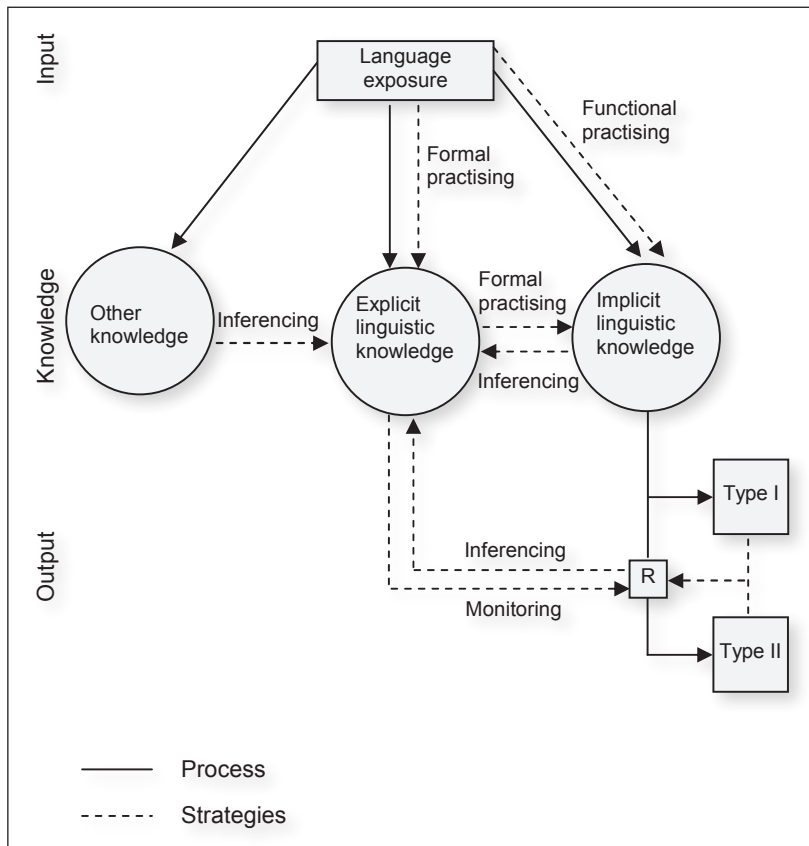
Figure 5. The Bialystok Model of L2 learning (Bialystok 1994a).

The interaction between the different types of knowledge and the resulting different outputs are the fundamental distinguishing features in the Bialystok Model. The processes within and between the knowledge types coupled with exposure to the language make the system work. Explicit knowledge can be derived from implicit knowledge by inferencing, and implicit knowledge from explicit by formal practicing.[2] Finally, the

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2   Bialystok (1994b) has changed her view of explicit knowledge becoming implicit: "Language that is explicit does not become implicit [...] As (explicit) knowledge becomes easier to access, it appears to be more automatic and to support more fluent performance. However, the representation of knowledge, in terms of clarity of structure, can never become less explicit."

strategies, namely inferencing, monitoring and functional practicing, employed between the input and output determine the type of output. Output of Type I is by nature immediate and spontaneous, whereas Type II is deliberate and occurs after a delay. The source of knowledge for Type I is entirely implicit, while for Type II it can be both explicit and implicit (Bialystok 1978, Bialystok 1979, Stern 1984, Ellis 1994).

Since constructing the SLA model in 1978, Bialystok has moved beyond the mere description of variables involved in the language acquisition process and has, in her later work, in addition to clarifying, extending and adding to the functions of the variables, concentrated on the different kinds of knowledge and language use, and finally she has shown interest in the differences in the cognitive profiles of bilingual and monolingual language users (for example, Bialystok 1990, 1991, 1994a & b, 2002: 160-162, Bialystok & Ryan 1985). Some researchers (for example, Hulstijn 1990:38) have criticized the model, arguing that it departs from describing the acquisition process itself and serves the role of a functional model explaining language tasks but not the role of a theory.

3.3.4 Communicatively oriented: the Bachman Model

Bachman (1991a & b) has developed a framework which, in his view, provides a basis for relating test performance to non-test language use. It draws on some earlier models, particularly that of Canale and Swain (Bachman 1991a: 81, 85, 1991b), but Bachman's Model includes a wider range of elements and provides a more comprehensive view of language ability than those models predating it.

Bachman's theory, although first and foremost designed for testing purposes, also includes a model of language ability for describing the factors involved in language use and test performance. The model, *Communicative Language Ability* (CLA), essentially provides a framework that can be adopted to measure certain features in the SLA process or to describe communicative language ability which, according to Bachman, consists of three components: language competence, strategic competence and psychophysiological mechanisms. Two forerunners in this respect were Carroll and Lado (for example, Carroll 1991, Bachmann 1991a:82), who were also interested in measuring language ability and who subsequently devised a theory of SLA. Bachman's Model, although designed for language ability testing, is clearly one that can also be used to describe the SLA process. In this study, Bachman's Model was applied in constructing a questionnaire covering not only the skills, but also the strategies that should be assessed (Questionnaire 3: Strategies and Skills, Appendix 7).

According to Bachman (1991b), language knowledge can be regarded as a domain of information that is specific to language ability and which is stored in the long-term memory. Thus Bachman's Model could be labeled a linguistic cognitive model. The distinction between analyzed (conscious, explicit) and unanalyzed (subconscious, implicit)

knowledge which is central to many models is not made. Language knowledge or, as Bachman calls it, language competence, is divided into two broad areas: *organizational competence* and *pragmatic competence.*[3] Both areas of competence change constantly when new elements are learned or acquired. Organizational competence determines how texts are organized and further divided into grammatical and textual competence. Pragmatic competence determines how utterances or sentences, intentions and contexts are related to construct meaning. Pragmatic knowledge includes *illocutionary* and *sociolinguistic competence* (compare *propositional knowledge, functional knowledge and sociolinguistic knowledge* in Bachman 1991b).

An important characteristic of the Bachman Model is that language use is regarded as a dynamic process which involves two components: the assessment of relevant information in context, and the negotiation of meaning on the part of the language user. These two components are manifested in the area of strategic competence, which can be further subdivided into three components: assessment, planning and execution.

The assessment component has the following functions:

1.   Identification of information that is needed to realize a particular communicative function in a given context.

2.   Effective use of language competencies to put forth the information in number 1 above to achieve the communicative goal.

3.   Assessing the abilities and knowledge shared by one's interlocutor.

4.   Monitoring one's own communicative performance and evaluating it. (Bachman 1991a: 100)

The planning component acts as a link between language competence and strategic competence in retrieving language items (grammatical, textual, illocutionary, sociolinguistic) from language competence and formulating a plan to achieve the communicative goal. Depending on the individual's knowledge of languages, relevant items may be derived from the L1 competence, L2 competence, or from the language user's interlanguage system (Bachman 1991a:102). The execution component is the last of the three that Bachman places under strategic competence. It is used to implement the communicative goal, during which process both neurological and physiological mechanisms are utilized (Bachman 1991a:103).

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[3]   Bachman uses language *knowledge* in 1991b, for instance, but in 1991a:86 among others, language *competence* is used and subsequently organizational competence, etc.

Table 2. Language knowledge and metacognitive skills (Bachman 1991a).

AREAS OF LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE

Organizational knowledge determines how texts - oral or written - are organized.

- **Grammatical knowledge** determines how individual utterances or sentences are organized.
- **Textual knowledge** determines how utterances or sentences are organize to form texts.

Pragmatic knowledge determines how utterances/sentences are related to propositional content.

- **Propositional knowledge** determines how utterances/sentences are related to propositional content.
- **Functional knowledge** determines how utterances/sentences are related to intentions of language users.
- **Sociolinguistic knowledge** determines how utterances/sentences are related to features of the language use context.

METACOGNITIVE STRATEGIES

ASSESSMENT (taking stock of what you need, what you have to work with, and how well you have done)

1. Determining the desirability of achieving a particular goal and what is needed to achieve it in a particular context.
2. Determining which knowledge components - language knowledge, schemata, and affective schemata - are available for accomplishing that goal.
3. Determining the extent to which the communicative goal has been achieved by a given utterance.

GOAL-SETTING (deciding what you are going to do)

1. Identifying and selecting one or more communicative goals that you want to achieve.
2. Deciding to attempt or not to attempt to achieve the communicative goal selected.

PLANNING (deciding how to use what you have)

1. Selecting relevant areas of language knowledge for accomplishing the given communicative goal.
2. Formulating a plan for implementing these areas in the production or interpretation of an utterance.

Figure 6 is a pictorial representation of the framework that Bachman and Palmer have developed (1996:63, see also Bachman & Palmer 1982, Tuokko 2007:65). Since Bachman has nurtured a keen interest in language testing, the theory of language ability forms a part of his theory of language testing and indeed the two cannot be separated. A language test needs to correspond to and reflect real-life situations as much as possible and provide scope for the transfer of language ability from non-test situations to test situations. This can be done, for example, by creating communicative tasks that are as authentic as possible, with the test task taking account of interactional authenticity (for more on tasks and authenticity, see for example Saleva 1997).
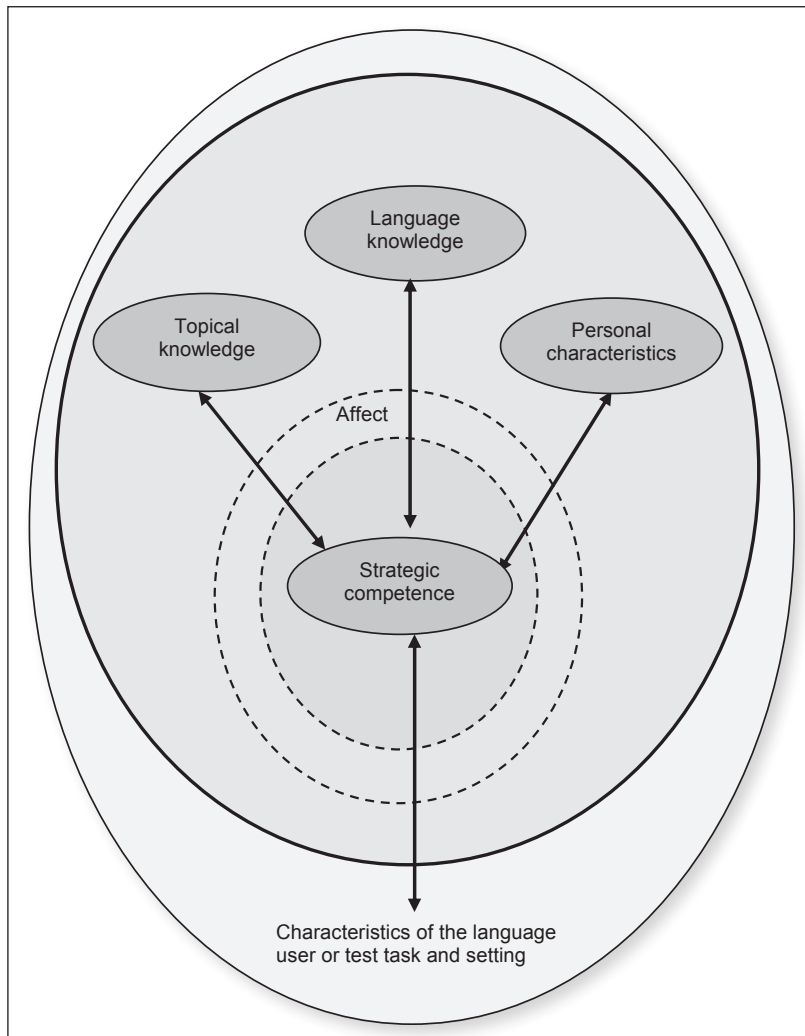
Figure 6. Model of language use and language test performance (Bachman & Palmer 1996:63)

3.3.5 *Balanced development of L1 and L2: the Cummins Model*

The cognitive models outlined above have dealt mainly with what we could call "the black box". Questions related to acquiring and learning and the various processes concerning the acquisition and learning continuum have been their main focus. SLA researchers have also concerned themselves with interlanguage, coupled with the various developmental stages from monolingualism to bilingualism (in the broad sense of the word, namely the ability to communicate in two languages fairly fluently). It seems that the last two models presented here, namely the Bachman Model and the Cummins Model, no longer tackle the questions of acquiring or learning, and the explicit and implicit distinction to the same extent as the earlier ones. This might be an indication that, despite terminological disputes, there is more agreement on the variables affecting second language acquisition.

The current research trend in the area of SLA is inclined to be either more specifically focused on one or two variables (for example Bachman) or fairly pragmatically centered on communicative or educational aspects.

The Cummins Model, which is based on earlier theories and research findings, is a good example of a more pragmatic approach, which has influenced policy-makers in the US in particular (discussed in Chapter 2). In his view (Cummins 2001:29, 173-198), the development of coherent policies and effective instructional practices requires that the theory and research be re-integrated. His theoretical framework with regard to the Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses has exerted significant influence on educational policy and practice. According to Cummins (2001:174), both opponents and advocates of bilingual education claim that the influence of the two hypotheses has been negative and prejudicial toward bilingual children. According to Cummins, policy-makers have interpreted the empirical findings to suit their views (in some cases arguing that maximum exposure to the target language as realized in total immersion programs yields the best results in L1 and L2, and in other cases that early literacy in the target language, L2, should not take place).

Cummins' research interests extend beyond the mere construction and validation of the hypotheses: he is also interested in how the prevailing controversies characterize policy-making in contexts of linguistic diversity in education. The policy-makers' actions can be analyzed from different perspectives, for example, with respect to how power is used (between dominant and subordinated groups), how 'language proficiency' is conceptualized and assessed with high-stakes consequences for students and groups, and furthermore, the extent to which different languages of instruction are incorporated in school systems and the academic outcomes of different models. The types of pedagogy that are appropriate for developing language skills and high levels of academic achievement in different sociolinguistic contexts also warrant analysis in Cummins' opinion (Cummins 2001:1-30).

The Cummins Model of bilingualism focuses on two major features: the representation of L1 and L2 proficiency and the interdependence of communicative competences in L1 and L2. Furthermore, the proposed models include not only a representation of how L1 and L2 knowledge are stored and of the competence levels in each language, but also the demands they place on the education of bilingual children, namely bilingual curricula. Cummins' theories include the *Common Underlying Proficiency Model*, the *Threshold Theory*, and more refined theories concerning communicative skills and proficiency subsequently developed as offshoots of the Threshold Theory, namely a model of *Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS)* and *Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)* (Cummins & Swain 1986:81, Cummins 1984a: 136-139).

The Common Underlying Proficiency Model

As the word *common* implies, this theory is concerned with how an individual's first language and second language knowledge are stored. Cummins uses an iceberg analogy to describe the dichotomy between L1 and L2 knowledge. According to Cummins, the two iceberg tips are separate above the surface, meaning that the languages are different with regard to physical features, but underneath lies the common ground (Common Underlying Proficiency). This assumption has further implications which are backed up by research findings. For example, in bilingual education when one language is used it does not mean that only the language-specific cognitive system (for example speaking, listening, reading or writing) develops, but rather that the whole cognitive system is fed and develops as a result (Cummins 1984a: 136-140, Cummins & Swain 1986: 81-82).

The Threshold Theory

The Threshold Theory was initially introduced by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) and Cummins (1976). According to these theorists, cognition and bilingualism are best explained by "thresholds". The theory comprises two thresholds which represent levels of language competence that have consequences for a child. The first threshold / level (limited bilinguals) includes those bilinguals who have low levels of competence in both L1 and L2, which is likely to result in negative consequences of bilingualism. At the second threshold/level (less balanced bilinguals) children have appropriate competence in one but not two languages. These learners are unlikely to have either positive or negative differences compared to monolingual learners. Above the second threshold (balanced bilinguals) is the third level where language learners will have obtained age-appropriate competence in both languages and there will be positive cognitive advantages (Cummins 1984a: 136-137).

Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)

The Threshold Theory laid the foundations for the BICS and CALP theories. The theory was first succeeded by the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis which considered the relationship between a bilingual's two languages. This hypothesis suggested that a child's second language competence is partly dependent on the level achieved in the first language, which postulates that it is easier to develop an L2 if the L1 is already well developed (Cummins 1976, Baker 1996: 148-151).

The Developmental Interdependence hypothesis then led to a development where a distinction had to be made between surface fluency and the more evolved language skills. This refers to the difference between communication in everyday situations and the academically and cognitively more demanding communication that takes place in classrooms for example (Baker 1996:151). Cummins expressed the differences between basic and more developed language skills in terms of *Basic Interpersonal Communicative*

Skills (BICS) and *Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)* (Cummins 1984a & b). BICS occurs when there is contextual support and in situations where non-verbal support (eye-contact, gestures) is available to secure understanding. CALP occurs in context-reduced academic situations when there are few clues in the form of non-verbal, contextual support to promote understanding (Baker 1996: 151, Cummins 1984a, Cummins & Swain 1986).

The Cummins theory of the relationship between language and cognition has been criticized on account of its assumptions which were made purely *post hoc*, based on earlier findings (Baker 1996, Rivera 1984, Fredrickson & Cline 1990). For example, the criterion of educational success is centered on language skills, literacy and formal educational achievements, which neglects other areas of success and research interest: self-esteem, social and emotional development, divergent and creative thinking, long-term attitude to learning, employment and moral development. Furthermore, terms such as BICS and CALP are claimed to be too vague, over-simplifying the functioning of the individual and classroom processes. Cummins' Model would require further empirical research across cultures, countries, time and educational traditions (Baker 1996:159).
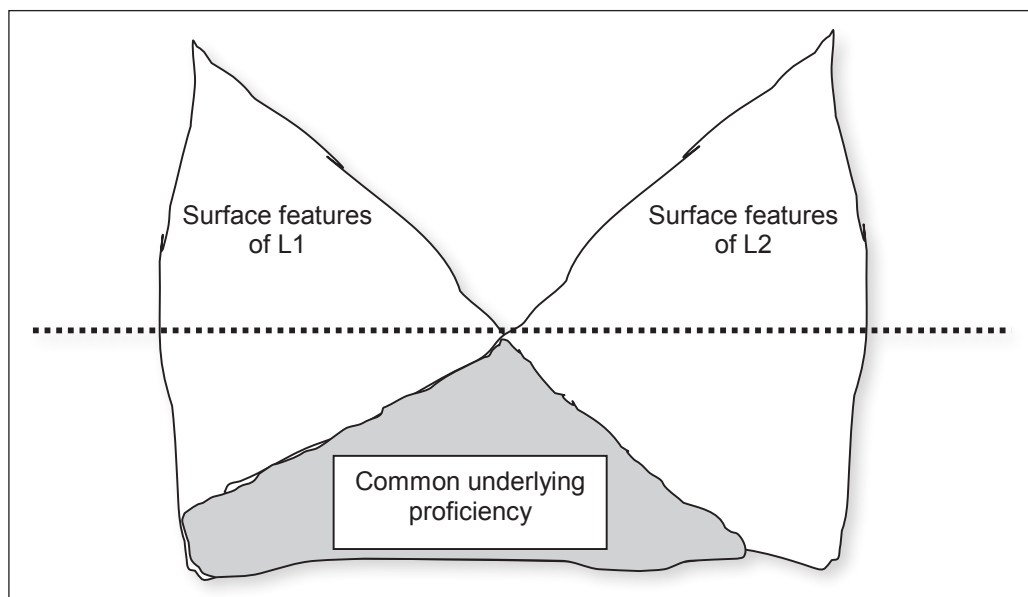
Figure 7. The Cummins Model (Cummins & Swain 1986).

The shortcomings of the Cummins Model are no different from any of the other models. It seems that all evolving theories encounter initial resistance, and arouse expectations from other theorists that verge on the impossible. The Cummins' model is a case in point: a theory cannot embrace every possible research interest nor can it cater to all the needs of either educators or researchers. However, lively debate continues in the SLA field on whether the scope of research into variables affecting SLA is too narrow or too wide. A

pared down hypothesis produces reliable data and can contribute to our understanding of SLA, yet it fails to provide an overall picture or produce new theories covering the whole SLA process.

3.3.6 Socioculturally oriented: the Sociocultural Theory

Sociocultural theory, which is based on the work of Lev Vygotsky, was hardly mentioned in applied linguistics or in second language acquisition literature prior to the early 1990s. But in a little over a decade, sociocultural theory (SCT) has become a major influence in the field of applied linguistics, morphing from relative anonymity into a major stakeholder. This shift does not sweep aside or undermine the important contributions that the cognitive accounts or traditional (psycho)linguistic approaches have made, and will continue to make, to SLA research. The fairly recent and, relatively speaking, sudden emergence of SCT in applied linguistics simply reflects the need to take better account of the sociocultural contexts and phenomena in SLA (van Lier, 2004a, Swain & Deters, 2007).

The main tenets of Vygotsky's educational theory adopted by SLA researchers are Mediation, Learning and Development, Social and Cultural Activity, the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), and Inner Speech. SCT postulates that neither subject matter nor content hold the key to learning, but rather the activities in which learners engage with significant others like their parents or teachers. Interaction between an adult and a child leads to the emergence of higher forms of functioning or thinking. SCT also proposes that learners can always accomplish more under guidance than on their own: learning in collaboration with others is a natural vehicle for humans to develop both generally and academically. Language is the most crucial element in Mediation. It is manifested in private speech (talking to oneself) and in inner speech (thinking to oneself). In SCT, language is viewed very differently from traditional SLA theories. In SCT, language does not merely transfer pre-formed thoughts, but rather it is a tool of the mind (Swain & Deters 2007).

Situated learning models make use of the participation metaphor to complement the traditional acquisition metaphor. According to the participation metaphor, learning can be equated with becoming a member of the surrounding community, which in turn involves the process of developing an ability to communicate using the kind of language and behavior that are considered acceptable by the community (van Lier 2004a, Swain & Deters 2007). Two models that incorporate the participation metaphor are language socialization and the community of practice framework (Zuengler & Miller 2006). Both emphasize the social milieu and the social situatedness of learning. Learning is perceived as being in parallel with becoming an active full participant in a particular community, which in turn necessitates constructing identities in relation to these communities.

According to the sociocultural approach, L2 learners participate in specific local contexts in which certain practices offer opportunities for them to learn English (Norton & Toohey 2001, Zuengler & Miller 2006). In 1991, Lave and Wenger proposed the notion of community of practice, which refers to social contexts which are complex and overlapping. According to these theorists, learning equates with the way in which communities provide situations for participants to engage in community practices. Hence researchers need to pay attention to how communities and their practices are structured in order to understand how the community either facilitates or constrains the learners' efforts to access the linguistic resources (Lave & Wenger 1991, Norton & Toohey 2001, Zuengler & Miller 2006).

Ecological perspectives on SLA draw on Sociocultural Theory, offering an alternative way of looking at the contexts in which language use and language learning are situated. According to van Lier (2004b), the concept of ecology embraces the very definitions of language, of development and of mind. It views the learning environment as a complex adaptive system (Larsen-Freeman 2000, 2006a & b), where the individual's mind equals the totality of relationships between a developing person and the surrounding world. Learning equals meaningful activity in an accessible environment (Kramsch & Whiteside 2008). In a recent article, Kramsch describes language ecology in practice, using the data she collected from Maya-speaking immigrants living in San Francisco (the data is drawn from research conducted by Whiteside 2006, in Kramsch & Whiteside 2008). Kramsch's analysis focuses less on the individuals than on the mediated action itself as a kind of social symbolic action. Mediation occurs through gestures (pointing at things, gesturing, cutting, etc), through artifacts that are at hand such as concrete objects (a tall rectangular meat case at the butcher's), and the languages that abound. The relationships between the participants and their environment, also referred to as affordances (cf symbolic artifacts in sociocultural theory), are utilized and they can either enhance or inhibit action (for more on affordances see for example Järvinen 2008). Kramsch suggests that social actors in multilingual settings seem to possess something that she calls symbolic competence, which takes communicative competence a step further. In her view, L2 speakers in multilingual settings may have a critical ability to play with various linguistic codes above and beyond the accuracy, effectiveness and appropriateness that communicative competence calls for.

In sum, the studies that follow sociocultural principles emphasize the activities which engage the learners within a community, along with the situated contexts and symbolic artifacts (affordances) that are mediated. The actions, perceptions and language that constitute the complex, dynamic process of learning should not be looked at in isolation, but holistically within a context (for more, see Kramsch & Sullivan 1996, van Lier 2004a & b, Kramsch 2002, Järvinen 2008, 2009).

3.4   Conclusion

Acquisition and learning

The impetus for bilingual education is acquisition rather than learning, hence the greater focus on this aspect in the previous paragraphs. Bilingual education guarantees at its best a balance between form-focused and meaning-focused learning/teaching, where a focus on meaning prevails over a focus on form. The subjects in this study are enrolled in bilingual education, which presupposes that their L2 development is of the type described by Krashen, Burt and Dulay. The American students live in a second language setting, which guarantees them continuous visual and auditory L2 exposure. The Finns, on the other hand, are in an L2 language environment only in school and outside school the target language is not used as a regular medium of communication (although in Finland there is a lot of auditory and visual stimulation via TV, radio and the internet, of course). What follows is that there is a difference between the types of L2 development: within the Finnish group it is balanced between learning and acquisition, whereas the US subjects acquire more than learn. What the theory also suggests is that the affective filter works subconsciously and either lets data in or shuts it out.

Implicit and explicit and the interface or non-interface hypotheses

The terms implicit and explicit refer to the two types of L2 knowledge. Implicit is associated with bilingual education, whereas explicit refers to form-focused teaching and learning. According to the *non-interface* theories, explicit knowledge cannot turn into implicit knowledge. The *interface* theories, on the other hand, assume that explicit knowledge can become implicit. These two knowledge types are also linked to the concepts of *first* and *foreign language*. A first language is acquired seemingly effortlessly, whereas a foreign language takes time and effort to learn. In sum, it would be important to know how the process of L1 acquisition could be emulated in bilingual education in order to facilitate easy L2 development.

Bialystok's theory adds a third component to the implicit-explicit conundrum, namely Other Knowledge. Bialystok's conceptualization resembles Cummins' common underlying proficiency, which is a construct beneath the tips of the L1 and L2 icebergs in the Cummins theory. Of pedagogical relevance in the Bialystok model are the processes or subskills that learners employ in language learning, analysis and control. Analysis transforms abstract linguistic representations into explicit knowledge. Control, the second subskill, directs the learner's attention to relevant and appropriate information and facilitates integration. According to Ellis, neither type of knowledge is developmentally primary in that the learner may acquire a particular linguistic phenomenon explicitly in the first instance and then proceed to acquire the same rule implicitly at a later point.

Cummins' theories, the Interdependence (Iceberg) and Threshold Theories have been particularly influential when designing bilingual education programs. They provide

answers to the question of whether L1 or L2 should be taught, and even to what degree the two should feature in a bilingual program as far as content is concerned. The time spent on L1 and L2 does not need to be evenly divided.

Strategies will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but at this juncture mention can be made of the fact that Bachmann's theory offers a good starting point for analyzing *metacognitive* strategies. Bachman's Model has replaced the concept of knowledge with the concept of competence. Thus the model has been used when designing and assessing communicative activities. The assessment of relevant information in context, and the negotiation of meaning on the part of the language user are the components which are manifested in the area of strategic competence. Strategic competence (metacognitive strategies) can be further subdivided into three components: assessment, planning and execution.

The Sociocultural Theory emphasizes the importance of *community* and how the learner acquires the tools to mediate with it. From the SCT perspective, learning is closely connected with becoming a member of the L2 community. Yet, the framework presupposes that there is an L2 community, which is patently not the case for all L2 learners or in all L2 learning. I still argue that the theory has practical applications to foreign language instruction as well, if the concept of community refers not only to the TL community. This addition needs to be made in the case of bilingual education programs, which are located outside the realms of the authentic language communities. According to Vygotsky (1986:110), success in learning a foreign language goes hand in hand with the degree of maturity in the native language (compare Cummins' Threshold hypotheses). The learner can transfer to the L2 (or any other new languages) the system of meanings he already possesses in his own. This also ties in with the implicit-explicit transferability which was dealt with in the previous paragraph. In Vygotsky's view, the reverse is also true; a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language (compare Cummins' common underlying proficiency, Bialystok's Other Knowledge).

At least three somewhat contradictory opinions have emerged among SLA theorists. According to Long (2007: 26, 139-141), the field of SLA became fragmented during the 1980s and 1990s due to the proliferation of theories (60, by his reckoning). He blames Lantolf, among others, who promote the sociocultural view of SLA, for the proliferation of theories. Lantolf, on the other hand, defends SCT and any other new emerging theories and theorists by stating that theories are merely metaphors in disguise and the more theories there are, the more research is generated, with the result that proliferation offers protection against the tyranny of the paradigm (Lantolf 1996, 2005: for more, see van Lier 1994, Firth & Wagner 1997, 1998). Larsen-Freeman and Ellis' current view of language learning is characterized by elements from all of the theories described here,

but in contrast to cognitive views, they consider language to be a complex, nonlinear and adaptive system, comprising the organic interactions of people who want to communicate and a world to be talked about. (Larsen-Freeman & Ellis, N. 2006, Larsen-Freeman 1997).

In contrast to Larsen-Freeman and Ellis' current view of SLA, which resonates with the plethora of theories and research in the SLA field today, some researchers have looked back and discovered how some past theories still hold true and provide a solid foundation for research. Skill acquisition theory is a case in point. Skill acquisition theory has actually brought something very tangible to the sometimes fuzzy SLA field and, thanks to techniques from cognitive neuroscience (using, for example, positron emission tomography, PET), it has almost literally been able to drill into the L2 learner's brain to measure such aspects as reaction times in order to crystallize the process by which declarative knowledge turns into procedural knowledge and becomes automatic. To date, however, the number of studies in this vein has been limited due to the methodology required. Experiments on skill acquisition involve large numbers of subjects over rather long periods of time and generate vast quantities of data for statistical analysis. In addition, the collection of data and the control required over the treatments and practice conditions require a certain investment in terms of both human effort, hardware and software (DeKeyser 2007:102). Skill acquisition theory is quite compatible with many of the major findings from SLA research and fits very well with other aspects of cognitive science. It also provides a truly developmental area of research, which leaves little room for speculation, but at best is able to show how rapidly acquisition takes place, how declarative knowledge turns into procedural knowledge and how some elements get automatized, while others do not reach that level or never get learned at all (DeKeyser & Juffs 2005, DeKeyser 2007).

At the beginning of this chapter, mention was made of the way in which these theories affect language policies and teaching at grass roots level. This concluding chapter reappraised those elements in the theories which, in the writer's opinion, are detectable in, and have an impact on, language education at both of the aforementioned levels. In the final chapter a more recent theory was discussed, to cite just one example of the dozens of viable theories that remain outside the scope of this study. Skill acquisition theory, along with many other compatible SLA theories, still awaits the same kind of widespread acceptance that other theories have gained.

4   FACTORS AFFECTING SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In the previous chapter the focus was on SLA theories. Out of the six models reviewed, five entailed an element denoting individual factors that affect one's learning. This indicates that at least the cognitive branch of SLA researchers acknowledge learner characteristics such as language aptitude, motivation and learning styles as important contributors to language learning. This chapter is concerned with individual characteristics or *individual differences* in SLA research (for more on the term individual differences, see for example Dörnyei 2005: 7-9). Affective factors, motivation in particular, will be discussed first, after which the focus will shift to strategies. Finally, studies on successful language learners will be reviewed.

4.1   Introduction

It is difficult to define affective variable concepts such as motivation and attitude, as well as personality traits such as self-esteem or ego-states, the terms extrovert and introvert, strategies or cognitive styles or processes, to mention but a few of the factors that affect language learning. Furthermore, intelligence, age, personal factors and environment can also affect learning as a whole, and language learning by implication. How and to what extent these factors are interrelated is a complicated task to demonstrate empirically. Likewise, it is difficult to determine the cause and effect relationship.

What can be said on the basis of previous research is that studies which have tried to find correlations between certain personality traits and L2 learning have succeeded better than studies that have tried to find relationships between motivation or attitude and L2 learning. Yet this should not be misinterpreted, because it has become common knowledge that personality alone does not explain success in SLA better than any other factor. One shortcoming of the studies carried out in the attitudinal-motivational domain has been the failure to find quantifiable data that would link success in second language acquisition (SLA) to the affective domain. At least many traditional multiple-choice questionnaires which have not focused on any specific area of attitude or motivation have proved to be inadequate in linking affective variables to the theories they are constructed to evaluate (Johnson & Krug 1980, Oller et al. 1980).

According to Dörnyei (2005:118), another problem in motivation research stems from the fact that, for the most part, it continues to replicate Canadian studies in regarding L2 motivation as the sum of integrative and instrumental motivation. In

defense of the instrumental-integrative divide, Oxford (1999) proposes that it may be better suited to certain settings, for example foreign language settings. All in all, the studies that have concentrated on specific learning tasks and the mapping of motivation and attitude variables in relation to the learning task have yielded better results. (for example, Johnson & Krug 1980, Murakami 1980, Long 1983, Julkunen 1989, 1998, Dörnyei 1994a & b, 1999, Julkunen & Borzova 1997, Gardner et al 2004, Csizér & Dörnyei 2005. For studies on anxiety and success in L2, see Daly 1991, Scovel 1991, Mejiás et al 1991, Norton & Toohey 2001). In the light of the global status that English has attained, Dörnyei (2005:18) suggests that it might be reasonable to introduce two different kinds of approaches to study L2 motivation: one focusing on world-language-learning and the other on non-world-language-learning. In addition, he suggests, a Motivational Self System to research L2 motivation in the case of world-languages.

The Socio-educational Model devised by Gardner (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993) has to a large extent dominated the language learning motivation scene for the past three decades (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993, Oxford 1999). It distinguishes between individual difference variables and further clarifies them in the light of relevant research. The Socio-educational Model in Figure 8 gives us a good idea of the individual difference variables.

Socio-cultural milieu

Antecedent factors

Individual difference variables

Language acquisition contexts

Outcomes

Intelligence

Language aptitude

Strategies

Biological

Experiential

Language attitudes

Motivation

Language anxiety

Formal

Linguistic

Non-linguistic

Informal
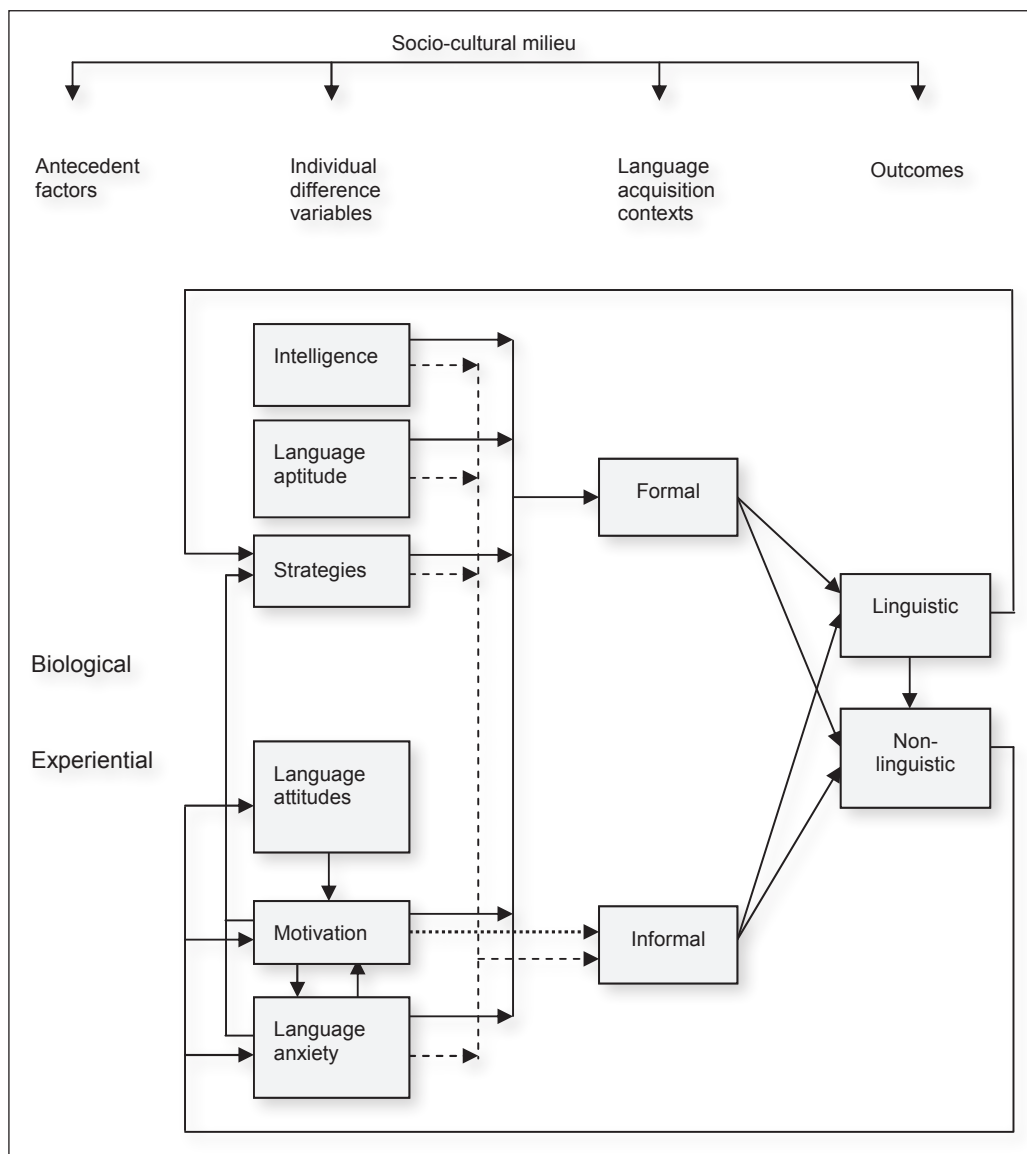
Figure 8. Schematic Representation of the Socio-educational Model of SLA (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993).

4.2   Affective factors

Language motivation and attitude together with anxiety, personality and self-confidence could all be placed under a few broader headings, such as individual learner differences, affective variables, personality factors or even environmental factors. These different, yet intertwined phenomena will be dealt with in the following chapters. The framework that has been chosen follows the social psychological approach created for bilingual contexts (Gardner & Lambert 1972, Gardner 1985). Some additions will be made to the

framework, and studies focusing on situations other than bilingual ones will be briefly discussed.

4.2.1 *Attitudinal and motivational factors*

In the research literature, three kinds of attitudinal-motivational factors affecting language acquisition, specifically in bilingual contexts, have emerged: integrative, instrumental, and social group identification. An important feature of the models of SLA that take into account the aforementioned variables is that they all consider the concept of identity and identification with the other language community to be part of the language learning process (Schumann, F. 1978, Schumann, J. 1978, Gardner 1978: 136, Clément 1980, Johnson & Krug 1980: 241, Brown 1981: 123, Dörnyei 1994a).

Gardener's (1985) Socio-educational Model focuses on language learning which takes place in the classroom and stresses that motivation is one important variable among others in second language acquisition. It is proposed that motivation is supported by two other affective components: integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation. The integrative motive (a combination of attitudes and motivation) promotes language learning (Gardner et al 2004).

Integrative motivation refers to the willingness of the learner to participate in the life of the target language people. This motivation enhances second language acquisition as the learner needs to become a proficient speaker before he can become a member of the community using the target language. Gardner, who introduced these concepts together with Lambert (Gardner & Lambert 1972), argues that integrative motivation involves more than just the acquisition of a new set of verbal habits (Gardner 1978: 237). According to Gardner, the new words, grammatical rules, pronunciation and sounds are representations of another cultural group, which the language student must adopt in order to become a successful learner. Whether the integrative motive within the learner develops or not depends largely on a particular attitudinal atmosphere in the home. If the parents' attitudes toward the target language speakers are positive and their motivations are integrative, it creates an accepting learning environment for the student (Gardner 1978: 239).

Instrumental motivation refers to the fact that language is being used as a means of achieving something concrete, such as a better job or education. Whether instrumental or integrative in nature, motivation and attitude have great significance for successful language learning. Researchers have used various methods to explore to what extent motivations affect learning. Results vary depending on which aspect of language skills the test has been directed at. In the light of available research, it seems that attitudinal and motivational factors have more to do with communicative skills (Burt, Dulay & Krashen 1987: 70).

The social group identification motive relates to an individual's will to choose a particular group of language speakers as a language model for himself. Studies conducted in this area have shown that language learners select their models from within their peer groups: adults seem to choose adults and children seem to choose other children, while both adults and children who belong to a particular ethnic group tend to prefer other members of that group as models (Burt, Dulay & Krashen 1987:50, also Genesee 1987). The difference between integrative motivation and social group identification is that a language learner who is integratively motivated wants to participate in the cultural or social life of the target language speakers while not wanting to become a member of the new group. Those with social group identification want to become a member of the target language group (Burt, Dulay & Krashen 1987: 50).

The earliest studies on attitudes and motivation, which the above mentioned categories were based on, were mostly carried out in bilingual settings in Canada and North America, where there was a need to draw attention to minority language speakers and their motivations and attitudes toward the majority language speakers (see for example Gardner & MacIntyre 1993, Gardner & Lambert 1972). In Finland, both majority (Finnish) and minority language (Swedish) speakers have been the subject of similar studies (Laurén 1991a).

Gardner and MacIntyre (1993, Gardner et al 2004) have continued to measure attitudinal and motivational factors. Instruments used in such measurements have improved since their earlier studies were conducted, and the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) has since been developed and used extensively, specifically to measure a number of attributes associated with SLA. To some extent, these attributes are embedded in the division described earlier (integrative, instrumental and social group identification motivations). The AMTB contains basically the same categories, but divides them slightly differently. The attributes have been grouped into five categories as follows (Gardner & MacInyre 1993, Gardner et al 2004):

1. MOTIVATION
which has three sub-categories:
a. Desire to learn the language.
b. Motivational intensity.
c. Attitudes toward learning the language.

2. INTEGRATIVENESS
which is generally comprised of attributes that reflect a positive attitude toward the other language group or out-group.
a. Attitudes toward the target language group.
b. Interest in foreign languages.
c. Integrative orientation.

3. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE LEARNING SITUATION

is a new category as such, but was already covered in the first Attitude and Motivation Test Battery in the form of questions. This category includes questions that can be generalized across different types of language programs:

a. Evaluation of the language teacher.

b. Evaluation of the language course.

4. LANGUAGE ANXIETY

which depends on the language learning context, but can involve questions relating to

a. Anxiety in class.

b. Language use anxiety.

5. OTHER ATTRIBUTES

This category does not necessarily belong under the heading of attitudinal-motivational variables, but in many studies the following aspects are of significance:

a. Instrumental orientation.

b. Parental encouragement.

c. Orientation index.

Gardner (1978) concludes a survey of his earlier studies which were carried out in English speaking groups learning French in Canadian settings by stating that they all support the conclusion that second language achievement is facilitated by an integrative motive, and that its development is dependent on a particular attitudinal atmosphere at home. It becomes apparent that his studies in bilingual settings underline the following as important factors in the SLA process:

> *The truly successful student is motivated to become integrated with the other language community and the integrative motive is derived from the attitudinal characteristics in the home. When integrating, the successful student takes on behavioral characteristics of the other language group, which can put him under pressure from his own language community and which he can resist* (Gardner 1978: 244-245).

In his later studies Gardner (1985, 1990, Gardner et al 2004) posited that attitudinal factors could be classified as either specific or general. Variables such as attitude toward learning the language could be regarded as relatively specific whereas attributes such as ethnocentrism could be viewed as more general. This distinction was made because there seemed to be variation in correlations between language achievement and attitude measures according to their specificity.

Integrative motivation has been shown to be strongly related to L2 achievement, and when combined with instrumental motivation, the two types form a powerful predictor in

formal contexts (Ellis 1994:513, Gardner & MacIntyre 1993). Ellis argues, though, that some learners who live in bilingual areas may not have integrative motivation as their main motivational factor in L2 learning, but rather that such factors as self-confidence and friendships would be more important variables in explaining success.

The main arguments against instrumental and integrative motivation with regard to successful SLA are:

1.   The research instruments do not investigate what effects achievement has on attitudes/motivation, or on the other hand, how attitudes and motivation affect achievement. It is suggested that the relationship is an interactive one.

2.   The paradigm that has been used accepts motivation as the cause of L2 achievement.

3.   The research techniques used consist mainly of questionnaires.

4.   The questions are of a quantitative nature and thus fail to explore intrinsic motivations.

5.   Research into motivation has focused mainly on classroom/formal settings instead of naturalistic settings.

6.   The studies carried out in settings other than bilingual ones do not regard integrative motivation as superior to instrumental or as leading to better L2 proficiency (for example Ellis 1994: 514, Brown 1981, Gardner 1978, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991:173, Crookes & Schmidt 1991).

The distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation has not been corroborated in a number of studies beyond bilingual settings. In a study conducted by Johnson and Krug (1980), which focused on the measurement of integrative and instrumental motivation, the researchers go as far as to state that the relationships in the affective domain may be so complex, and the individual differences so great, that it is impossible to find any generalizable data. Murakami (1980), using the same modified version of Gardner and Lambert's Motivation and Attitude Questionnaire as Johnson and Krug, also failed to show correlations to support their hypothesis, concluding that attitude theorists should find better measures or a different basis for testing their theories. Furthermore, Murakami states that questionnaire techniques, regardless of the format (oral or written) may be inadequate for testing the theories they are constructed to evaluate.

Laine (1977) added a third component, intellectual curiosity, to the criticized integrative and instrumental division. In a study conducted with Finnish students studying English as a foreign language, intellectual curiosity was the strongest indicator linked with success in the FL (Laine 1977). A more recent Finnish study focusing on FL motivation

conducted by Julkunen (1989) produced eight motivational factors: communicative orientation or communicative motive, intrinsic motivational orientation, teacher/method motivation, integrative orientation, helplessness (and alienation), anxiety, criteria for success and latent interest in English. This study concluded that students' motivation decreased with age, with the exception of criteria for success/failure. Additionally, anxiety and helplessness seemed to decrease.

Dörnyei (2005:70) states that although Gardner initially introduced the concept of instrumental motivation, he never pursued to conceptualize it within his theoretical framework. Nevertheless, due to the fact that the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery has been proven to have good construct and predictive validity, it has remained the dominant motivation model in the L2 field for over three decades. Based on others' (Noels 2003 and Ushioda 2001, in Dörnyei 2005) and his own research findings, Dörnyei suggests a new broad construct of L2 motivation to be added to the existing ones. In order to synthesize the work done by others and him, he proposes a new *L2 Motivational Self System*, which is made up of three dimensions (Dörnyei 2005:105). The first dimension, *Ideal L2 Self* is explained in the following way: If the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the Ideal L2 Self is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 (the learner is motivated to lower the discrepancy between actual and ideal self). The second dimension is *Ought-to L2 Self*, which refers to the qualities that one believes one ought to possess in order to avoid possible negative outcomes. The second dimension corresponds to the more extrinsic instrumental motives. The third dimension is *L2 Learning Experience*, which concerns situation specific motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience. Dörnyei suggests that in both Gardner's model (with Gardner's more recent addition of instrumental motivation to the Motivation subcomponent; for more see Dörnyei 2005:106, 69-70) and the system proposed by him, motivated behavior is determined by three major motivational dimensions: Integrativeness, Instrumentality, and the Attitudes toward the learning situation. In Dörnyei's view the L2 Motivational Self System offers a potential interface for L2 motivation and the mainstream SLA researchers. In order for this to happen, though, both parties should focus on specific language behaviors (for example willingness to communicate in L2, engagement in learning tasks etc) rather than general learning outcomes (in traditional settings, motivational attributes' correlations with language proficiency measures would be used).

This study, which covers a relatively long period of time, follows Gardner's earlier studies in which the attitude-motivation index (AMI) is largely viewed as comprising three main components, namely integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation and motivation. In the present study 'attitudes' refers to attitudes toward the language learning context assessed by the subjects' affective reactions toward the teacher and the studies. Furthermore, this study will conform to the old paradigm in some other respects, as it does not attempt to find the causal relationship between motivation and

achievement, that is, whether motivation influences achievement or vice versa. As Gardner et al postulate (2004: 30): "it seems reasonable that both directional influences are possible". What has been taken into consideration is the intrinsic aspect of motivation: in addition to the questionnaire on integrative and instrumental motivation, personal interviews will explore in more depth what role the teacher, achievement, learning tasks and self-direction or metacognition (such as planning, goal-setting, assessment; compare the Bialystok Model and the Bachman Model, Chapters 3.3.3, 3.3.4) play in the language learning process.

4.3   Anxiety

Bailey (1980:93-98), who has studied competitiveness and anxiety in relation to language learning, suggests that diary studies could be used to identify affective factors. In her view, diary studies could offer a solution to the problematic measurement and description issues in the relationships between affective factors and SLA. The effects that general factors have on SLA have not been discussed here, but Schumann (Schumann, F. 1978) describes the relationship between personal and general factors and compares it to a pinball machine in which the levers represent the general factors but the direction of the ball (or SLA) is determined by the personal characteristics of the individual player.

Anxiety exerts a strong influence on language learning and studies have shown that it has a bearing on students' FL achievements. The research on language anxiety has progressed and expanded, currently establishing itself as a subfield of the motivation and attitude research tradition. Studies have been conducted in the quest for correlations between language anxiety and success in foreign languages, and in the pursuance of a reliable and valid measure of language anxiety that could be applicable in many settings. An attempt to construct such a measure has been carried out by Horwitz et al (Horwitz, E., Horwitz, K. & Cope, 1991), who define language anxiety as being distinct from general anxiety (for the measures, see Scovel 1991, Daly 1991, Horwitz & Young 1991, Horwitz 2001). According to Horwitz (2001) language learners do not consistently perceive themselves to be anxious, and even advanced and successful students also report anxiety reactions.

In a study which focused on university students (N = 75) enrolled in introductory Spanish classes (Horwitz et al. 1991), it was found that considerable foreign language anxiety was experienced in response to at least some aspects of FL learning. A majority of questionnaire items (19 out of 33) reflecting FL anxiety were confirmed by one third or more of the subjects. Results showed a significant negative correlation between language anxiety, anticipated grades and attained grades.

Another study (Young 1991), which focused on anxiety experienced by 60 university-level majors or prospective teachers of French, German or Spanish, concluded that in

three out of four anxiety measures there was a significant negative correlation between the Oral Performance Interview (OPI) and anxiety, which led to the conclusion that as anxiety increases, oral proficiency decreases. However, anxiety did not exert as much influence as ability on FL oral proficiency scores in an unofficial administration of the OPI.

MacIntyre & Gardner (1991) conducted a study with 52 male and female university students enrolled in an introductory psychology course. The students' native language was English and they were studying French as a compulsory subject. The findings revealed a relationship between foreign language vocabulary learning and production and language anxiety, the latter being distinct from general anxiety. A factor analysis indicated that FL anxiety may be part of a larger entity, namely Communicative Anxiety (for more see Scovel 1991, Daly 1991, Horwitz, E. 1991; on group pressure among university level FL learners, see for example Edmondson 2000). Despite the promising results of studies on language anxiety as an independent ID variable, there is another line of research which regards language anxiety as merely a consequence of students' cognitive deficits (Sparks, Ganschow & Javorsky 2000; for a discussion see Horwitz, E. 2001, Dörnyei 2005:199). According to this opposing view, language anxiety is a byproduct rather than an independent ID variable.

The empirical research on anxiety, some of which was reviewed here, is limited because it mainly focuses on American university level students, detracting from the generalizability of the findings.

4.4 Strategies: early studies

Many recent models of SLA include learning strategies as a component in the process. In the older models, strategies were not exactly disregarded, but their role and function were neither clearly formulated nor labeled, and they did not seem to gain a firm footing in the SLA landscape as such. For example, the internal processes of the Monitor Model entail strategies which are regarded as internal processes and are employed at different stages of the learning process, yet the model's notion of acquisition does not cover cognitive or metacognitive strategies. Some recent theories (especially cognitive ones) commonly regard learner strategies as internal processes which account, on the one hand, for the handling of L2 input data and, on the other, for the L2 output. Internal processes and the role they play are still often referred to as the "black box", which illustrates the controversy around this issue (McLaughlin 1991, Skehan 1989, Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, MacIntyre 1994, Green & Oxford 1995, Oxford 1999, 2003).

Some early studies which tried to differentiate successful students from less successful ones by studying the strategies they employed were carried out by Stern (1975), Rubin

(1975) and Naiman et al. (1996). In these studies, the researchers created taxonomies to describe desirable strategies. Stern (1975) lists the following 10 strategies as being typical of good learners: planning strategy, active strategy, emphatic strategy, formal strategy (technical know-how), experimental strategy, semantic strategy, practice strategy, communication strategy, monitoring strategy, and internalization strategy. Rubin (1975) mentions willingness to guess, to communicate, to appear foolish, to attend to form and meaning, to practice and to monitor as typical strategies of successful learners. Naiman et al.'s (1996) research consists of two parts: the main study, which was classroom-based, and an adult language learner interview. The observations of the adult learner interviews were classified into strategy types, which can be summarized as follows: an active task approach, realization of language as a system, realization of language as a means of communication and interaction, management of affective demands and monitoring of L2 performance (Naiman et al. 1996: 58-59, 217).

The findings of the main study are divided into those related to learning and those related to teaching. The former showed that an interview was a more successful research instrument than observation and that it was possible to identify and describe some strategies and techniques and to pinpoint some difficulties, preferences and learning goals on the basis of the interviews. Certain personality and cognitive style factors were related to success in language learning, namely tolerance of ambiguity and field independence. Attitudes to language learning situations seemed to play an important role in successful acquisition. The findings related to teaching, on the other hand, indicated for example that teachers can identify their good and poor students accurately, and furthermore, that they can provide characterizations of these students which refer to behavioral, personality and motivational indices and intellectual or linguistic abilities and environmental factors.

The initial research into language learning strategies generated two well-known taxonomies of language learning strategies one devised by Oxford (1990) and the other by O'Malley and Chamot (1990). The strategy classes proposed by Oxford include six strategies: cognitive, memory, metacognitive, compensation, affective and social strategies. O'Malley and Chamot divide strategies into three main categories, which are cognitive, metacognitive and social/affective. As can be seen, the classifications are compatible with the exception of the taxonomy proposed by O'Malley and Chamot, which they call social/affective. This group contains strategies, which are not related to the cognitive theoretical basis outlined by them including such miscellaneous ones as cooperation, questioning and clarification and self-talk.

4.5   Strategies: recent developments

The division of L2 knowledge into declarative and procedural knowledge helps in analyzing and consequently in researching learner strategies and sheds some light on the reason why some studies have failed to explain what happens in the "black box".

According to Faerch and Kasper (1987), declarative knowledge consists of internalized L2 rules and memorized chunks of language, whereas procedural knowledge consists of pragmatic aspects, that is, strategies and processes that the learner employs when using or acquiring the L2. Procedural knowledge acts between declarative knowledge and actual, observable performance.

What this division implies with regard to research is important: procedural knowledge is not accessible to introspective report as it comprises the cognitive and interactional processes activated in the reception, production and acquisition of language, which are mainly activated automatically and thus do not enter the short-term memory. When there is either slow or controlled processing due to lack of relevant linguistic (declarative) or other type of knowledge or during a specific task (for example translation), the opportunity for research on procedural knowledge opens up. Thus the questions concerned with strategies in questionnaires and interviews focus on declarative rather than procedural knowledge as they are not task-specific.

Procedural knowledge can be further subdivided into social and cognitive components. The social component comprises the learner's behavioral strategies used in interactional situations. The cognitive component accounts for the various mental processes that are involved in the internalization and automatization of new L2 knowledge. Ellis clarifies his conception of L2 knowledge with regard to strategies in Figure 4 (Chapter 3.3.2). It is worth noting that native language learners seem to use the same strategy types and hence the strategies are not typical of the L2 learner only, but also of the native speaker. According to Ellis, what distinguishes the learner from the native speaker is the frequency with which the same strategies are employed (Ellis 1991:165). Ellis has assumed that the way language is learned is a reflection of the way it is used, which leads us to two strands that support this position: one draws on the idea of a relationship between differentiated knowledge store (declarative and procedural) and on different types of language use, and the other on the form-function networks. The form-function strand refers to the L2 learners' interlanguage, which according to Ellis, is composed of two competing rules at any stage of its development. The competing systems are, in some cases, systematic as they relate to situational and contextual factors. L2 knowledge and the processes and strategies that follow and monitor the acquisition process, are illustrated in Figure 9.

L2 knowledge
- declarative knowledge (L2 rules and chunks of speech)
- procedural knowledge
  - social processes/strategies (devices for managing interaction in L2)
  - cognitive strategies/processes
    - for learning L2 (devices for internalizing of automatizing L2 knowledge)
    - for using L2
      - production/reception processes and strategies (devices for using existing resources automatically)
      - communication strategies (devices for compensating for inadequate resources)

Figure 9. Types of L2 knowledge and strategies (Ellis 1991:165)**.**

O'Malley and Uhl Chamot (1990: 218) explain the differences between declarative and procedural knowledge from the learner's standpoint, which further clarifies and gives a pragmatic essence to the two types of knowledge. According to these theorists, linguistic data function in the memory just like any other declarative knowledge, which is best retrieved and learned by establishing linkages with related meaning-based concepts, propositions, or schemata. However, using information that is stored as declarative knowledge would be complicated in spontaneous language interactions, not least because it is slow, the short-term memory has capacity limitations, and rule-based language production would require a simultaneous handling and use of many rules which are stored in the short-term memory. Due to the restrictions of the short-term memory, it is important that language skills become proceduralized through practice, so that the automatization which ensues facilitates the functioning of the short-term memory. Furthermore, O'Malley and Uhl Chamot (1990: 216) claim that there is a direct parallel between learning strategies and cognitive processes in which learning strategies can be described as very complex cognitive skills that follow the same general rules as do other forms of procedural knowledge.

The SLA models of Ellis and Bachman make a distinction between declarative and procedural knowledge, which they see as involving different strategies for the processing of L2 input and the production of output. The Monitor Model, which lacks such a clear-cut distinction, has been accused of using obscure terms with regard to internal processes insufficiently corroborated by scientific data. In fact, the Monitor Model does make the declarative-procedural distinction, but it is more implicit than in the later models. In the

Monitor Model, the process of acquisition would correlate with procedural knowledge, while learning would correlate with declarative knowledge (see McLaughlin 1991). Bachman's Model (Chapter 3.3.4) while using different labels for L2 knowledge, namely organizational and pragmatic, coincides with the same tradition in conceptualizing strategies (Ellis, for example). What Bachman's Model adds to the other models is the distinction and labeling of metacognitive strategies, which involve thinking about the learning process, planning, the monitoring of comprehension or production while it is taking place and, ultimately, self-evaluation after the learning activity has been completed (Bachman 1990a & b, Faerch et al. 1984: 154, O'Malley & Uhl Chamot 1990: 8)

4.6 Studies on successful language learners

A successful language learner can be regarded as someone who has become fluent in reading, writing, speaking and understanding the target language, yet native speakers would recognize that although very fluent, the person is not a native speaker. A teacher who is doing his best to enable his students to reach this level may feel very frustrated with his work when sometimes after several years of teaching a class there are students who can hardly understand the target language, let alone read, write, or speak it with any degree of fluency. What is it that makes some students achieve a high level of fluency while others hardly progress beyond the elementary stage? Personality characteristics, or egocentric factors as Brown (for example 1981) calls them, have been put forward as one explanation for unsuccessful language learning.

Personality characteristics such as a high anxiety level (Bailey 1983), low self-esteem and a lack of self-confidence seem to present stumbling blocks for unsuccessful learners. Burt, Dulay and Krashen relate these to a person's affective 'filter'. Krashen (1981b:101) states that affective variables act to block input from the language acquisition device, with the result that two language learners receiving equal amounts of comprehensible input may acquire at different rates depending on the strength of the filter. Furthermore, filter strength varies according to personality, and the relationship between the acquirer, the source of the input and the acquisition situation.

Brown (1981:113) points out that the affective domain is the most important one in governing a person's success in second language learning since, after all, human behavior in general is influenced by emotion. If the affective factors which enhance or, conversely, prevent learning were known, researchers could concentrate on how to control these factors. Unfortunately, to date not a single researcher has been able to systematically apply any theory on affective domains to promote successful language acquisition. As Brown (1981) wrote at the beginning of the 80s:

In the 1980s we will surely learn much more about the affective domain in second language acquisition. We have only begun to understand how such variables as self-esteem and empathy can be defined [...] The past decade has given us a global picture of the affective nature of second language learning. The 1980s will give us a more specific picture of the factors of affectivity that influence second language learning [...] We will learn more about individual variation across learners.

The 1980s did not usher in the dramatic changes that Brown had envisaged, and nor did the 1990s, but more knowledge has been and will be attained about how to define and measure the affective variables. Dörnyei has made interesting suggestions as to the direction the field might take. Of particular interest is the extent to which the findings regarding motivation can be operationalized to promote the effectiveness of instructed SLA (for more, see Dörnyei 2005:110-113).

The studies that have focused on strategies have been consistent in finding that the successful language learner employs a wider range of strategies than his less successful peer. On the basis of the relevant literature, strategies can be gender specific (for example females have a higher overall use of strategies) and they vary according to the individual's proficiency level. MacIntyre has devised a strategy-related model of language learning in which he links the use of a language learning strategy with task demands, proficiency, aptitude, situation, attitude, motivation, previous success, anxiety, self-confidence, sanctions against strategy use, goals and criteria for success (Oxford 1999, MacIntyre 1994).

Ellis (1991:122) has compiled a list of some of the characteristics of a good learner. The list is partially based on studies of personal and general learner factors conducted by Naiman et al. (1996), Reiss (1985) and Rubin (1975). The good language learner

1.   functions in a group situation so as not to develop negative anxiety and inhibitions.

2.   actively uses the target language whenever possible.

3.   possesses sufficient analytic skills to perceive, categorize, and store the linguistic features of the second language and also to monitor errors.

4.   has a strong reason for studying the L2, which can involve either integrative or instrumental motivation and task motivation.

5.   is ready to take risks.

6.   is capable of adapting to different learning conditions.

7.   is an adolescent or an adult rather than a young child, at least as far as the early stages of grammatical development are concerned.

8.   is able to supplement the acquisition in a natural environment with learning derived from the use of study techniques – pays attention to form.

9.   makes maximum use of the listening and speaking opportunities in the L2 – pays attention to meaning rather than to form.

Ellis (1991) points out that some of the personality characteristics refer more to classroom learners and some to 'naturalistic' learners. As can be seen, the list contains social, cognitive and affective factors.

Until the mid-1990s, researchers mainly focused on how successful learners approached learning tasks: the foci were on the learners' internal characteristics, learning strategies or linguistic output. A good example of this approach is Naiman et al.'s (1996) publication *The Good Language Learner* (1996). The book is divided into two parts on the basis of the age of the learners. The first part concerns adults who had learned a variety of languages, while the second part focuses on Canadian schoolchildren learning French as their L2. On the basis of the adult studies, it was concluded that good language learners in this age group used five significant strategies:

* taking an active approach to the task of language learning
* recognizing and exploiting the systematic nature of language
* using the language they were learning for communication and interaction
* managing their own affective difficulties with language learning
* monitoring their language learning performance.

(Norton & Toohey 2001).

On the basis of the studies conducted with schoolchildren, it was concluded that success correlated with certain characteristics such as personality, attitude and cognitive style (Norton & Toohey 2001).

Norton and Toohey's research (2001, Norton 2000, Toohey 2000) draws on more recent findings to study successful language learners, in that they approach the explanation for good language learning through the situated experience of the learners. In order to establish who succeeds and how, their research concentrates on the way in which the learners have access to a variety of conversations in their communities, rather than on the linguistic forms or the speed of acquisition of linguistic forms and meanings (Norton & Toohey 2001). In carrying out their respective studies, Norton focused on adults while Toohey focused on young learners. Both studies were qualitative in nature, using a variety of data gathering techniques, and both researchers were less interested

in the internal characteristics of the learners than in the characteristics of their social interactions as well as the practices in the communities where they used their L2.

Norton and Toohey (2001) conclude that the proficiency of the good language learners in their studies was not only dependent on what they did individually, but also on the kind of opportunities the communities offered them. In a joint article on two successful learners, a young Polish woman called Eva and a kindergarten-aged child called Julie, Norton and Toohey report on their success, paying attention to how the learners sought to set up discourses in which their identities could be respected and their resources valued. The situations that the learners actively sought out enhanced their opportunities for shared conversation. More powerful identities seemed to be the key to their success. On the basis of their research, Norton and Toohey suggest that studies on good language learning require attention to the social practices in the contexts in which individuals learn L2s. Furthermore, they postulate that it is important to examine the ways in which learners exercise their agency in forming and reforming their identities in those contexts. The theorists call for a dual focus in SLA research whereby "traditional" studies on personality characteristics should be complemented with studies on situated learning contexts.

In this thesis, Study 3 (Chapter 9) focuses on the situated learning experiences of the subjects, drawing on sociocultural perspectives of L2 learning and complementing the results of the personality characteristics in Study 1 (Chapter 5) and Study 2 (Chapters 7 and 8).

4.7   Conclusion

The affective variables, strategies and anxiety are unquestionably factors that are involved in the SLA process, irrespective of which subcategorization within each variable is used or even from which SLA theory the classifications are drawn. It seems, though, that research continues to follow the well-established routes in this area of SLA: the strategy and motivation measures developed decades ago are still being used and most of the time the end result, language proficiency, is being correlated with the aforementioned variables.

Dörnyei (2005:110) points to the direction that motivation and strategy research could take. A solution, in his view, is for SLA researchers and L2 motivation research to look at their targets, the L2 learners, through the same lens. The potential interface alone does not automatically guarantee integration, however. According to Dörnyei, in order for real integration to occur, the research needs to focus on specific language behaviors during the course. The research emphasis needs to shift from correlations between the final outcome (language proficiency) to correlations between motivation and learning

tasks (language learning process). The shortcomings in researchers' efforts to clarify the theoretical bases of language learning strategies have resulted in the disappearance of L2 strategy research (Skehan 1989:98, Dörnyei 2005:170), but this abandonment only concerns research. In language teaching methodology, strategies still remain topical.

In this study, motivation, strategies and anxiety will be measured in part with paper and pencil questionnaires, but an attempt has also been made to overcome some of the shortcomings of previous studies. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the L2 learners in this study, triangulation was used: interviews, learning logs/diaries, and written tasks always complement the quantitative data.

5   STUDY 1: PILOT STUDY

The qualitative pilot study, which was conducted in 1990-1991 with Finnish high school students (N = 24, 16 female, 8 male), clarified the research questions and contributed to the construction and modification process of the questionnaires. The subjects of the pilot study (aged 16-17) were all regarded as successful language learners based on their results in the admission test (an individual and a group interview, plus a composition in English) they had to take for acceptance into the International Baccalaureate programme. The group's homogeneity proved ideal in terms of delving into the research questions and ascertaining the characteristics of successful language learners.

Table 3. Subjects in the 1990-1991 pilot study.

Country / school type	Male	Female	Total
Finland	8	16	24
High school	33 %	67 %	100 %

5.1   Objectives and design of the pilot study

In the pilot study, data was gathered on the characteristics of successful language learners. On the basis of previous studies into this subject (Naiman et al. 1996, Oxford 1990, 1991, Reiss 1985, Rubin 1975, Stern 1975), four research problem areas were identified, with a set of questions pertaining to each area.

1. Personal characteristics
Which personality traits are characteristic of the subjects?
Which personality traits do the subjects have in common?
Are there common features in the subjects' personal histories that can be linked to success in language learning?

2. Motivation and attitude
What is the motivation and attitude of the subjects like toward the L2?
What kind of attitude do the subjects have toward themselves as language learners?
Are the subjects equally instrumentally and integratively motivated to study English?

3. Achievements during the preparatory year
How do the subjects' skills in writing improve?
Are there differences in the subjects' achievements in L2?

4. The role of introspection as a research method
What common features can be found in the subjects' diaries that could be linked to successful language learning?

Answers to the research questions were gathered by means of the Attitude and Motivation Questionnaire, compositions and diaries. In addition, interviews and observations were conducted.

5.2 Method

The subject group consisted of 24 students (8 male and 16 female, aged between 16 and 17) in their preliminary year in the International Baccalaureate programme at the Teacher Training School, University of Turku. Before entering the IB class, the students sat an entrance examination in which their skills in written and spoken English were tested. Their previous grades in English, Mathematics, Finnish and Swedish were also taken into account. The entrance test consisted of three parts, with a combined maximum score of 100, out of which English accounted for 45 points. It was mainly on the basis of the admission test criteria, with the emphasis on English skills (composition, interview),that the students were defined as successful language learners.

The subjects were divided into three groups according to their previous exposure to the target language.

Group 1. Students who had lived abroad for a year or more, and had used English to communicate there.

Group 2. Students who had stayed abroad in an English speaking country for at least a month.

Group 3. Students who had learned English at home and/or at school.

5.3 Measuring instruments

Motivation and Attitude Questionnaire

A modified version of the Motivation and Attitude questionnaire originally devised by Gardner and Lambert was used (see Appendix 6).

Diaries

In the pilot study, the subjects were non-native speakers of English who volunteered to keep journals (learning logs) for a year. The journals were an attempt to tap into the "fifth area of language learning" – thinking – and to acquire answers to questions that could not be preformulated. In comparison with studies published to date, the subjects were younger and also less proficient in expressing their thoughts and feelings in explicit diary entries where the prime focus was their language learning experiences. The size of the group, which in other studies has been restricted to one or two diarists, was considerably larger (n = 24).

Compositions

The students wrote three compositions during the school year. The first one at the beginning of the year, the second one after mid-term and the last one was written at the end of the year. In their compositions, the students were asked to focus on their language learning experiences (for the guiding questions, see Appendix 2).

Vocabulary test

The subjects' receptive vocabulary was tested with the "Test Your Wordpower Program", devised by Palmgren (1990). The test contained a number of English words, divided into frequency bands. Testing took place in March when the subjects had been in the IB class for about seven months.

Interview

At the end of the spring term four subjects were interviewed.

Observation

Observation of classroom activities took place during the subjects' final five-week period of English. Notes were taken on the subjects' participation in teacher-student discussions as well as student-student discussions.

5.4   Conclusions of the pilot study

Background and Personality Traits of Successful Language Learners

The findings of this study confirm the results of previous studies in the field of language learning. The characteristics of the successful language learner were one of the main points to study, and the following personality traits characterized many of the subjects: outgoing, talkative, calm, happy-go-lucky, leader. The successful language learner in the pilot study usually possessed some of these personality characteristics, but as opposed to some previous studies, the good language learner did not necessarily consider him/herself sociable, or carefree. It also became clear that certain personality traits were not preconditions for success in language learning. A successful language learner did not always have any of the characteristics that are traditionally mentioned as being typical of successful language learners. What good language learners did have in common regarding their background was their parents' support and encouragement, or their former teachers' stimulating effect (usually the first English teacher in elementary school was mentioned).

Personality traits alone cannot explain success in language learning since, as this study suggests, the subjects were good language learners, yet their personality characteristics differed considerably. A reserved, quiet, cautious and solitary subject did not express himself orally as fluently as an outgoing, talkative and carefree peer, but then again the

former subject's writing skills and listening comprehension were substantially better than those of the latter. Some students in this group were not outgoing and talkative by nature, but this did not make them less successful language learners. To sum up, some personality characteristics were common to the successful language learners, but not prerequisites for success.

Language Learning

The subjects usually read in English, listened to the lyrics of English songs and paid attention to the language used in them. The much-debated role of television in language learning became clear: the students watched a lot of TV and were sensitive to the language used in the programs.

Most of the students were at least a little critical of the way in which other people or some of the teachers spoke English in class. In particular, those students who had been abroad for some time were more critical of others. The ones who had been abroad enjoyed their English classes less than those who had not had a great deal of prior exposure to the target language. Yet, most students felt that they learned from their English instructors.

The diaries and compositions, as well as the personal interviews, clearly demonstrated that the students were able to critically evaluate their own skills and had a realistic view of their command of the English language in different areas.

All the students had a strong instrumental and integrative motivation to study English. It seems that it was of no relevance whether a person was instrumentally or integratively motivated, as both factors contributed to language learning. The students were motivated to study English because it would enable them to communicate with foreigners or to study abroad. The target language as such did not interest the subjects; it was regarded as more of a tool, a means of achieving something.

I expected the IB students to develop new learning strategies and to write about them in their diaries, but this did not happen, a fact which became apparent from their compositions, diaries and personal interviews. The methods these students used in studying the target language were quite ordinary, yet their conscious efforts to try to use the target language and the critical attitude they displayed toward their own skills drove them to use and practice the language in various ways. All the students read books other than course books in English during their leisure time. In addition, the time they spent listening to English from various sources contributed to their knowledge of the target language. In all, they were fully aware that there is no easy or fast route to learning a language fluently.

The students generally considered that their English skills had improved during the preparatory IB year which coincides with the English teacher's evaluation questionnaire.

The use of English in writing, especially in Group 3, became substantially better during the year, and this group's communication skills also became more natural. The ones who had been abroad longest felt that their speaking skills did not improve, yet they stated that writing compositions and performing other writing tasks had enhanced their skills in that particular area. The trips the class made gave the students a good opportunity to use the target language in a natural setting, which was deemed important. The native teachers and teachers who spoke English fluently were appreciated, but the students also showed empathy toward those teachers whose command of English was not as native-like. The teacher's evaluation of the students' achievements and characteristics showed that the subjects had a realistic picture of their own skills and their personality traits.

During the classes I observed, the students used English when talking to the teacher, but "unofficial" conversations broke out in Finnish all the time. The students often wrote in their diaries that the rest of the senior high school students did not approve of their existence and showed their disapproval quite openly. This affected the students' willingness to use English outside the classroom: some were reluctant to use it, while others chose to use it as a way of signaling their indifference. Since the students are not against using L2, they could easily be convinced to use English even more: during their free time and when doing independent group work out of their teacher's earshot. Of course, the native teachers create natural situations in which to use the target language, but the Finnish teachers teaching various subjects could also use English with the students as much as possible.

6   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions were reformulated on the basis of the results of the pilot study, which focused on a group of successful Finnish high school students. In addition, the data gathering methods were reconsidered and restructured to better accommodate a larger number of younger learners. Study 1 and Study 2 seek answers to the following questions.

1. Personal characteristics
    1.1 Which personality traits are characteristic of the subjects?
    1.2 Which personality traits do the subjects have in common?
Methods
Questionnaire #2
Teacher Evaluation
Interviews
Composition

Questions 1.1 and 1.2 are descriptive only, although on the basis of the description, the differences between American and Finnish learners will be discussed. Question 1.2 looks at the personality traits of three groups of students according to their school success in L2 (above average, average and below average), hence it is more clearly a comparative and descriptive one.

2. Personal histories and backgrounds
    2.1 Are there common features in the subjects' personal histories that could be linked to success in language learning?
    2.2 Do successful language learners have similar backgrounds with regard to early literacy and their parents' role?
Methods
Questionnaire #1
Composition
Interviews

Question 2.1 is descriptive, and 2.2 descriptive and comparative in nature, in that data is gathered to first describe and then compare the successful and less successful learners. Data for the descriptive analysis will be derived from interviews and compositions.

3. Affective factors (motivation and attitude, anxiety)
    3.1 What are the subjects' motivation and attitude like toward L1 and L2?
    3.2 Are the subjects' motivation and attitude toward school and L2 similar?
    3.3 What is the subjects' attitude toward themselves as language learners?
    3.4 How pronounced is the role of anxiety in the successful language learners' profiles?

Methods

Questionnaire #2 and #3 (some questions)

Teacher Evaluation Questionnaire

Interviews

Questions 3.1-3.4 are all descriptive. Yet, the descriptions of two student groups (Finnish and American) will also be compared.

4. **Strategies**
    4.1 What strategies do successful language learners use?
    4.2 Do strategies have an effect on learners' success in language classes?
    4.3 Are successful language learners more inclined to self-monitor, attend to form, attend to meaning, guess and have a strong drive to communicate than less successful ones?

Methods

Questionnaire #3

Interviews

Teacher Evaluation

Questions 4.1 and 4.2 are descriptive. They are followed by a comparative question which focuses on successful and less successful learners' strategies.

5. **Differences between Finnish and American students in bilingual programs**
    5.1 Do successful students in both the American and Finnish groups have similar profiles?

Question 5.1 focuses on the description of differences between Finnish and American students in bilingual programs, which will be realized throughout Studies 2 and 3.

All the research questions are either descriptive or descriptive and comparative in nature. The data gathering methods consist of an array of questionnaires, coupled with both interviews and composition.

7 QUANTITATIVE RESULTS OF STUDY 2: COMPARING GROUPS OF L2 LEARNERS

The research questions were presented in the previous chapter. This chapter marks the beginning of the empirical part. From here on, the focus will be on Study 2 and Study 3 and the attained results from both. I will start with the description and comparison of the two L2 learner groups using the quantitative data, which was gathered by means of questionnaires. The subject groups and the measuring instruments that were used (see Appendices 5-7: questionnaires) will be described. The statistical data will be presented following the order of the research questions. Firstly, the data on personality characteristics will be presented followed by the personal histories statistics. The focus will then shift to the backgrounds and affective factors. Finally, learners' strategies will be dealt with. In Chapter 7.3 the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups will be compared. Likewise, in Chapter 7.4 comparisons will be made about the statistical data of the three groups, Elementary American, Elementary Finnish and IB high school. In Chapter 7.5 conclusions will be drawn on the basis of the findings.

7.1 Method

7.1.1 Subjects

The subjects of Study 2 consist of students from America (N = 57; 33 female, 24 male, aged 9-10) and Finland (N = 39; 23 female, 16 male). The Finnish students study in a bilingual class (more specifically CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Class, see for example Järvinen 1999) and the American students in a bilingual school. The American sample consists of third and fourth grade students and the Finnish sample of fourth grade students (N = 19; 8 female and 11 male, 10-11) and International Baccalaureate (IB) high school students (N = 20; 15 female and 5 male, aged 16-17).

The rationale for choosing elementary school students was, a) to see whether the findings of the pilot study would also apply to younger learners and, b) to be able to gauge whether the same features (personality, strategies, affective factors) would be shared by successful students at any level, and c) whether less successful learners also had characteristics in common. The older students were Finnish International Baccalaureate students, as in Study 1.

Table 4. Subjects in the 1994-1995 study.

Country	Male	Female	Total
FIN	16 41%	23 59%	39
USA	24 42%	33 58%	57
Total	40 (38%)	56 (62%)	96 (100%)

The subjects in 1994-1995 were divided into three groups on the basis of rating by two assessors (Teacher questionnaire, Appendix 8): Above Average (N = 38), Average (N = 42) and Below Average (N = 15). The assessment was based on the following criteria: reading I (reading comprehension), reading II (mechanical skills, namely reading aloud), writing (grammar, spelling, punctuation), oral skills (presenting ideas, clarity). The assessors had to rate each skill on a four-point scale (above average = 4 points, average = 3 points, below average = 2 points, poor = 1 points), with the result that the possible maximum was 16 (Above Average) and the theoretical minimum score was 4 (Poor), which nobody attained. The Average group was the largest group, consisting of 44 subjects, the second largest the Above Average group with 39 subjects and the smallest the Below Average group with 15 subjects.

Table 5. Division of the subjects into three ability categories.

Group		American	Finnish	Total
Above Average	N	19 American	20 Finnish	39
Female / Male	N	F 10 / M 9	F 15 / M 5	F 25 / M 14
(15-16 points)	%	(48%)	(52%)	(40%)
Average	N	25 American	17 Finnish	42
Female / Male	N	F 13 / M 12	F 8 / M 9	F 21 / M21
(11-14 points)	%	(59%)	(41%)	(44%)
Below Average	N	13 American	2 Finnish	15
Female / Male	N	F 8 / M 7	F 1 / M 1	F 9 / M8
(6-10 points)	%	(87%)	(13%)	(16%)
Total	N (%)	57 (63%)	39 (37%)	96 (100%)

7.1.2 Measuring instruments

The questionnaire battery consisted of four questionnaires. In addition, each subject wrote a composition on their family and hobbies, and a semi-structured interview of eight students was carried out in the United States and in Finland, with four students apiece. The total number of variables in the questionnaire battery was 144. Questionnaire I consisted of questions concerning the subjects' background (Appendix 5) and included 37 variables arranged under the following headings: **general**, family background and languages spoken at home; **socio-economic**, parents' occupation and education; and **early literacy**, focusing on the subjects' childhood and their parents' literary interests.

Questionnaire II comprised motivational and attitudinal questions and included questions on personality characteristics (Appendix 6). The total number of variables in this section was 36. Questionnaire III covered 54 variables and focused on foreign language learning strategies (Appendix 7), arranged under the following headings: listening (15 variables), writing (12 variables), speaking (12 variables), and reading (15 variables). Questionnaire IV (Appendix 8) comprised 13 questions and was filled out by the class teachers and teaching assistants or foreign language teachers.

7.1.3 Questionnaire development and administration

Development

Questionnaire I contained questions concerning the subjects' background and was developed on the basis of relevant literature focusing on the relation between student performance and home environment (for example Gardner & Lambert 1972). The pilot study questionnaire contained only three background questions, but as the follow-up study became more quantitative with 96 subjects, it became necessary to expand the background questionnaire into 37 questions.

Questionnaire II was adapted from the Motivation and Attitude questionnaire initially devised by Gardner and Lambert (for example Johnson & Krug 1980). The questions were modified to accommodate the needs of school students as opposed to university level students, which the original version was intended for. Questions of a general type were added based on the findings of the pilot study. The additional questions generally dealt with attitude and motivation toward education.

Questionnaire III was devised after the pilot study. It was hoped that the latter would provide insights into the strategies that successful language learners employ, and the preliminary results of the pilot study did indeed shed some light on the strategies used by the successful learners, based on their diary entries. The new questionnaire was divided into four categories, each of which contained 12-15 questions, and the total number of variables amounted to 54. The questionnaire was fashioned after the well-known SILL inventory (Oxford 1990, 1991). These questions are aimed at university level students, so many modifications had to be made. In addition to simplifying the terminology, the biggest difference between the SILL inventory and the one used in the present study was the categorization of strategies under four headings (listening, speaking, reading, writing).

In addition to the SILL inventory, the SLA models construed by Bialystok, Bachman and Ellis have been consulted in order to be able to gauge the inferencing, monitoring, functional practicing and metacognitive processes of the bilingual students in question. The existing strategy questionnaires and interviews by Reiss (1985), Rubin (1975), Naiman et al. (1996) were geared toward older subjects and could not be used as such.

On the other hand, the research instruments, namely interviews, questionnaires and teacher evaluations used by the above mentioned researchers were adopted since they seemed effective.

Questionnaire IV was devised for assessment purposes. It was needed in order to differentiate between the successful and less successful language learners. The questions concern not only the subjects' level of L2 skills, but also their overall school success, skills in their mother tongue, and behavior during classroom instruction.

Administration

Data collection took place in the United States in the spring of 1995 and in Finland in the fall of 1995. The tests were administered in the classes by the researcher. Even though the survey questions had been tailored to the requirements of the present study, some remained difficult for the bilingual students. The students filled out the original English version but the questionnaire was translated into Spanish for the American subjects, and into Finnish for the Finnish sample. An overhead transparency showing the translated questions was available at all times.

The teacher survey, Questionnaire IV, was filled out in both America and Finland by two persons who taught the class. In the elementary classes in both countries, the questionnaire was completed by the class teacher (elementary school) and by either an assistant teacher (in America) or by a foreign language teacher (in Finland). In the high schools, the same was done by the homeroom teacher and the English teacher.

7.1.4 Compositions and interviews

To complement the questionnaires and to obtain qualitative data in addition to what was statistically quantifiable, each subject was asked to write a composition on their family and hobbies. This part of the empirical research was carried out concurrently with the questionnaire administration in 1995. The subjects were allowed 20 minutes of class time to write the composition. The aim of this exercise was to obtain further evidence of the students' writing skills. The students were not permitted to consult dictionaries or ask for help, which served the purpose of gathering authentic writing samples. These data were not quantified, but were mainly used to ascertain the teachers' evaluations and, more importantly, to complement the questionnaire data concerning family ties and personal histories.

Four subjects in the respective countries were interviewed. The interviewees were selected on the basis of their representativeness with regard to the three ability groups. The interviews were conducted in the spring of 1995 (in the US) and fall of 1996 (in Finland) after the questionnaire data had been fed in and the quantitative data were available. The interviews were semi-structured and revolved around the following

topics: childhood, family, friends, and past experiences with regard to using the English language. Concerns about and hopes for the future were also discussed. Each interview lasted between 20-40 minutes, depending not only on the length of the interviewee's responses, but also on the level of their English. In all, the interviews produced 240 minutes of recorded speech.

7.2   Data analysis

The data analysis was implemented with a statistical program package Statistica/W, version 4.5 (Statsoft Inc, Tulsa, Oklahoma). The data are presented using descriptive statistics such as frequency tables. Sum variables were aggregated from the original strategy questionnaire (Appendix 7: Skills/Strategies Questionnaire). The values of the sum variables were calculated by adding up the variable codes and then dividing the total by the count variables. In this way, the range of values remained the same as in the original questionnaire.

Analysis of variance was used in testing the statistical significance of the differences between groups. Multiple comparisons after a significant p-level in the F-test were tested with Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) test. The differences in percentage distributions in individual questions were tested with the Pearson chi-square test. P-values below 0.05 were considered to indicate statistically significant differences between the groups.

The data are mostly described by using frequency tables. The differences in percentage distributions in individual questions were arrived at by using the Pearson chi-square test. The strategies employed by the three groups, Above Average, Average and Below Average, as well as those used by the Finnish IB, Finnish Elementary and USA Elementary classes, are compared by using sum variables of each learning area. Multiple comparisons were tested with Tukey's HSD test after a significant p-level in the F-tests.

The qualitative data complement the quantitative data that were gathered. The data that consist of interviews and written material will be dealt with in Chapter 8. The interviews were semi-structured, giving both the interviewer and interviewee the freedom to move in unmapped directions. The written material consists of compositions (titles given in Appendix 3).

7.3   Results: the three ability groups compared

The research questions that concern the learners' personality characteristics, personal histories and backgrounds, affective factors and strategies are discussed first. In the following chapters, the quantitative data derived from the subjects' questionnaire

responses is analyzed. The data of the three ability groups, Above Average, Average and Below Average (established on the basis of the teacher evaluation), will be illustrated in tables and discussed.

7.3.1 Personality characteristics

This part of the questionnaire consisted of 11 statements concerning the students' attitude toward themselves. On a five-point Likert scale, the subjects had to respond to the following contrasting items concerning their personality characteristics: I am outgoing – I am reserved, I am quiet – I am talkative, I am nervous – I am calm, I am cautious – I am happy-go-lucky, I am sociable – I am solitary, I am serious – I am carefree, I am a leader – I am a follower, I am an initiator – I am an observer, I am happy – I am unhappy, I like myself – I like other people.
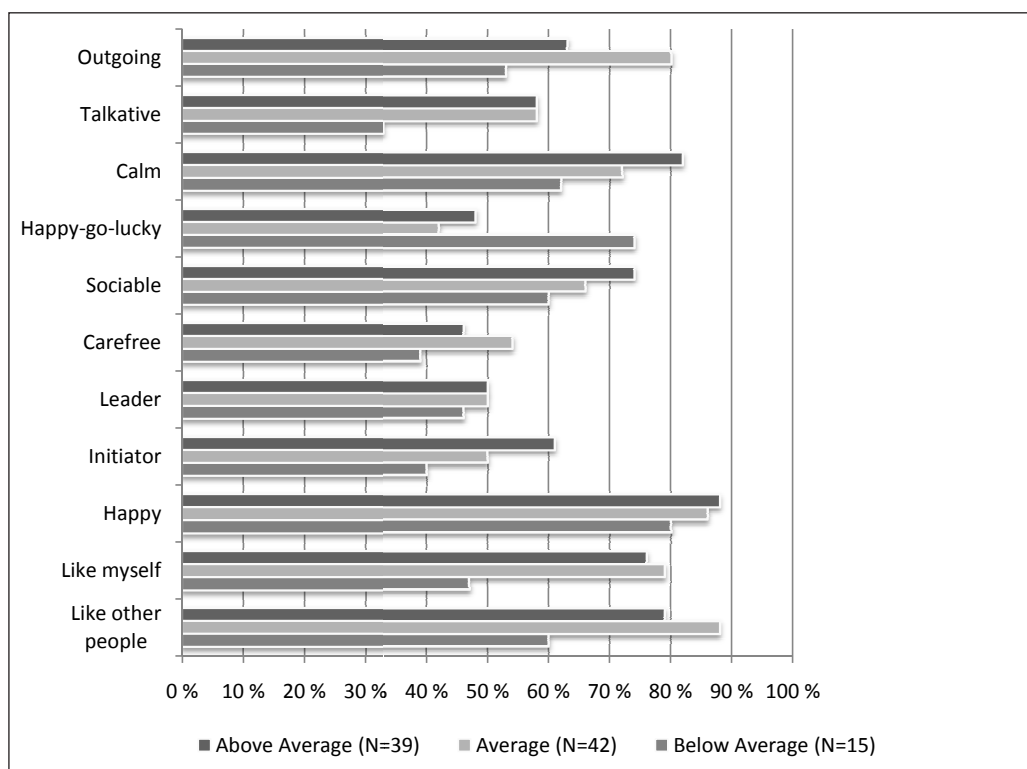
Figure 10. Percentage distribution of the subjects' self-reported personality characteristics in the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups in the following dimensions: outgoing, talkative, calm, happy-go-lucky, sociable, carefree, leader, initiator, happy, like myself, like other people.

The responses that yielded the answers "very much" and "much" (the two closest ones at either end on a five-point Likert item) were combined before the results were compared. The two most positive and the two most negative statements at either end, denoting the intensity of agreement or disagreement, were combined, while the middle one (neutral)

remained intact. As anticipated, the differences between the groups in the personality dimension were mostly non-significant (according to the Pearson chi-square test). The differences between the individual items and their marginality can be seen in Figure 10. The biggest differences between the ability groups occurred in the questions concerning their quietness vs. talkativeness (Appendix 6, question 27) and whether they liked themselves or not (Appendix 6, question 35). Both of these questions yielded significant associations.

In addition to the statistically significant associations, there were three nearly significant ones worth noting, which occurred between the groups' responses to questions on whether the subjects regarded themselves as either cautious or happy-go-lucky, nervous or calm, whether they liked other people or not, and whether they liked themselves or not. The Below Average group subjects regarded themselves as more happy-go-lucky (73%) than subjects in the Average (43%) and Above Average (49%) groups. The least number of nervous students was found in the Above Average group (0%), whereas in the Average and Below Average groups 21 percent of subjects regarded themselves as nervous. Closely aligned with the question about liking vs. disliking oneself was whether the subjects liked other people or not (Appendix 6 question 36). The majority of subjects in the Above Average (79%) and Average (88%) groups liked other people, whereas fewer Below Average subjects did so (60%).

The differences between the groups with regard to the subjects' quietness and talkativeness was significant ($p = .04$). As can be seen in Table 6, the subjects in the Above Average and Average groups reported themselves to be more vocal (58%) than those in the Below Average group (33 %).

Table 6. Subjects' self-assessment of whether they were quiet or talkative (N= 96).

GROUP	Talkative	Neutral	Quiet
Above Average (N=39)	58%	11%	31%
Average (N=42)	58%	5%	37%
Below Average (N=15)	33%	33%	34%

The other question that yielded a significant difference ($p = 0.05$) between the groups concerned whether the subjects liked themselves or not (Table 7). Again the students in the Above Average and Average groups obtained similar results. In both groups the majority of students liked themselves (Above Average 76% and Average 79%), whereas in the Below Average group less than half of the subjects liked themselves (47%).

Table 7. Subjects' self-assessment of whether they liked themselves or not (N= 96).

GROUP	Like myself	Neutral	Don't like myself
Above Average (N=39)	76%	18%	6%
Average (N=42)	79%	14%	7%
Below Average (N=15)	47%	47%	6%

Many studies (for example, Kantelinen 1995, Laine & Pihko 1991, see also Laine 1987) have concluded that self-concept is a crucial factor in SLA that can either enhance or impede learning. The results of the present study confirm these findings and suggest that self-concept and success are linked, but that the causal relationship between these two factors, positive self-concept and success in L2, is not clear. It would be worth exploring whether the successful students' positive self-concept could be a result of the teachers' continuous encouragement and positive feedback about their progress in L2.

7.3.2 Backgrounds and personal histories

Family, linguistic and socio-economic background

The main focus with regard to family background was the parents' country of origin. The linguistic data were collected with questions concerning the languages spoken at home, while the socio-economic questions covered topics such as parents' education and occupation.

In the Above Average group and in the Average group, parents born in the country where the family was residing amounted to over 50 percent and over 40 percent respectively. In the Below Average group the vast majority of parents (86%) were born in another country. As a rule, the Finnish sample's parents used Finnish in communication and the American sample's parents spoke Spanish (over 90% in both groups).

The biggest difference between the American and Finnish samples concerning their linguistic background was detected in the language they used with their siblings: the majority of the subjects in the American sample, regardless of their ability grouping, spoke both English and Spanish (79%), while the subjects in the Finnish sample mostly communicated in Finnish with their siblings (84%). In the Finnish sample, however, the ones who mentioned using L2 at home belonged to the Above Average group. In the Above Average and Average American subject group, about 20 percent of mothers stayed at home, while this figure rose to 40 percent in the case of the Below Average group. In the Finnish sample most of the mothers were employed. The American sample had the highest proportion (10%) of mothers who were studying.

Literacy background

The responses that yielded the answers "very much" and "much" (the two closest ones at either end on a five-point Likert item) were combined before the results were compared. The two most positive and two most negative statements at either end, denoting the intensity of agreement or disagreement, were combined, while the middle one (neutral) remained intact. The differences between the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups in terms of their literary interests yielded statistically significant associations in two questions, namely "Someone read to me when I was little." and "I have a library card." The Above Average and Average groups differed less from each other than they did from the Below Average group.
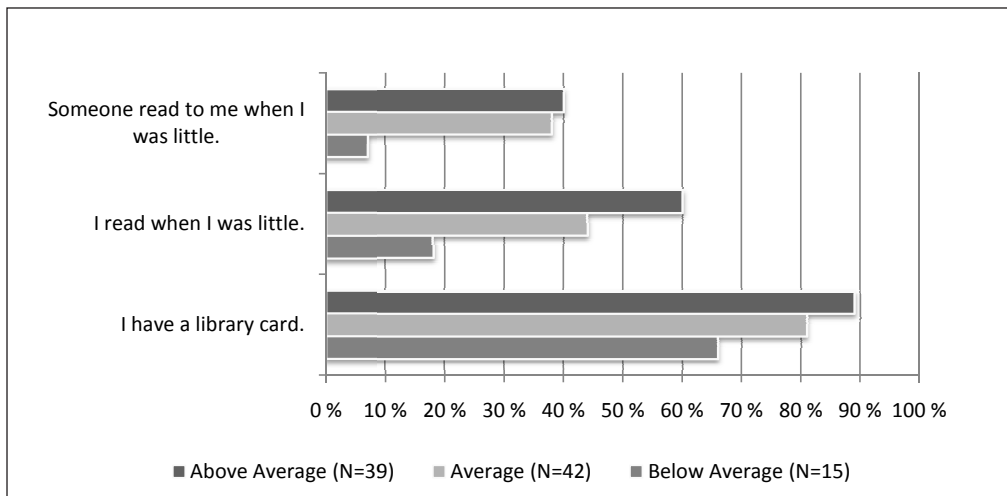
Figure 11. Percentage distribution of students in the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups with regard to their literacy background. Student responses to three statements: Someone read to me when I was little., I read when I was little., I have a library card.

Almost 40 percent of subjects in the Above Average and Average groups, but less than 7 percent in the Below Average group, were read to when they were little. In the Below Average group 40 percent of the subjects were rarely or never read to, compared to 21 percent (p = .041) in the Above Average group.

When they were little, subjects in the Above Average and Average groups read more than subjects in the Below Average group, in which only 20% of students read often when they were little. All of the groups liked reading books and very few in any group disliked reading altogether. The Above Average group included the most library card holders (89%) and the Below Average group the least (66%). In the Below Average group, 33% of subjects did not possess a library card at all. This association is statistically significant (p = .029). What is more, in the Below Average group 40 percent of parents read little: the same figure in the Above Average group was 13% and in the Average group 14%.

7.3.3 *Affective factors*

The subjects were asked questions on their attitude toward studying, namely their liking vs. dislike of learning, being at school and more specifically about studying various subjects. Motivational aspects were included in the questionnaire, focusing on the students' integrative and instrumental motivation. Questions concerning self-assessment are also included in this chapter, although they do not relate strictly to the subjects' motivation or attitude. Again the responses that yielded the answers "very much" and "much" (the two closest ones at either end on a five-point Likert item) were combined before the results were compared. The two most positive and the two most negative statements at either end, denoting the intensity of agreement or disagreement, were combined, while the middle one (neutral) remained intact.
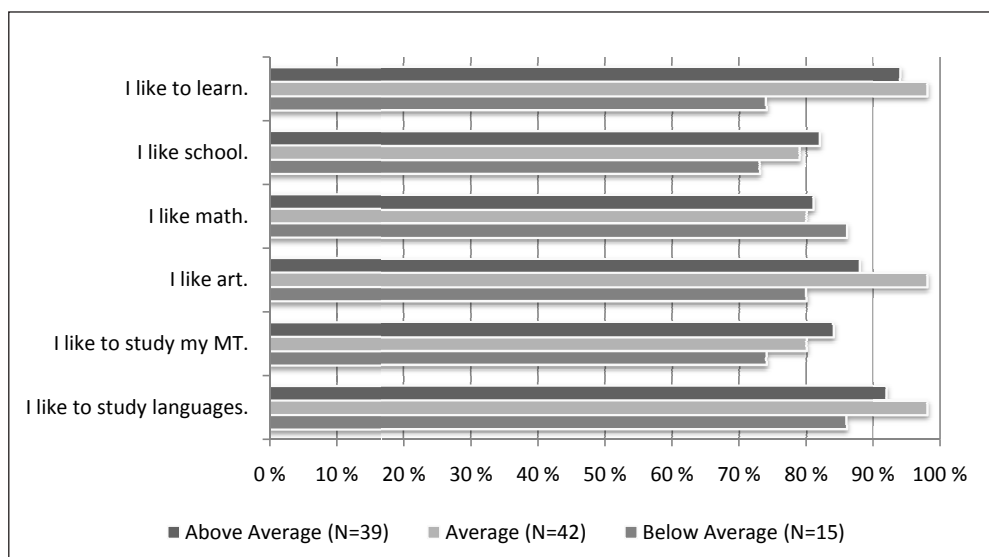

Figure 12. Percentage distribution of subjects in the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups with regard to their attitudes toward learning and school subjects. The questions were: I like to learn – I don't like to learn., I like school – I don't like to learn., I like math – I don't like math., I like art – I don't like art., I like to study my mother tongue – I don't like to study my mother tongue., I like to study languages – I don't like to study languages.

Both the Above Average and Average groups responded positively toward the question about learning. Over 90 percent said that they liked to learn. The Below Average group fostered a similar attitude, with over 70 percent harboring positive feelings. The Below Average group , however, had the highest proportion of subjects (20%) who were against learning, claiming they disliked or strongly disliked it.

The subjects in all of the groups liked studying math, art and their mother tongue (Spanish and Finnish) to an equal extent. Very few disliked art in the Above Average and Average groups (less than 8%), whereas in the Below Average group 20 percent claimed to dislike

it. Although mother tongue was a popular subject in all of the groups, 20 percent of Below Average subjects strongly disliked it (0% in the Above Average group, and 2% in the Average group). In addition to liking mother tongue studies, the subjects in all of the groups enjoyed studying languages in general (Above Average and Average over 90%, and Below Average over 85%).
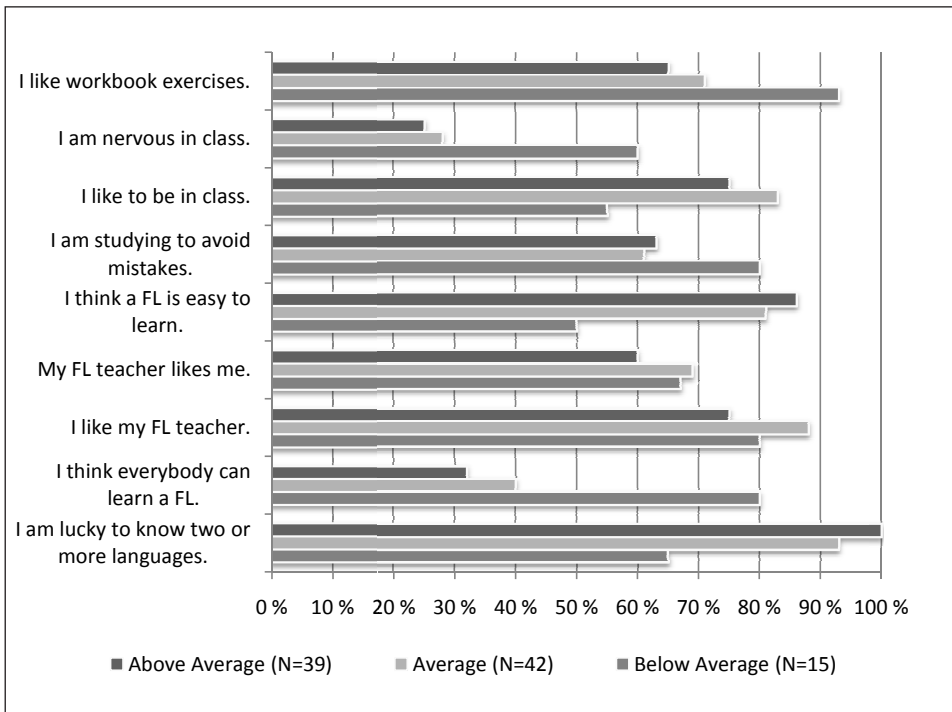
Figure 13. Percentage distribution of subjects in the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups with regard to whether they like workbook exercises, whether they are nervous in class, whether they like to be in class, whether they are studying to avoid mistakes, whether a FL is easy to learn, whether the FL teacher likes them, whether they like their FL teacher, whether everybody can learn a FL and whether they think they are lucky to know two or more languages.

The self-assessment questions illustrated in Figure 13 dealt with the type of exercises the subjects liked doing at school, the way they felt in the classroom and how they perceived themselves as students. Interestingly enough, the Above Average and Average subjects did not like workbook exercises as much as the Below Average students. The Above Average group had the most subjects who were against them (24%). In the Below Average group, not a single subject was against workbook exercises. The latter ostensibly provide well-structured tasks for the less successful students, whereas they pose few challenges for the more able ones. Successful students can feel equally frustrated with structured exercises as less successful students can feel intimidated by open-ended, loosely structured task types. The Below Average group had the greatest number of students (60%) who were nervous in the classroom. Understandably, the same

group had more students who did not enjoy being in the classroom compared to other groups. This difference was significant ($p = .05$). The subjects in the Above Average group did not study in order to avoid mistakes, whereas the Below Average students did their homework in order to avoid them.

The students' responses to whether they felt it was easy for them to learn the foreign language or not differed as expected: the ones who succeed (Above Average and Average) thought learning the foreign language was easy, whereas the less successful ones felt it was extremely difficult. The differences between the groups were significant. What is more, the attitude not only of the subject but also of any corresponding interlocutor can enhance success or contribute to failure. All of the groups felt that they were liked by their foreign language teacher. Likewise, the majority of subjects stated that they liked their language teacher. It is worth noting, however, that once again the Below Average group had the biggest percentage (20%) who did not like the teacher (Above Average 5%, Average 0%).

The subjects' opinions were divided with regard to the following two statements: "Everybody can learn a foreign language," and "I am lucky to know two (or more) languages." Neither question received the anticipated response. Contrary to expectations, 80 percent of the Below Average students strongly agreed with the statement "Everybody can learn a foreign language," whereas only 32 percent of the Above Average and 40 percent of the Average group subjects were in strong agreement. The differences between the groups were significant ($p = .01$). Even though the Below Average students claimed that everybody can learn a foreign language they did not regard it as a valuable asset, whereas the Above Average students strongly agreed that they are lucky to know two or more languages (a significant difference: $p = .001$). When the students were asked about learning, it was not specified what kind of 'learning' was implied in the question. It is possible that the less successful students interpreted it as meaning that everybody can learn the basic survival skills in L2, whereas the successful students may have interpreted it as referring to learning that would go beyond mere survival skills.
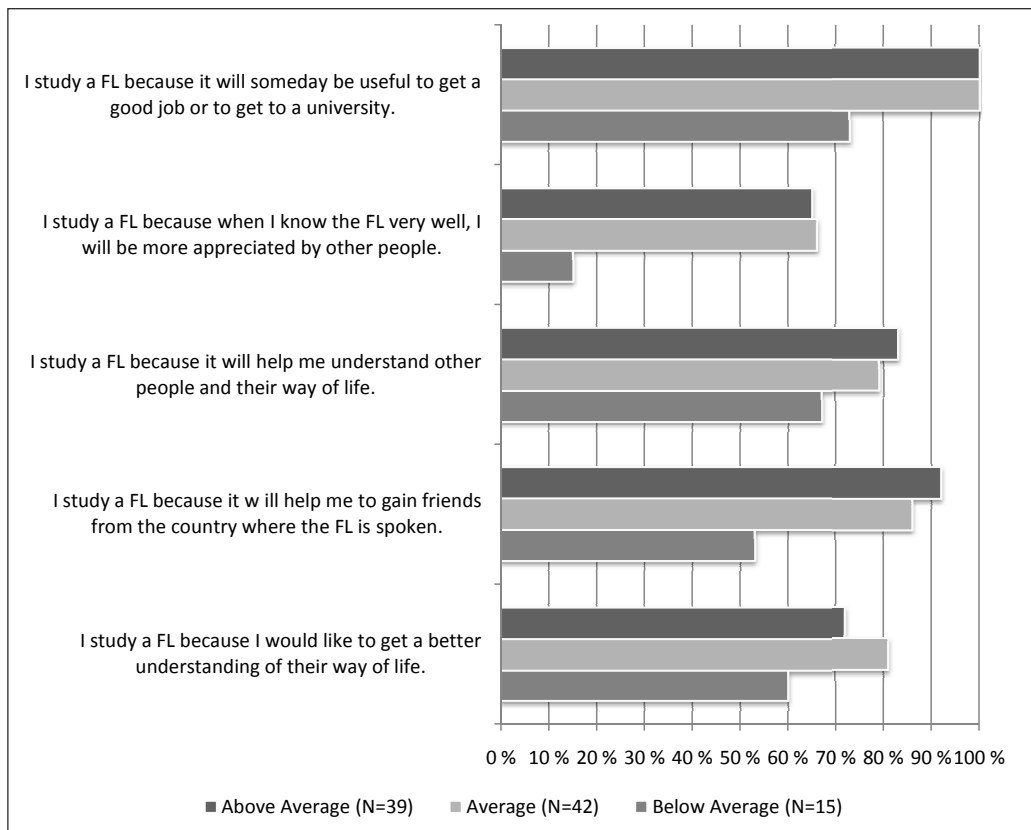
Figure 14. Percentage of students within the ability groups who were instrumentally and integratively motivated to learn L2. Questions denoting **instrumental motivation**: I study a FL because it will be useful someday in getting a good job or in getting into university, Because when I know the FL very well, I will be more appreciated by other people. Questions denoting **integrative motivation**: I study a FL because it will help me to understand other people in different countries and their way of life, Because it will enable me to gain friends from the country where the FL is spoken, Because I would like to get a better understanding of their way of life.

The motivational questions focused on the subjects' reasons for studying a foreign language. All the subjects in the Above Average and Average groups were studying a foreign language in order to improve their chances of getting into university or of getting a good job, which corresponds with instrumental motivation. The only students (27%) who did not think studying a foreign language was important in order to get a better job, or to enhance their further education prospects could be found in the Below Average group (statistically a highly significant difference: p = .0006).

Another highly significant association (p = .0001) existed between the groups' responses to the argument that studying a foreign language would result in greater social appreciation, which is indicative of instrumental motivation. Both the Above Average and Average groups (more than 65%) were studying the foreign language in order to gain greater appreciation, whereas the majority of the Below Average students either had no opinion (69%) or then disagreed (15%).

The majority of the Above Average group subjects (92%) stated that studying a foreign language would enable them to gain friends from the country where the language is spoken, which indicated integrative motivation. The Average group subjects reacted positively to this question as well: 86 percent of them strongly agreed or agreed with the argument. In the Below Average group, 53 percent of subjects responded positively to the question, while the rest either had no opinion (20%) or disagreed (27%). The other question measuring integrative motivation centered on whether the students felt that they were studying a foreign language in order to gain a better understanding of the target language speakers' way of life. Again the Above Average and Average groups reacted more positively to this question than the Below Average subjects.

7.3.4 Strategies

The questionnaire included a section comprising 54 questions focusing on the strategies students employ in different language learning situations when studying a foreign language (Appendix 7, Questionnaire 3: Skills and Strategies). The learning situations were divided into listening, writing, speaking and reading, and the students had to respond to arguments concerning their own learning style or strategies in those areas.

The differences between the groups were studied by using sum variables of each learning area and then contrasting the groups' results by means of variance analysis. One-way Anova and Tukey's HSD multiple comparisons tests were performed (Appendix 11). The responses that yielded the answers "very much" and "much" (the two closest ones at either end on a single Likert item) were combined before the results were compared. The two most positive and two most negative at either end, denoting the intensity of agreement or disagreement, were combined, while the middle one (neutral) remained intact. Statistically significant differences were found between the three groups in the use of listening, speaking and reading strategies, whereas the differences in the domain of writing were not statistically significant. The listening and reading strategies employed by the Below Average group subjects differed from the other groups' methods significantly (listening: Above Average $p = .003$, Average $p = .015$; reading Above Average $p = .0007$, Average $p = .03$), whereas the Above Average and Average groups' overall listening strategies were similar to each other. In the overall speaking strategies domain, the Above Average group differed significantly from both the Average and Below Average groups (Average $p = .056$, Below Average $p = .002$).
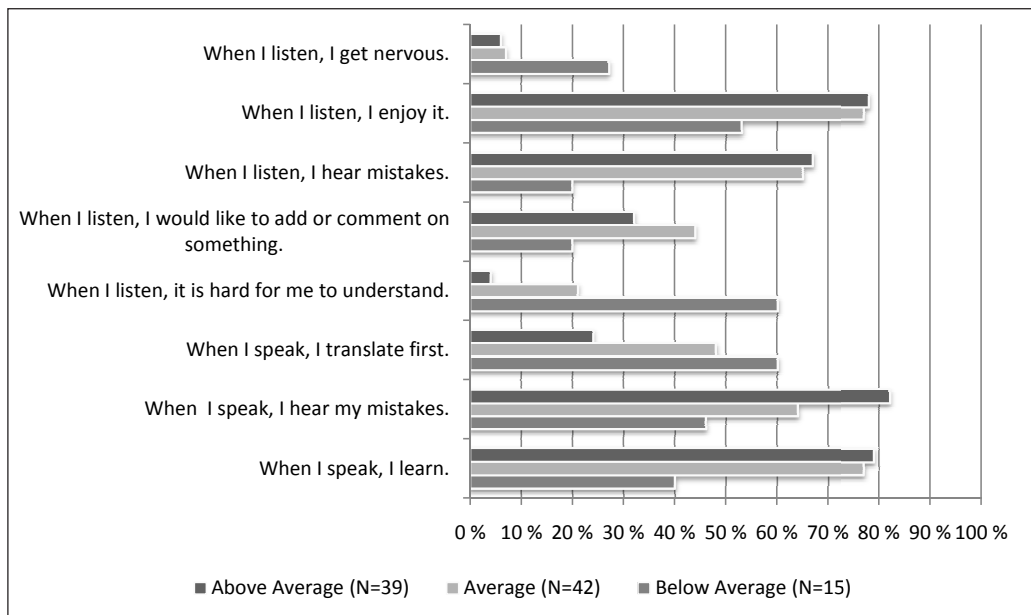
Figure 15. Percentage distribution of subjects in the three ability groups with regard to their self-reported use of listening and speaking strategies. The questions were: When I listen, I get nervous ,– I enjoy it., When I listen, I hear mistakes – I don't hear mistakes., When I listen, I would like to add or comment on something – I wouldn't like to add or comment on anything. When I listen, it's hard for me to understand – It's not hard for me to understand., When I speak, I translate first – I don't translate., When I speak, I hear my mistakes – I don't hear my mistakes., When I speak, I learn – I don't learn.

A closer look at the individual items shows that the Below Average students were the most nervous (27%) when listening to other people speaking the FL. The Above Average and Average students remained calm in the same situation. When the Above Average and Average subjects needed to listen to the FL being spoken, they enjoyed it, whereas the Below Average students obviously liked those situations less. The Below Average students did not detect mistakes in other people's speech, but the Average and Above Average subjects monitored other people's speech and could hear the mistakes they made. Successful students seemed to be able to benefit from the listening situations by being active and aware of the learned linguistic knowledge.

The Below Average students had the least desire to add to or comment on something when they listened. The Below Average group also found it hard to understand people, whereas the Average and Above Average students understood the spoken FL quite easily. Translation was used to some extent by all of the groups, but it was the Below Average students who used it the most. When using the FL, the Above Average students heard their mistakes and so did many of the Average students. The Below Average students found it harder to hear their own mistakes. The majority of students in the Above Average and

Average groups thought that they learn by speaking (about 80%). However, only 40% of the Below Average students thought that they could learn the FL by speaking it.
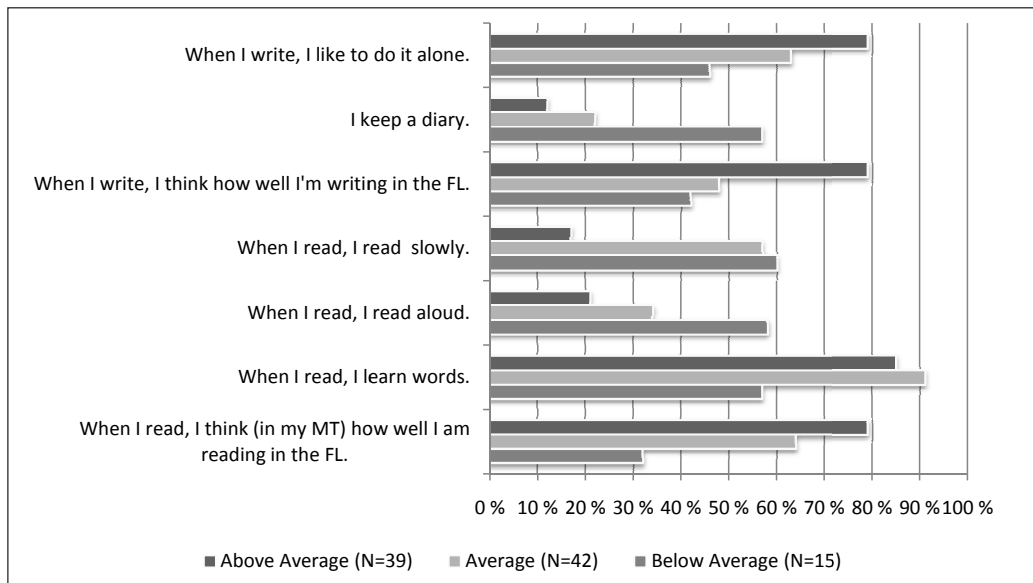

Figure 16. Percentage distribution of subjects in the three ability groups with regard to their self-reported use of writing and reading strategies. Subjects responded to the following seven questions: 1. When I write, I like to do it alone., 2. I keep a diary., 3. I think about how well I am writing in the FL., 5. I read slowly., 6. When I read, I read aloud., 7. When I read, I learn words., 8. When I read in the FL, I think (in my MT) about how well I am reading.

The Above Average students preferred writing alone, whereas the Below Average students were happier writing with their peers. It was noted earlier, in connection with workbook exercises, that the less successful students feel more comfortable with well-structured exercises than with creative, loosely structured tasks. However, the most eager diarists could be found in the Below Average group. The Above Average students clearly felt that they were good at writing in the FL. By the same token, the Below Average students knew that they could not write so well in the FL.

The Above Average students reported that they read the fastest and there was a clear difference between them and the other groups. In the Below Average group, 60 percent of the students thought that they read slowly and the Average group had almost as many slow readers. The next question, reading aloud, went some way toward explaining why the Below Average students read the slowest: they read aloud whereas the other group subjects do this much less. Both Above Average and Average group subjects thought that they learned words as they were reading (almost 90%). The students who did well in the FL and read well were also proficient readers in their mother tongue. The Below Average students felt that they were not good readers in their mother tongue either (statistical data on the three groups' performance in the four strategy domains are presented in Appendix 12).

7.4   Results: Finnish and American subjects compared.

7.4.1 Personality characteristics

The subjects' school behavior was assessed by two teachers (a teacher and a paraprofessional/educational assistant in America). The following descriptions were given and the teachers had to determine which one characterized each student best:

A: Actively participates during classroom instruction. Is quick, guesses meanings, tries out things, is not embarrassed.

B: Participates but is quiet. Listens intensively and learns, is interested in grammar.

C: Is quiet, does not participate actively, learns but is more interested in forms (grammar etc) and/or writing and reading than discussions/oral tasks.

D: Is quiet, seemingly afraid to participate, learns slowly, gets frustrated, lack of interest and/or motivation.

Table 8. Subjects characterized according to their classroom behavior (N=96).

GROUP	**A**: Actively participates, is quick, guesses meanings...	**B**: Participates but is quiet, listens intensively	**C**: Is quiet, does not participate actively	**D**: Is quiet, afraid to participate
FIN Elementary (N=19)	7 (37%)	2 (11%)	8 (42%)	2 (10%)
FIN IB (N=20)	4 (20%)	10 (50%)	5 25%	1 (5%)
USA Elementary (N=57)	28 (48%)	15 (27%)	9 (16%)	5 (9%)

The differences between the groups were statistically significant (p = .04). Type A and C characterized the Finnish Elementary group best, type B characterized the IB group best, followed by both A and C. The American subjects were best characterized by A, and type B was also represented.
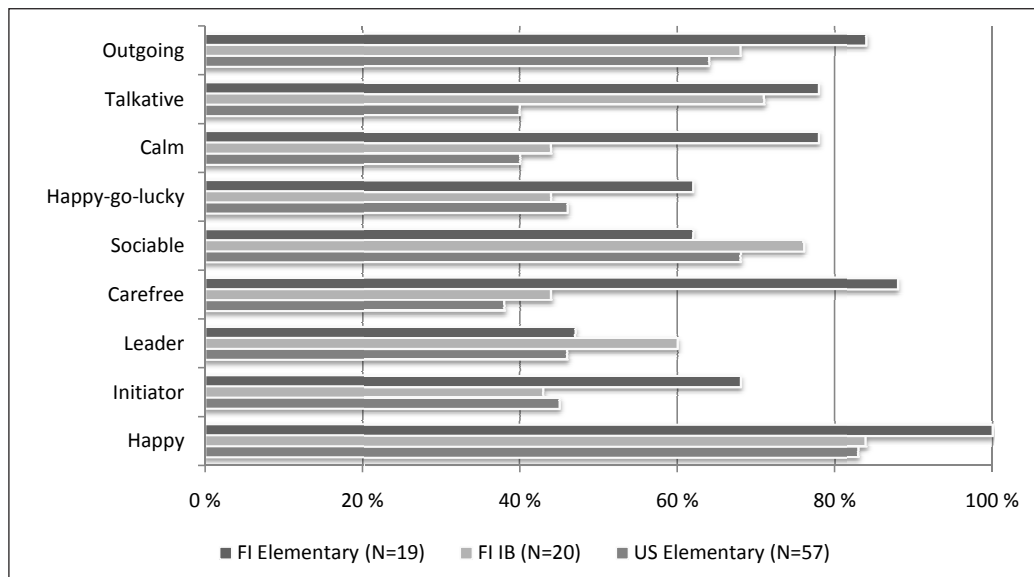
Figure 17. Percentage distribution of students' self-assessed personality characteristics within the three groups. The personality characteristics illustrated are: outgoing, talkative, calm, happy-go-lucky, sociable, carefree, leader, initiator, happy.

All of the students were quite outgoing, yet the Finnish elementary group scored highest. In the same fashion, the most talkative subjects were the Finnish elementary school students, while the American elementary school students were the least talkative. When interpreting the data, one has to bear in mind that the teachers' expectations may have differed due to cultural differences: as a rule the American teachers expect very active student participation, whereas the Finnish teachers' expectations may not be as high. The Finnish elementary school group had the most carefree and happy students and this group also had the largest number of initiators. The Finnish IB group and the American elementary group bore more similarities to each other than they did to the Finnish elementary group. The IB group was the most sociable, but the American group and the Finnish elementary group were almost equally sociable.

7.4.2 Backgrounds and personal histories

Before going into detail about the differences between the American and Finnish samples, it should be mentioned at the outset that their backgrounds differed greatly. The American sample exemplifies American society's ethnic and cultural diversity and would be comparable to any bilingual or even non-bilingual inner-city school in the States. The majority of the students in this sample were of Hispanic origin, whereas the majority of the Finnish subjects were of Finnish descent. The Finnish sample is culturally and ethnically more homogenous, reflecting the rather homogeneous nature of the student body in Finnish schools outside the Helsinki region in the mid-1990s. The situation today has changed dramatically, however, even outside the boundaries of

the capital. Turun normaalikoulu is a case in point: in the mid-1990s over 90% of the students at all school levels were of Finnish descent, whereas in 2008 the percentage of Finns in elementary and middle school dropped to a little over 50% (in high school, it is over 80%). The statistical data presented below will further highlight the differences and similarities between the groups.

The subjects' families in the Finnish sample were mostly of Finnish descent (above 90%) and, with the exception of two parents, used Finnish in communication at home. The American sample consisted of subjects whose families were mostly from Latin American countries. In 91% of the families, the father was born in a Latin American country, and in 96% the mother was of Latin American origin. It is natural, therefore, that the parents spoke Spanish to their children at home. What is worth noting is that in the American sample, 79% of siblings used both English and Spanish in communication at home. In the Finnish sample, the corresponding figure was only 5%.

7.4.3 School success

One has to exercise caution when viewing the comparisons between the groups with regard to success at school because the ratings were based on their teachers' assessment. All of the questions in the Teacher Questionnaire (Appendix 8) yielded statistically significant associations. It becomes clear in what follows that the IB group differed from the two elementary school groups in most assessed areas, whereas the two elementary school groups were similar to each other.

Figure 17 clearly shows that the IB students were the most academically successful of the three groups. It follows that they have the greatest percentage of students succeeding in all of the assessed areas. The majority wrote well in the MT, and expressed themselves orally in the MT equally well. Reading and reading comprehension in the mother tongue presented no problems for these students. The majority of the IB students performed well in FL reading comprehension and writing. Even though not quite half of the students were above average in speaking the FL, the percentage of above average students was still the highest even in this domain. The Finnish and American elementary school students were very similar to each other in all of the assessed areas. The biggest differences between these two groups were seen in MT oral skills and FL writing skills. The percentage of American students in the Above Average group in the MT writing domain was bigger than in the Finnish elementary school group. A greater percentage of Finnish elementary students were above average in the FL writing area.
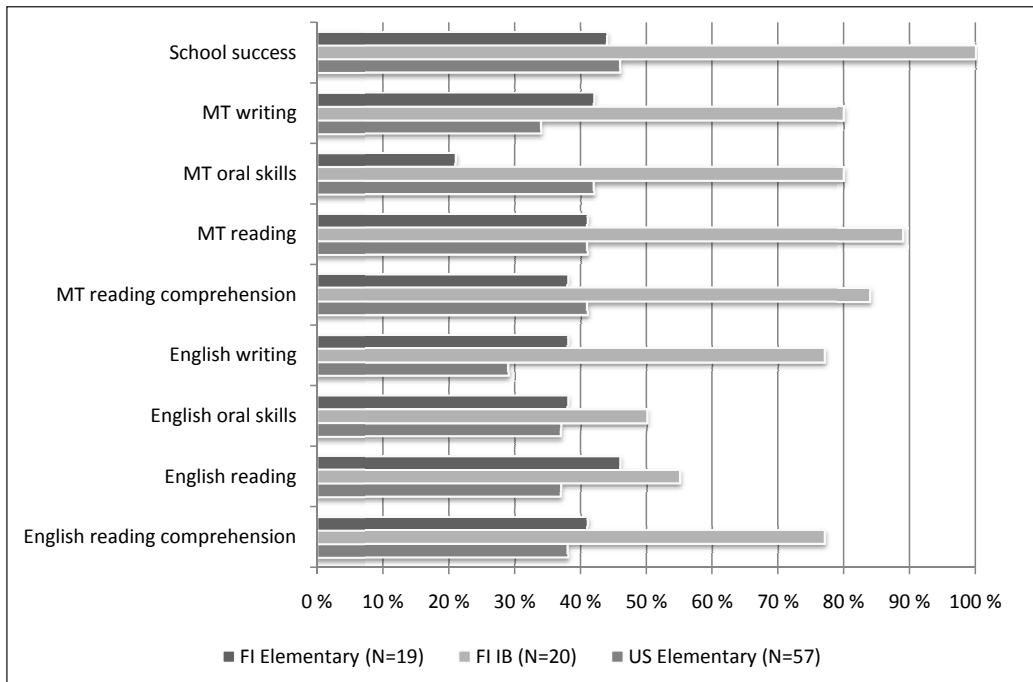
Figure 18. Percentage of subjects who were rated by their teachers as being **above average** in school success in mother tongue writing, mother tongue oral skills, mother tongue reading, mother tongue reading comprehension, English writing, English oral skills, English reading, English reading comprehension.
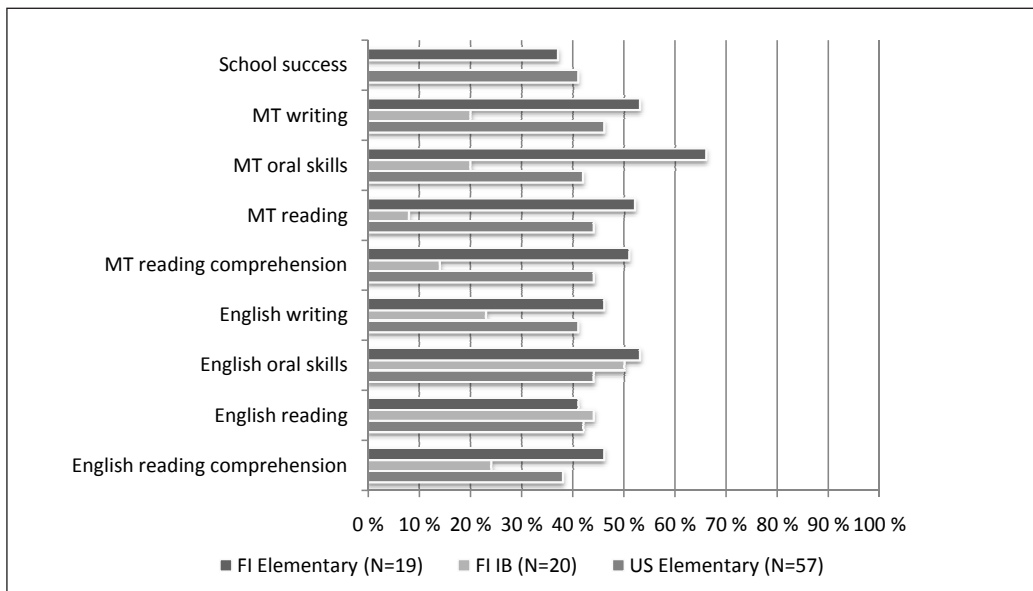
Figure 19. Percentage of subjects who were rated by their teachers as being **average** in school success in mother tongue writing, mother tongue oral skills, mother tongue reading, mother tongue reading comprehension, English writing, English oral skills, English reading, English reading comprehension.

Figure 19 shows the Average students and their school performance in the assessed areas. As was noted above when describing Above Average students, the majority of IB students belonged to this group in every domain. Furthermore, the Finnish and American students seemed to have about the same percentage of students performing better than average in all of the areas. The same can be said of the Average students. First and foremost, the Finnish and American elementary samples were very similar once again. The slight differences mainly concerned the MT. The performance by all three groups was approximately equal in the FL oral and reading domains.
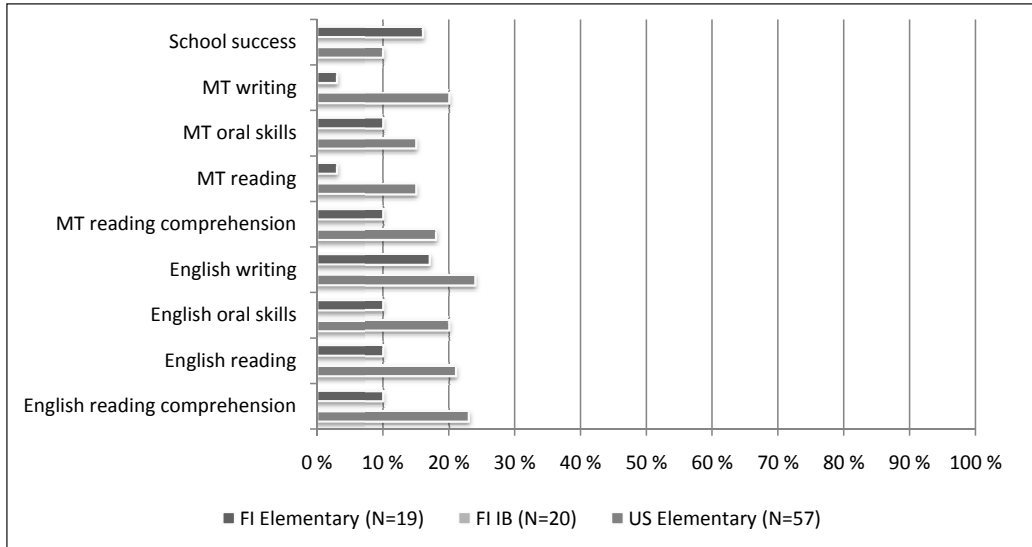
Figure 20. Percentage of subjects who were rated by their teachers as being **below average** in school success, mother tongue writing, mother tongue oral skills, mother tongue reading, mother tongue reading comprehension, English writing, English oral skills, English reading, English reading comprehension.

Figure 20 shows the percentage of students assessed below average. The IB group students were assessed either average or above average in all of the areas. Thus the subjects who were below average in any of the performance areas belonged to either the Finnish or American elementary group. The differences between the two elementary groups were not very large. The Finnish group had fewer students in the below average category in the foreign language sector and also a smaller percentage of students in the below average group in the mother tongue domain.

When we compare the student characterizations to school success in mother tongue and foreign languages for instance, it can be concluded that even though the IB students succeeded, they were not necessarily perceived to be active students. On the other hand, the American students had the greatest percentage of actively participating students who were quick, ready to guess and not embarrassed about making mistakes.

7.4.4 Strategies

The differences between the groups with regard to their self-reported use of strategies in different learning tasks were studied with Questionnaire 3 (Appendix 7). The students were asked about the strategies they employ in different learning situations when studying a foreign language. The learning situations were divided into listening, writing, speaking and reading and the students had to respond to statements concerning their own learning style or strategies in those areas.

The differences between the groups were studied by using sum variables of each learning area. After the groups' results were contrasted by means of variance analysis, one-way Anova and Tukey's HSD multiple comparisons tests were performed (Appendix 13). More statistically significant differences were found between the IB group and the two elementary groups than between the two elementary school groups.

Table 9. Test of statistical differences between the groups' use of listening strategies (N=96).

	FIN Elementary (M = 2.768)	FIN IB (M = 2.335)	USA Elementary (M = 2.663)
FIN Elementary (N=19)		.005 **	.6
FIN IB (N=20)	.005**		.01*
USA Elementary (N=57)	.6		

*= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***= p<.001

The significant differences between the use of listening strategies occurred between the Finnish IB students and both the USA Elementary group (p = .01) and the Finnish Elementary group (p = .005). The two elementary school groups' use of strategies was similar to each other. Age was probably an important factor here: the older students were better able to use their metacognitive skills (planning ahead, structuring and directing their learning), for example, since they had had more exposure to learning languages in a school environment.

Table 10. Test of statistical differences between the groups' use of writing strategies (N=96).

	FIN Elementary (M = 2.680)	FIN IB (M = 2.230)	USA Elementary (M = 2.533)
FIN Elementary (N=19)		.04 *	.5
FIN IB (N=20)	.04*		.1
USA Elementary (N=57)	.5	.1	

*= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***= p<.001

The use of writing strategies yielded only one significant association: the Finnish Elementary group and the Finnish IB group differed from each other significantly (p = .04). The overall use of writing strategies by the American group did not differ statistically from either of the two Finnish groups.

Table 11. Test of statistical differences between the groups' use of speaking strategies (N=96).

	FIN Elementary (M = 2.636)	FIN IB (M = 2.175)	USA Elementary (M = 2.577)
FIN Elementary (N=19)		.03 *	.9
FIN IB (N=20)	.03*		.02*
USA Elementary (N=57)	.9	.02*	

*= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***= p<.001

The use of speaking strategies followed the same pattern as the use of listening strategies. The statistically significant association occurred between the Finnish IB group and the two elementary school groups (Finnish Elementary p =.03 and American p = .02)

Table 12. Test of statistical differences between the groups' use of reading strategies (N=96).

	FIN Elementary (M = 2.462)	FIN IB (M = 2.125)	USA Elementary (M = 2.635)
FIN Elementary (N=19)		.02 *	.2
FIN IB (N=20)	.02*		.0001**
USA Elementary (N=57)	.2	.0001**	

(*= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***= p<.001

As can be seen in Table 12, the Finnish groups used similar reading strategies to the American subjects and again there were statistically significant differences (IB and FIN Elementary: $p = .02$) and statistically highly significant differences (IB and USA Elementary: $p = .0001$)

7.5   Conclusions

The results of this study regarding students' personality traits suggest that they have little to do with school success in languages. The differences between the groups in the personality dimension were mostly non-significant. The personality characteristics that imply differences between the groups were talkativeness and whether or not the students liked themselves: the less successful ones were less talkative and did not like themselves as much as the more successful ones. Likewise, the differences between the three samples, Finnish Elementary, American Elementary and Finnish IB were mostly non-significant. Based on the two studies so far, the Pilot Study and this one, it seems that the findings agree with previous studies. According to Dörnyei (2005: 20-21), even in those studies which report significant associations between personality and learning outcomes, the relationship rarely explains more than about 15% of the variance in academic performance. For example, extraversion has been found to have a negative relationship with academic success, while introverts seem to have a better ability to consolidate what they have learned (due to lower distractibility and better study habits).

Early reading was one factor that was related to the students' success in languages: the ones who succeeded were read to more often when they were little, and furthermore, they did more reading themselves than the less successful subjects. The Above Average group had early reading experiences and exposure to literature, and this group also had the largest percentage of library card holders. The parents' role in creating a positive attitude toward reading has an obvious link to success, whereas the socio-economic status or parent's own reading habits were not indicators of success. In the quantitative analysis, the subjects' linguistic background did not seem to have any significance with regard to success in the FL. All groups used either Finnish or Spanish at home when communicating with their parents. It is natural that in the American sample the siblings used two languages to communicate because the mainstream language of their environment was English.

All of the subjects, regardless of their success at school, were equally positive in their opinions toward school and studying in general. The more specific questions concerning affective factors yielded differences between the three groups. Anxiety is a significant factor in a school setting: the successful students were less nervous than the less successful ones. Likewise, their attitude toward being in class was more positive. The successful ones regarded language learning as an easy task, but the less successful ones deemed it

difficult. Motivation was equal to attitude as a discriminating factor: the more successful ones were both instrumentally and integratively better motivated to study L2.

The successful students' self-reported use of listening, reading and speaking strategies differed from the less successful ones. When listening, the less successful students were more nervous, liked listening to L2 less than their peers, did not hear mistakes and did not want to add or comment as much as their more successful peers. When speaking, the successful subjects monitored their mistakes and were of the opinion that oral communication enhances language learning.

The results indicate that there were similarities between the American and Finnish students who succeeded, on the one hand, and between those who failed, on the other. The sample that differed from the rest was the IB group. The Finnish IB sample represented a homogeneous group of successful students: their self-reported use of strategies and overall school success was different from the other two samples. Both the American and Finnish elementary groups were more heterogeneous, and there were no major differences between them. The quantitative analysis suggests that American and Finnish students who succeeded were similar.

8   QUALITATIVE RESULTS OF STUDY 2: PROFILES OF FOUR L2 LEARNERS

A case study of four subjects was conducted in order to complement the quantitative analysis and to shed further light on the research questions. Understandably, it was impossible to find subjects that would have displayed all the features typical of one of the groups, namely Above Average, Average or Below Average. Thus each subject profiled here represents his/her group in many, but not all respects. Since the task of finding suitable cases proved a difficult one, it was decided that they should be chosen on the basis of either the fact that they were as close to the 'average student' as possible or, on the other hand, that they were not necessarily typical representatives of their groups at all. The preliminary selection was done via the paper and pencil questionnaires and compositions, and the final selection was based on their representativeness of, or conversely, their deviance from the other students in their respective groups. This dual approach was taken to gain a more in-depth understanding of the individual L2 learners by triangulating the data collected by different methods (quantitative: questionnaires vs. qualitative: interviews and compositions).

Gerardo was chosen on account of his very close resemblance to an Average successful student, while Viridiana was selected from the Above Average group. She does not represent the average successful student in this group, but rather was chosen because she is a good example of a subject whose profile deviates from that of the mainstream. Kaisa and Jenni are characteristic of their respective groups. Kaisa represents the Below Average group, while Jenni sheds light on the typical IB student's profile.

Each subject has been described on the basis of their questionnaire and interview responses, and in some cases the written compositions were also taken into account. The purpose of this part of the research is to further illuminate the research questions by focusing on individuals in addition to the statistical data based on everybody's responses. The research questions linked to this qualitative part are as follows:

Personal characteristics

Which personality traits are characteristic of the subjects?

Which personality traits do the subjects have in common?

Personal histories and backgrounds

Are there common features in the subjects' personal histories that could be linked to success in language learning?

Do successful language learners have similar backgrounds with regard to early literacy and their parents' role?

Affective factors (motivation and attitude, anxiety)

What are the subjects' motivation and attitude like toward L1 and L2?

Are the subjects' motivation and attitude toward school and L2 similar?

What is the subjects' attitude toward themselves as language learners?

How pronounced is the role of anxiety in the successful language learners' profiles?

Strategies

What strategies do successful language learners use?

Do strategies have an effect on learners' success in language classes?

Are successful language learners more inclined to self-monitor, attend to form, attend to meaning, guess and have a strong drive to communicate than less successful ones?

Differences between Finnish and American students in bilingual programs

Do successful students in both the American and Finnish groups have similar profiles?

A profile of each student's strategies (research question 4) in the four skills was constructed based on their responses to the Strategy Questionnaire (Appendix 7). The students responded to the questions on a five-point scale. The positive responses were allocated value 5 and the negative responses value 1 (the scale is in the range of 0 to 5, but 0 was not used). The evaluation of responses was implemented on the basis of the Pilot Study's (Chapter 5) and earlier studies' findings about successful learners and their strategies (Reiss 1985, Rubin 1975, Naiman et al. 1996).

Below is a list of the statements covered in each skill area. The positive, desirable feature is on the left and the negative, undesirable feature on the right.

LISTENING

When I listen, …

I stay calm.	I get nervous.
I enjoy it.	I don't like it.
I pay attention to the speaker.	I don't pay attention to the speaker.
I hear mistakes.	I don't hear mistakes.
mistakes bother me.	I don't care about the speaker's mistakes.
I would like to correct mistakes.	I wouldn't like to correct mistakes.
It's hard for me to understand the spoken foreign language	It's easy for me to understand.
I pay attention to pronunciation.	I don't pay attention to pronunciation.
I ask if I don't understand.	I don't want to ask/interrupt if I don't understand.

I want to learn to imitate the foreign language speaker.	I think it's all right to speak any way one likes.
I like to check words afterwards.	I don't like to check words afterwards.
I think in the foreign language.	I translate things in my head.

WRITING

When I write, …

I think or jot down ideas first.	I start right away.
I make a plan in the foreign language.	I make a plan in my mother tongue.
I like to talk about my writing.	I don't want to discuss what I write.
I think about grammar.	I don't think about grammar.
I like to write my own text.	I like to copy texts.
I keep a diary.	I never keep a diary.
it's also something I do in my free time.	it's never something I do in my free time.

SPEAKING

When I speak, …

I stay calm.	I get nervous.
I don't need to translate.	I need to translate first.
I listen to myself.	I don't listen to myself.
I hear my mistakes.	I don't hear my mistakes.
I enjoy participating.	I 'd rather just listen.
I ask for help if I don't know how to say something.	I don't ask for help even if I need it.
I try to sound like a native speaker.	I don't have to sound native-like.
I try to use the foreign language every chance I get.	I am not very active in trying to speak.
I like to speak the FL in the classroom.	I don't like to speak the FL in class.
I check words afterwards.	I don't check words afterwards.
I think it's the best way to learn.	I don't think it's the best way to learn.

READING

When I read, …

I read fast.	I read slowly.
I don't have to stop to think.	I have to stop to think.
I think about grammar.	I don't think about grammar.

if I don't understand, I guess.	I don't guess.
I learn words.	I don't learn words.
I enjoy it.	I don't enjoy it.
it's something I do often.	it's not something I do often.

8.1   Gerardo: a successful male (aged 10)

Personal history and background

Gerardo is a fourth grader and attends a Spanish-English bilingual school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Gerardo's parents are Mexican and he was also born in Mexico, from where the family moved to Milwaukee five years ago. His parents speak Spanish to each other at home and Spanish is also used in communication between the parents and children. Gerardo has a brother and a sister with whom he sometimes uses English. In the interview he said that his mother is studying hard to learn English. One of the topics covered with each interviewee was languages used at home and the parental support that was received with regard to language learning in general.

Gerardo

> *Mom goes to classes so that when she goes to work she would understand what the people there are saying to her. And she makes me study hard too. Sometimes I have to translate or read to her... that's boring.*

Interviewer
> *And your dad?*

Gerardo
> *He need no classes. He gots work and he don't need no English there. I know English best from everybody, from my sister, from my brother, best from everybody at home.*

When Gerardo was little, his parents sometimes read to him, but he often read to himself. He still likes to read and borrow books and he possesses a library card. Gerardo's parents read a lot according to him.

Interviewer
> *Tell me something about your reading at home.*

Gerardo
> *When I was little, I looked at pictures and my mom would say words.*

Interviewer
> *In Spanish or English?*

Gerardo

> *In Spanish. And my aunt read and my uncle read and my cousins read to me. I have books at home and I read the same books over and over again. I know them all.*

Personality characteristics

Gerardo describes himself as neither outgoing nor reserved. He is rather quiet and calm, taking things as they come and showing a willingness to experiment and try things out. He is happy-go-lucky and the word 'cautious' does not apply to him at all. Gerardo enjoys other people's company and likes to mix with friends rather than be by himself. He does not consider himself a leader, but nevertheless feels that he initiates things. Gerardo is a happy boy who likes himself.

According to Gerardo's teacher, he is active during instruction, willing to try, and is not at all embarrassed by his efforts. According to the interview, he enjoys all sports, and they are his favorite way to spend his leisure time.

Academic life

Gerardo thinks that Spanish is the least enjoyable subject at school.

> *I know it and can write it and can speak it. I know it all.*

Interviewer

> *And English, do you know it equally well?*

Gerardo

> *No, I make mistakes. I study hard at home and... I have trouble with English. I want to get things right.*

Interviewer

> *Can you think of an example. I mean – something that you don't get right?*

Gerardo

> *I make mistakes in word endings. I write dieing (spells the word) when I should write dying (spells the word) and stuff. I want to get things right 'cause I want to get high grades.*

When the interviewer asked about reading and writing at home, Gerardo described a friendship he had cultivated.

Gerardo

> *I write to a friend.*

Interviewer

Where does he live?

Gerardo

In the same building.

Interviewer

You write to him even though he lives in the same building?

Gerardo

*No, he live**d** (stresses the final 'd'). Now he live there and I moved.*

Interviewer

I see. So, you used to live in the same building. What do you write to him?

Gerardo

I write notes. It was his idea and now we write notes 'cause we don't see that often no more.

Gerardo likes mathematics. He thinks it is the easiest subject.

Math is simple. You just multiply – real easy. Add, subtract. I know fractions, too. Math's real simple. Sometimes I have trouble with word problems?

Interviewer

At school?

Gerardo

At home and my mom help me. And sometimes my dad. I like workbook best.

Gerardo's teacher and the educational assistant gave Gerardo the highest possible ratings in the Teacher Questionnaire (Appendix 8).

Affective factors

Gerardo likes school and studying in general, which is evident from his answers to Questionnaire 2. He responds positively to each question about school. He prefers studying foreign languages, art and math to studying Spanish, but he does not dislike the latter. He thinks he is active during class, which his teacher confirmed. Gerardo reacted positively to all of the motivational questions. Thus he could be labeled both instrumentally and integratively motivated. Instrumental motivation came up in the interview when he mentioned how he studies English hard in order to get good grades in the subject.

Strategies
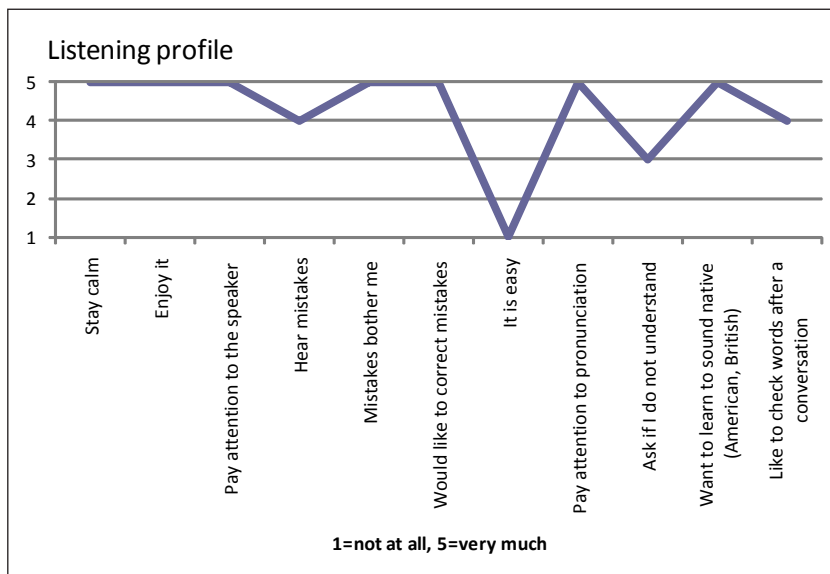
Figure 21. Gerardo's listening profile. **When I listen,** I stay calm, I enjoy it, I pay attention to the speaker, I hear mistakes, mistakes bother me, I would like to correct mistakes, it's easy, I pay attention to pronunciation, I ask if I don't understand, I want to sound like a native speaker (American/British), I like to check words after a conversation .
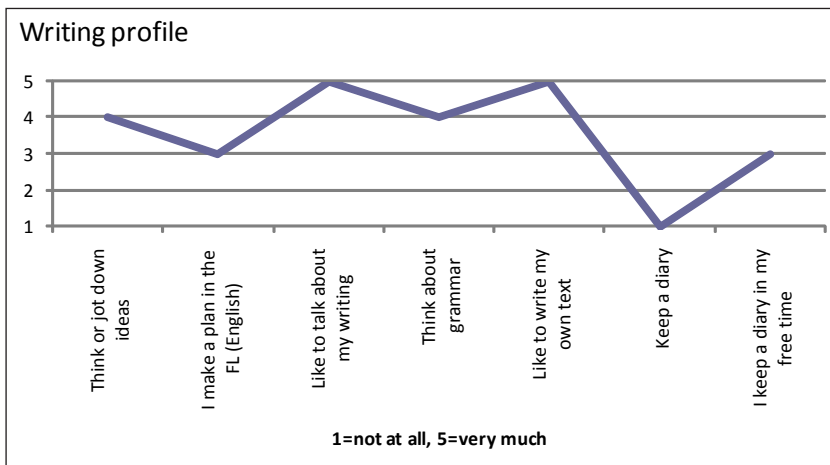
Figure 22. Gerardo's writing profile. **When I write,** I think or jot down ideas first, I make a plan in the foreign language (English), I like to talk about my writing, I think about grammar, I like to write my own text , I keep a diary, I keep a diary in my free time.

Speaking profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
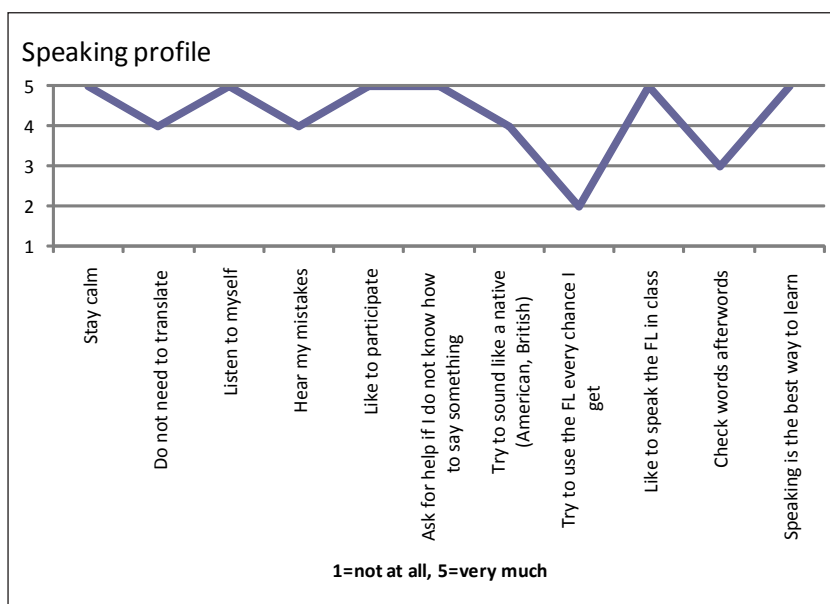
Figure 23. Gerardo's speaking profile. **When I speak,** I stay calm, I don't need to translate, I listen to myself, I hear my mistakes, I like to participate, I ask for help if I don't know how to say something, I try to sound like a native, I try to use the foreign language every chance I get, I like to speak the FL in class, I check words afterwards, I think speaking is the best way to learn.

Reading profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
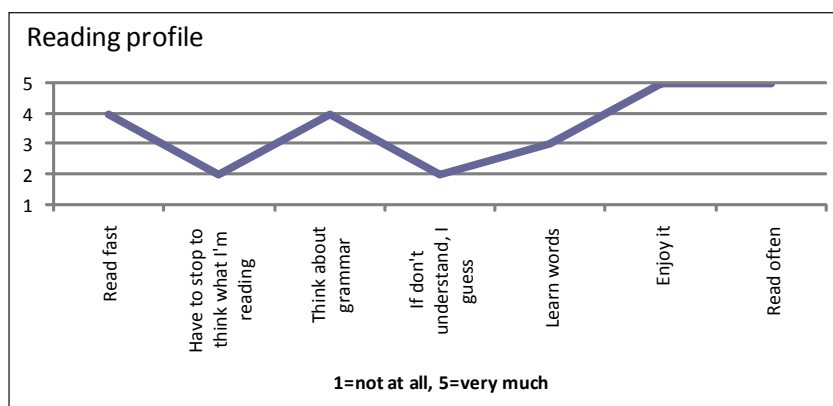
Figure 24. Gerardo's reading profile. **When I read,** I read fast, I have to stop to think what I am reading, I think about grammar, if I don't understand I guess, I learn words, I enjoy it, I read often.

Figures 20-23 show that Gerardo scores fairly highly in all of the assessed learning areas. The averages of the assessed areas were as follows: listening 4.3, writing 3.6, speaking 4.3, reading 3.6. Gerardo's language development in both L1 and L2 seems to be balanced. He functions in both languages fluently, although his English resembles the kind of language he hears on the street and from his peers. He has no inhibitions with regard to using it, however, and thinks that he manages fine in both English and Spanish. He has a good self-esteem and supportive parents. His mother is learning English but his father, according to Gerardo, is already fluent in the language. Gerardo makes a

reappearance in Chapter 9.5.2 where he was interviewed in Study 3. Like many other boys, Gerardo does not keep a diary. Pavlenko (2001, 2002) addresses this issue in her research and mentions how it is problematic in ethnographic studies that rely on learners' diary entries (males are reluctant to keep journals).

8.2   Viridiana: a successful female (aged 10)

Personal history and background

Viridiana's parents were born in Mexico, from where they moved to California and where she was subsequently born. Viridiana and her family moved to Milwaukee a year ago, so she has been a student at Forest Home Avenue School for just twelve months. She has been enrolled in bilingual schools from kindergarten onwards. Her home is strongly influenced by the Spanish language: she uses Spanish exclusively with all family members including her grandparents, who live in the same household. Both parents speak English with a pronounced Mexican accent.

Viridiana's parents sometimes read to her when she was little and she also took the initiative to look at books or read them herself at that time. She had some children's books at home. She enjoys reading and has a library card, which she puts to good use. According to Viridiana, her parents read quite a bit too, but only in Spanish. When she was asked whether she read at home, she said that she reads stories in English and translates them into Spanish in order to relate them to her mother, who likes listening to such things. Apparently, her mother's favorite story is *Geraldine's Blanket* and she has asked Viridiana to relate it to her repeatedly.

Viridiana

    I have to tell the story to my mom over and over again.

Interviewer

    What's the story about?

Viridiana

    It's about a girl and her blanket. And it tells how the girl grows and the blanket gets littler and littler.

It becomes clear that Viridiana's parents are very supportive and maybe the mother has asked her daughter to tell her stories in order to give her oral practice in Spanish and reading practice in English. According to Viridiana, her parents want her to succeed at school so that she "can go on to college and have a better life".

The following is Viridiana's written description of her family.

My Family

> *There is four members in my family. My mom, my dad, my brother and me. My dad's name is Ignacio. My mom's is Isabel, and my brother's name is Jeovani. My brother and my dad like to play soccer and they are in a soccer team. My mom likes to cook. And I like to come to school and play outside.*

> *My family and me love to have fun together. We have a lot of fun together.*

Personality

The characteristics which Viridiana chose to describe her personality (Questionnaire 2) correspond with those considered to be typical of successful language learners: talkative, calm, happy-go-lucky, leader, initiator and happy. Although she also described herself with the less typical 'reserved' and 'serious', it is clear that her personality is typical of a successful language learner and, for the most part, in keeping with former studies on the typical characteristics of such learners.

Academic life

Viridiana is above average in all of the assessed areas. Her skills in reading, writing, understanding and presenting are equally good in both Spanish and English. Both the teacher and the educational assistant described her behavior during Spanish and English classes as very active. According to the evaluators, Viridiana is best described as being quick and eager to participate. She is willing to guess meanings and try out things without fear of embarrassment. Her teacher describes her as "a very bright girl in all areas. Sure of herself. "Mature" in an additional note in the teacher evaluation questionnaire (Questionnaire 4).

Affective factors

Viridiana likes school: she reacts positively to all questions concerning studying (Questionnaire 2, questions 1-8). Like Gerardo, the successful male student, she is both instrumentally and integratively motivated.

Strategies

Viridiana's scores in writing and speaking are not typical of a student in the Above Average group, yet similar variations occur within each group. The lower scores are compensated for by the relatively high scores in reading.
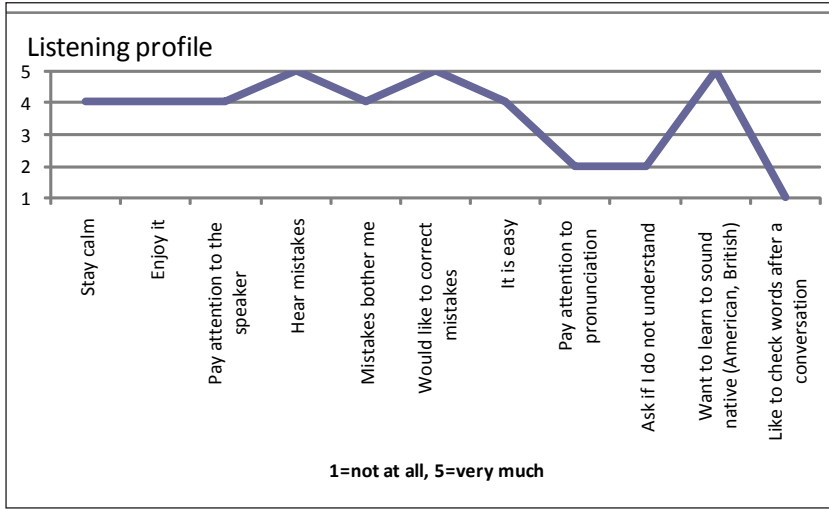
Listening profile

Figure 25. Viridiana's listening profile. **When I listen,** I stay calm, I enjoy it, I pay attention to the speaker, I hear mistakes, mistakes bother me, I would like to correct mistakes, it's easy, I pay attention to pronunciation , I ask if I don't understand, I want to sound like a native speaker (American/British), I like to check words after a conversation.
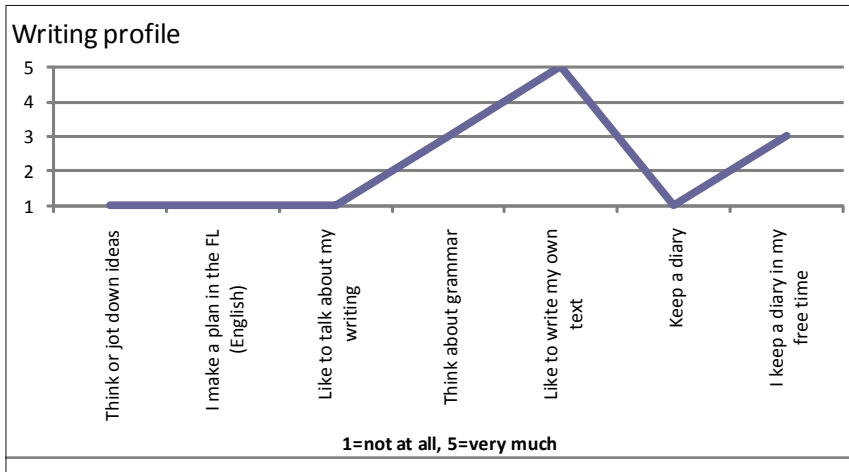
Writing profile

Figure 26. Viridiana's writing profile. **When I write,** I think or jot down ideas first, I make a plan in the foreign language (English), I like to talk about my writing, I think about grammar, I like to write my own text, I keep a diary, I keep a diary my free time.

Speaking profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
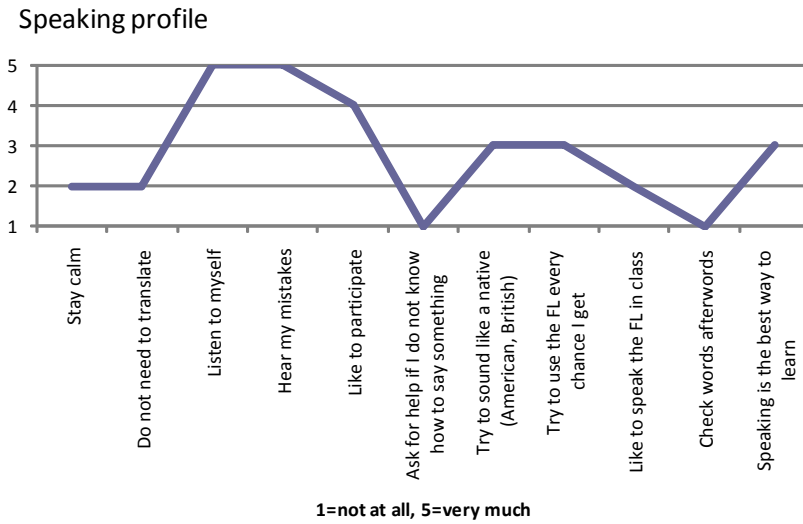
Figure 27. Viridiana's speaking profile. **When I speak,** I stay calm, I don't need to translate, I listen to myself, I hear my mistakes, I like to participate, I ask for help if I don't know how to say something, I try to sound like a native, I try to use the foreign language every chance I get, I like to speak the FL in class, I check words afterwards, I think speaking is the best way to learn.

1=not at all, 5=very much
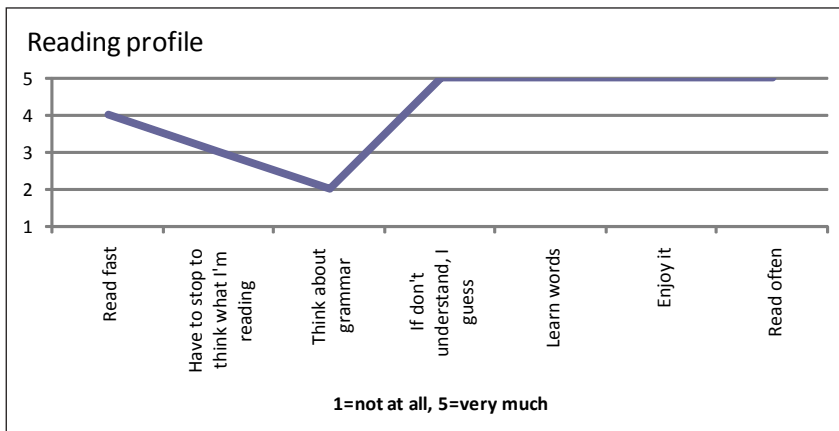
Figure 28. Viridiana's reading profile. **When I read,** I read fast, I have to stop to think what I am reading, I think about grammar, if I don't understand I guess, I learn words, I enjoy it, I read often.

Figures 24-27 show that Viridiana's scores differ somewhat from those of the previous successful student, Gerardo. The main differences between the two lie in the assessed strategy areas of writing and speaking, whereas the averages of the strategy areas concerning listening are quite similar. It was stated earlier (Chapter 7.4: Strategies) that the statistically significant differences between the three groups were found between listening and speaking. The averages of the assessed areas were as follows: listening 3.6, writing 2.14, speaking 2.8, reading 4.14.

8.3 Kaisa: a less successful female (aged 10)

Personal history and background

Kaisa was born in Finland and has lived in the same city all her life. She is a student in the bilingual stream of Turun normaalikoulu. Her parents are Finnish and everybody speaks Finnish at home. Kaisa has one younger sister.

When Kaisa was little her parents read to her sometimes and she would occasionally look at books and read herself later on. Kaisa did not have many children's books at home when she was little. She has some books now, but she does not enjoy reading. She has a library card but she does not go to the library to borrow books.

Personality characteristics

Kaisa thinks that she is reserved, but neither quiet nor talkative. She is nervous and solitary, but at the same time describes herself as a happy-go-lucky person and quite happy. Kaisa is definitely a follower and an observer rather than a leader or an initiator. She neither likes nor dislikes herself, but she likes other people.

Kaisa corresponds with type D: she is quiet and seemingly afraid to participate, she learns slowly, and thus gets frustrated. According to her teachers, she lacks both the interest and the motivation to study.

Academic life

Kaisa's skills in her Finnish mother tongue are average, by and large. When it comes to expressing and presenting her ideas orally, however, she comes out at below average. On the other hand, she is above average in her class when it is a question of the more mechanical Finnish language skills of grammar, spelling, and punctuation. During all her classes she is quiet and seldom participates in discussions or other activities. All of her English skills are rated below average.

Below is her written description of her family:

> *I leave with my father and brother. My brother study in the same school that I.*
> *I and my brother hows name is _____ haw same room.*

Affective factors

Although the teachers' evaluations indicate that Kaisa lacks motivation and interest, the paper and pencil questionnaires prove that she is neither disinterested nor reluctant to learn. Generally she responds positively to all questions concerning school and learning: she likes to study and learn about things and enjoys being at school. She enjoys Finnish, arts and crafts and English, but dislikes mathematics.

Despite the fact that Kaisa likes being in class she feels nervous there and is inactive. She states that she would rather stay quiet and observe than talk. Before classes she asks her parents to test her so that she can avoid making mistakes. English poses one of the biggest stumbling blocks for Kaisa. Even though she likes the subject, she thinks it is difficult for her to learn it. Furthermore, she is of the opinion that not everybody can learn a foreign language. In spite of the obvious difficulties Kaisa has experienced while studying English, she has remained positive toward learning the language: she likes her teacher and thinks he/she likes her, too.

Kaisa is both instrumentally and integratively motivated, yet she responds negatively to two questions (one indicating instrumental and one integrative motivation), namely that studying a FL will enable her to get friends from the country where the FL is spoken, and when knowing a FL very well she will be appreciated more by other people.

Strategies

Kaisa's use of strategies differs from the previous cases. Her averages are typical of a subject in the Below Average group and are considerably lower in all strategy areas.
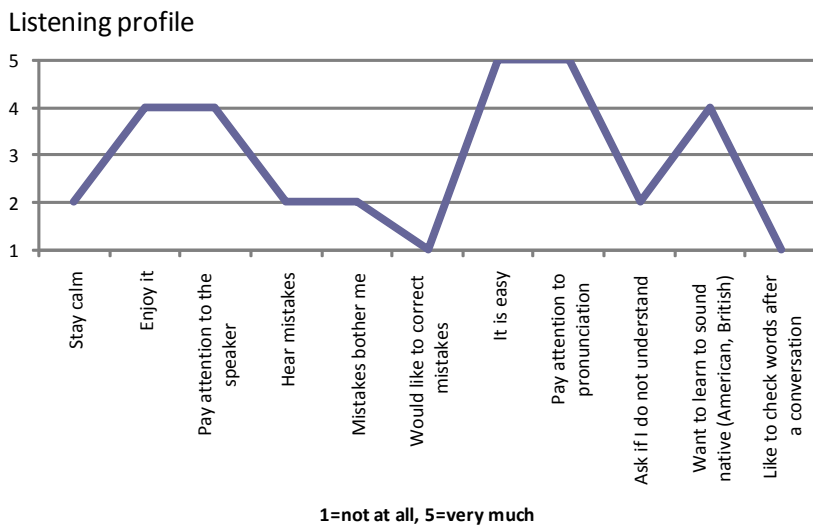
Figure 29. Kaisa's listening profile. **When I listen,** I stay calm, I enjoy it, I pay attention to the speaker, I hear mistakes, mistakes bother me, I would like to correct mistakes, it's easy, I pay attention to pronunciation , I ask if I don't understand, I want to sound like a native speaker (American/British), I like to check words after a conversation.

Writing profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
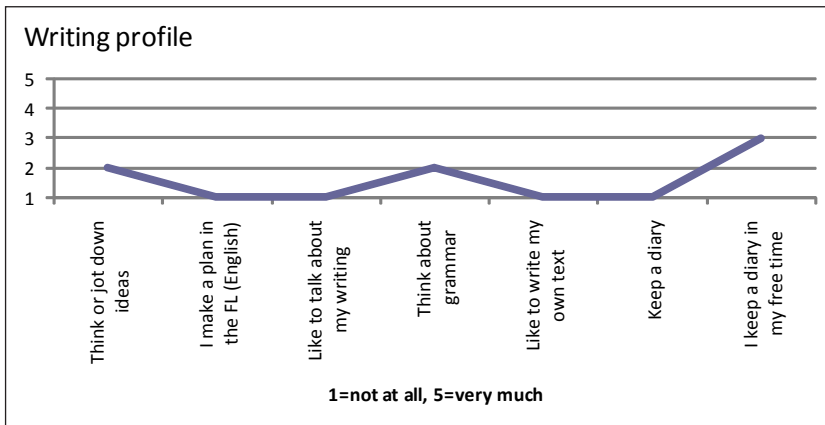
Figure 30. Kaisa's writing profile. **When I write,** I think or jot down ideas first, I make a plan in the foreign language (English), I like to talk about my writing, I think about grammar, I like to write my own text , I keep a diary, I keep a diary my free time.

Speaking profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
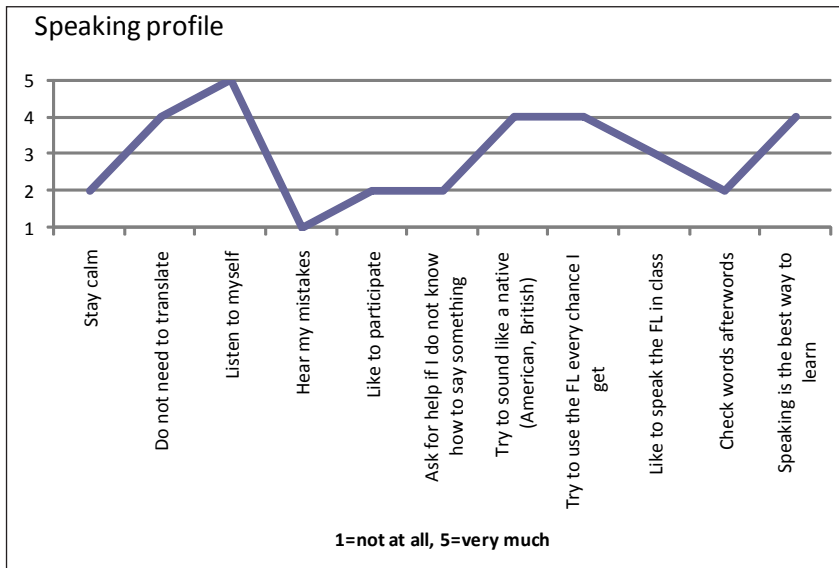
Figure 31. Kaisa's speaking profile. **When I speak,** I stay calm, I don't need to translate, I listen to myself, I hear my mistakes, I like to participate, I ask for help if I don't know how to say something, I try to sound like a native, I try to use the foreign language every chance I get, I like to speak the FL in class, I check words afterwords, I think speaking is the best way to learn.
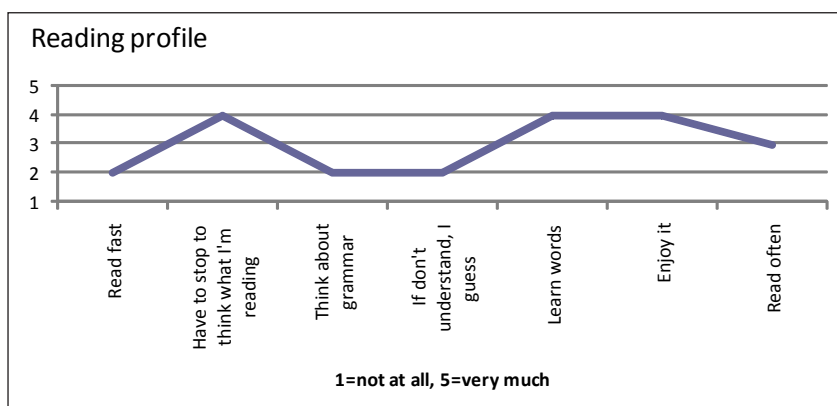
Figure 32. Kaisa's reading profile. **When I read,** I read fast, I have to stop to think what I am reading, I think about grammar, if I don't understand I guess, I learn words, I enjoy it, I read often.

When Kaisa's averages are compared to those of the successful students, it can be seen that the biggest differences in the use of strategies can be found between listening and writing. Kaisa's averages are: listening 2.9, writing 1.6, speaking 3 and reading 3. Kaisa will make a reappearance in Chapter 9.5.4. as she was interviewed in Study 3.

8.4 Jenna: a successful IB student (aged 16)

Personal history and background

Jenna was born in a town that lies about an hour's drive from Turku, where she also attended the local elementary and middle school. According to the interview, Jenna had always been keen on languages even though she did not have many opportunities to use English outside school. She read books in English and used the language to communicate when the family went abroad. Jenna's parents are both Finnish and, prior to applying for the IB, she had attended Finnish schools where she had studied English as a foreign language since third grade.

Jenna is a typical IB student who, due to her interest in international education and the English language, wanted to change schools. This meant moving away from home in order to pursue pre-university studies in a school where the content was taught through the medium of the English language.

Jenna has always been interested in reading. Her parents read to her often when she was little, and later she continued reading avidly in her free time. She has more than thirty books at home (other than school books) and she also borrows books from the library. Her parents read and subscribe to two newspapers.

Personality characteristics

Jenna is best characterized by the following adjectives: reserved, quiet, calm, happy-go-lucky, sociable, serious, follower, observer and happy. Jenna likes other people, but

not herself. At school and during class she participates, but is quiet. She also listens intensively and learns that way. She is analytical and keen on grammar.

It is clear that Jenna's personality is very different from Gerardo's and Viridiana's, who are also successful language learners. Jenna, along with many other students, belongs to the group of students who succeed in languages but do not share many of the qualities that are often associated with successful language learners. The results of the pilot also showed that certain personality characteristics are by no means prerequisites for success.

Academic life and affective factors

Jenna is an above average student in all areas. Her strongest subjects are Finnish and English, which are also her favorites. She has a very positive attitude toward studying and attending classes, and toward all school-related matters in general. Although she enjoys being at school, she is not active during classes and likes to observe and listen rather than participate herself. Jenna is strongly motivated to study English and her motivation is equally instrumental and integrative.

Strategies

Jenna differed from the previous successful students in the personality dimension as well as in her use of strategies. Her scores are the highest, approaching the peak rating of five, in both listening and reading. Her overall averages were the highest in all areas but one – speaking. Jenna's profiles in the four strategy areas are typical of all of the IB students.
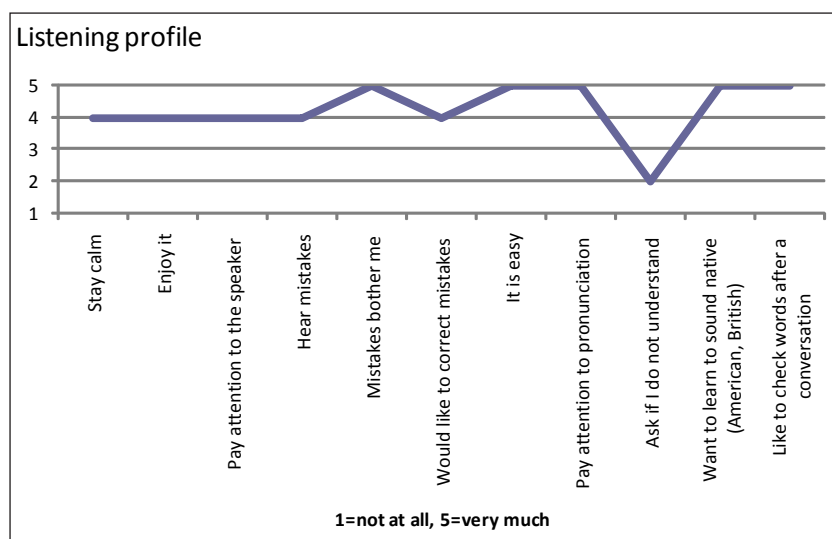

Figure 33. Jenna's listening profile. **When I listen,** I stay calm, I enjoy it, I pay attention to the speaker, I hear mistakes, mistakes bother me, I would like to correct mistakes, it's easy, I pay attention to pronunciation , I ask if I don't understand, I want to sound like a native speaker (American/British), I like to check words after a conversation.
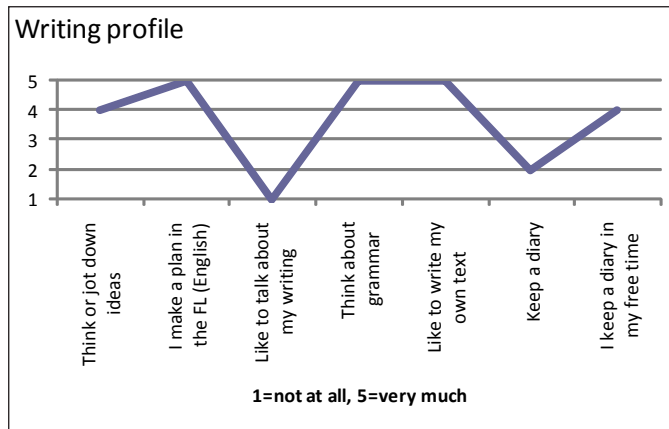
Figure 34. Jenna's writing profile. **When I write,** I think or jot down ideas first, I make a plan in the foreign language (English), I like to talk about my writing, I think about grammar, I like to write my own text , I keep a diary, I keep a diary my free time.
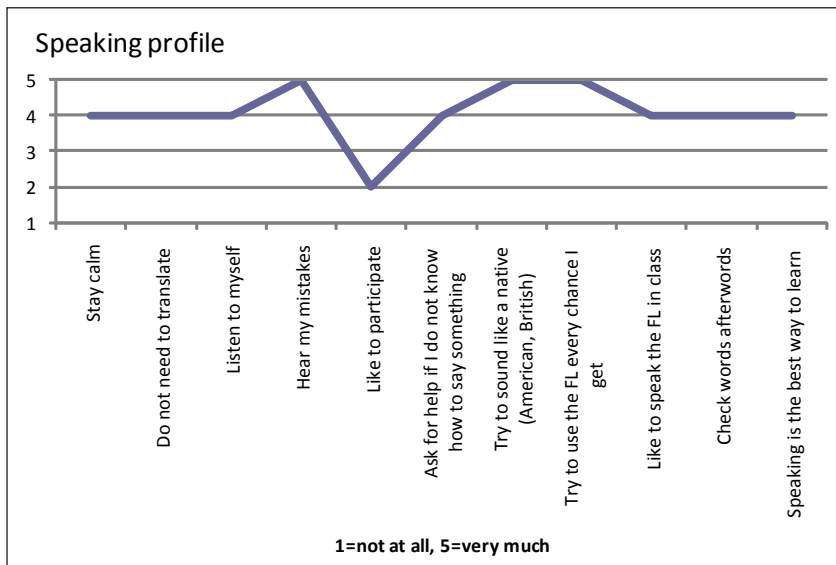
Figure 35. Jenna's speaking profile. **When I speak,** I stay calm, I don't need to translate, I listen to myself, I hear my mistakes, I like to participate, I ask for help if I don't know how to say something, I try to sound like a native, I try to use the foreign language every chance I get, I like to speak the FL in class, I check words afterwards, I think speaking is the best way to learn.

Reading profile

1=not at all, 5=very much
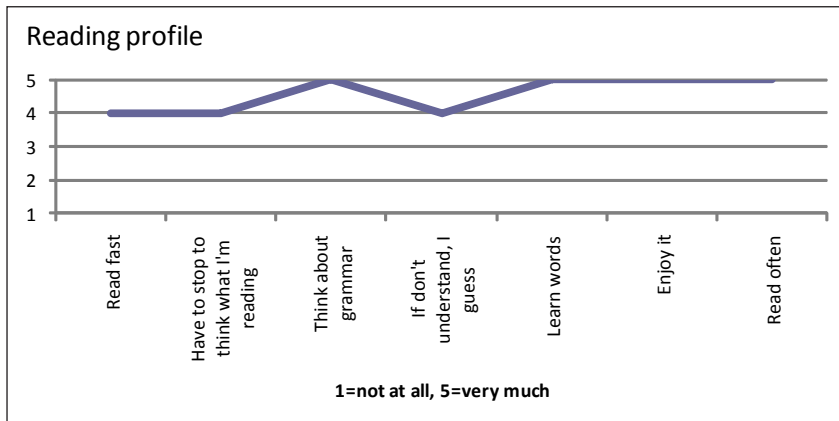
Figure 36. Jenna's reading profile. **When I read,** I read fast, I have to stop to think what I am reading, I think about grammar, if I don't understand I guess, I learn words, I enjoy it, I read often.

The averages of the assessed strategy areas were as follows: listening 4.3, writing 3.7, speaking 4.1 and reading 4.6. Jenna's results were typical of all the IB students, whose overall averages were above 4, without exception.

8.5   Conclusions

It was concluded after the quantitative analysis of the results that the students' personality characteristics in the Above Average, Average and Below Average groups did not differ significantly from each other. On closer inspection, the four cases revealed that there was variation within each group and between the groups.

The personal histories and backgrounds of the three successful students further suggest that parental support is important, as is early literacy. Gerardo and Viridiana were typical representatives of their Above Average group, both being able to recall an incident in their personal history that enhanced their early literacy: Gerardo started exchanging notes with a friend who moved away, while Viridiana translated stories for her mother. The two incidents are examples of a common feature in the successful students' background. In many interviews, similar anecdotes cropped up, signifying the importance of intrinsic motivation and the role played by parental encouragement and support.

The compositions written by the subjects indicated that not only did the more successful students write more, but they also wrote more correctly. The active nature of the successful students became clear during the interviews: all of the interviewees belonging to the Above Average or Average groups were more active in oral communication.

9   STUDY 3

In the final empirical part of this study, which will simply be called the final study or Study 3 from here on, sixteen informants from the second phase (study conducted in 1994-95) were chosen (eight American and eight Finnish) to be re-tested using the same modified test battery (Appendices 1-3) that was used in the first study in 1994-95 when the students were in the fourth grade. In addition, the subjects were asked to write a language biography focusing on the important events that had had an impact on their learning of English. Finally, the subjects were interviewed.

9.1.   Objectives and design of the study

The main objective of the final study was to ascertain what the students thought the critical aspects of their English studies had been, and for this purpose a semi-structured interview was composed. What emerged from the interviews was the importance of the social milieu, which moved the researcher away from the cognitive SLA models and studies on motivational and attitudinal factors and the use of strategies in the direction of sociocultural theory.

What will be under scrutiny here is the informants' responses to the semi-structured interview questions and the impact of the sociocultural aspects which underpin them. In the first and second phases of this study, the researcher focused on the personal histories, characteristics, strategies and motivation that had led some of the students to success. The rationale for this was to discover ways to support those students who were struggling. In this quest, however, what remained less explicit was the impact of the surrounding culture, be it the culture of the school environment or, on a much larger scale, the entire city's, state's or country's.

In a sense, the first two phases of this work follow the trend that was started in the mid-1970s when SLA research became preoccupied with the characteristics and learning strategies of successful language learners (characteristics: Naiman, Frölich & al 1996, Ellis 1991; learning strategies: O'Malley & Chamot 1990, Oxford 1990 , 1991, 1999; motivation: for example, Masgoret & Gardner 2003, Phakiti 2003, Gardner & al 2004, Csizér & Dörnyei 2005, Guilloteaux & Dörnyei 2008). All of the aspects accounted for in this study thus far are important and continue to be researched. What some researchers have called for, though, in much the same way that Brown did in the 1980s when the cognitive accounts were gaining ground from the Chomskyan linguists, is either a more holistic view (Dewaele 2005) or a theoretical model that would be complex, dynamic and adaptive rather than one that focuses on static competence (Ellis & Larsen Freeman 2006).

The final study focuses on the situated experiences of the students and the social practices in their communities, while still being mindful of the fact that the informants have different cognitive, motivational, attitudinal and personal make-ups, and the fact that they come from different backgrounds. This part of the study taps into the conversations of bilingual students who have acquired sufficient English to handle language and cultural issues that are integral to their development. Thus, the final study is mostly concerned with how the informants have experienced learning L2; the kind of conversations that they have participated in and, ultimately, what could be learned from their personal experiences. To this end, the interviews were broadly based on the following questions:

What is the relationship between L1 and L2 like?
What kind of language identity emerged during the years in bilingual education?
How aware is the learner of his or her use of L1 and L2?
What is the learner's motivation like toward knowing L1 and L2?
(The more detailed interview questions can be found in Appendix 10.)

9.2   Subjects

The 16 subjects of the final study were chosen firstly on the basis of their location and availability. The original subject group of 57 students had shrunk considerably. It was especially challenging to track down the American subjects since they had been placed in two different high schools and many of them had moved away from Milwaukee altogether. The second criterion was that the subjects had continued studying in the mainstream programs (some of the Finnish students had applied for the IB and some had moved on to different schools). Finally, the group was chosen on the basis of its representativeness of the original groupings based on school success (Below Average, Average, Above Average (for more, see Chapter 7.1.1 and Table 4). Two of the students who were introduced and whose learning profiles were presented in Chapters 8.1 and 8.3, Kaisa and Gerardo, were also interviewed in the final study. Tables 13 and 14 show the name and gender of each of the American and Finnish subjects who were interviewed in Study 3. For confidentiality reasons, the names of the respondents have been changed.

Table 13. American subjects in Study 3.

	Below Average (in the second phase study in 1994-95)	**Average** (in the second phase study in 1994-95)	**Above Average** (in the second phase study in 1994-95)
Female (N=5)		Elena Mayte Angelina Gladys Marisol	
Male (N=3)	Pedro Fausto		Gerardo

Table 14. Finnish subjects in Study 3.

	Below Average (in the second phase study in 1994-95)	Average (in the second phase study in 1994-95)	Above Average (in the second phase study in 1994-95)
Female (N=5)	Kaisa	Leila Mia Minna	Anni
Male (N=3)			Ville Jussi Petteri

9.3 Method

The subjects' responses to the 144 items in the questionnaire battery (background, motivation and attitude, strategies; Appendices 1-3) will not be dealt with separately, but rather in context and when necessary, coupled with the interview questions and the informant's responses. Kaisa and Gerardo were first interviewed in Study 2 and their profiles are presented in Chapter 8. When they were re-interviewed for Study 3, it was possible to trace the development that had taken place between the two studies.

The interviews of eight American and eight Finnish bilingual students have been analyzed in the light of sociocultural theory and its propositions. Despite the fact that the questions in the semi-structured interview had been developed in line with the cognitive models, while analyzing the responses it became evident that sociocultural theory offered a coherent framework for the interpretation of the attained results, and was readily applicable to the context in which the students had been learning.

9.4 Results

The way in which the interviewees' responses are presented in the following chapters loosely follows the order of the research questions outlined in Chapter 9.1. In addressing the research questions, the responses reflect the subjects' attitudes toward, and engagement in, the surrounding communities. The selection of students corresponds with the original Above Average, Average and Below Average division explained in Chapter 7.1.1. Rather than taking a macro perspective on the bilingual learner, a micro perspective was taken instead. This was done in order to gain a better understanding of the variations in the learning curves and to complete the profiles of the bilingual learners who were first studied in 1994-95. Study 3 was conducted in the students' final year of high school. In the final study I will attempt to situate the learning experiences of the subjects in terms of language identity, relationships between L1 and L2 and awareness of language. Even though language development as such has not been studied, it has implicitly been a part of this study. Hence, the students' responses are authentic, giving the reader an indication of their L2 levels after 12 years of school.

9.4.1 The case of Petteri and Ville

When asked about their preferences for using either Finnish or English, most of the Finnish students mentioned that they speak Finnish with their family and friends and prefer their L1. Reasons given were along the lines of:

> *it's my native language*
> *Because I use it more than English.*

What is interesting in the cases of Ville and Petteri, who have both been successful language learners, is their attitude toward L1 and L2. Like most of the Finnish subjects, Ville uses Finnish most often outside school, but when he was asked which language he relates to most closely, he commented:

> *They are about the same. I communicate with them both. Just Finnish I use more face-to-face, while English I use more in emailing and the internet, stuff like that.*

Petteri

> *Basically Finnish. But my mom is the best language speaker in our family and sometimes I talk in English or Swedish with her.*

And he continues:

> *Well, I think I've become to think more in English by myself when I'm at home. I'm trying to think in English and in Swedish as much as possible because it helps me to become familiar with the language in everyday life instead of in school and in these subjects we discuss in school.*

Petteri's final comment where he mentions everyday life is an interesting deviation from the rest of the responses offered by the Finnish subjects. He clearly strives to engage in the kinds of discussions that English-speaking people engage in. It is not enough for him to learn low-frequency academic words to do well in school assignments: in order to participate in the kinds of discussions he is clearly intent on, he needs semiotic artifacts that are more colloquial in nature. Being outside of an authentic L2 community, he resorts to talking to himself. Later on he reveals how he also thinks to himself.

> *I'm just thinking what I should do next and what I'm going to do later on during the day and everything – just thinking in this language.*

Whether this is what is meant by "inner speech" and "thinking to oneself" or "languaging" remains open to debate because it is suggested that through languaging – the use of speaking and writing – an individual mediates cognitively complex activities, and as a result of these activities the individual develops both cognitively and affectively. The debatable aspect here is not so much the informant's desire to acculturate, but rather whether everyday speech can be regarded as a "complex activity". I claim that this is the case because, for an L2 speaker, the most demanding aspects are often those phrases used

in everyday spoken language. Further into the interview, it becomes evident that Petteri is sensitive to his L1 sociocultural context, the Finnish community, and the possible reactions toward someone talking or even thinking in a foreign language that is different from the mainstream language. When asked whether his thinking to himself or talking to himself is a quiet process he responds:

> *No, I sometimes do it out loud as well. I sometimes wake up, "Oh, my God, I'm talking to myself" – but if no one hears it, it's okay.*

Ville has found a way to engage in the activities of international English communities on the web. This comes up when the interviewer asks him questions about his attitude to L1 and L2.

Ville:

> *I don't think about it that much. When I'm writing (in English) I think about how to say something and how to say it in a better way and stuff like that. In speaking, I usually don't think about anything. It just comes naturally.*

When the interviewer asks Ville whether he functions the same way in L1, he responds:

> *No, in Finnish I just never come up with a better alternative to say something, but in English I come up with a better sentence that has nicer vocabulary and stuff like that – stuff that usually results in extra points.*

But even though Ville does not pay much attention to the way he speaks English, he does pay attention to the way other people speak it:

> *A little bit… Well, some mistakes which I could maybe correct. But in a longer conversation I try to avoid that because it gets boring if I'm all the time correcting someone's mistakes.*

Interviewer: Do you do it quietly to yourself or out loud?

> *I rather point them out or ignore. I don't think to myself.*

Interviewer: Does it work for you to ignore mistakes?

> *I just sort of turn it off, like click…*

Interviewer: Does the same thing happen in writing?

> *Yeah, usually yes, because I deal with Brazilians and with people from Kuala Lumpur. They make a lot of mistakes so you have to learn to ignore them.*

Petteri seems to behave in a similar manner as far as errors are concerned:

> *…I've always been the annoying one who points out all the mistakes. Especially my little brother is all fed up with me, always correcting everything. Well, I try to learn from other people as much as possible because especially when I listen to music, there's – are – very many words that I've learned when I've checked*

*them afterwards and then I've learned them and I can use them. And I pay
attention to other people when they talk or the texts that I read.*

When there is no other way to engage in the activities of the L2 community, the internet
and television serve as substitutes for an authentic L2 environment. The fact that the
subjects have lacked an authentic L2 environment (notwithstanding the one provided in
class) has not prevented them from engaging in L2 activities: both Ville and Petteri have
established alternative ways of gaining access to the social networks of their communities.
Petteri's "community" takes the form of his mother, as well as an imaginary one with
whom he mediates using English that one needs *"in everyday life instead of in school and
in these subjects you discuss in school"*. Ville's interest in programming and the internet
has led him physically further afield than Petteri. His L2 community is an international
one consisting of real people from all over the world.

9.4.2 Gerardo revisited

Gerardo also belongs to the Above Average group and uses mostly Spanish at home:
There are, however, certain situations where he would rather speak English even outside
school:

*Most of the time when we have regular conversations we speak Spanish if
we're on the street and so on, you know. But if it's English it's just – for kinda
just hanging out.*

When Gerardo was asked which language he relates to most closely, he responds:

*Spanish. Because that's the language I learned since birth and, you know, it's
just like, it feels more familiar. English I still use, kind of like – there's really not
much difference between them – it's just that Spanish, I feel more comfortable
speaking it.*

What strikes one as odd in Gerardo's case, and which does not become apparent from the
scripted interview responses, is that he does not have an accent; his intonation, diction
and pace do not differ from those of his monolingual English-speaking peers. When
he answers the questions about language usage, he hesitates and searches for words
or a way to express what he means by – *for kinda just hanging out.* The researcher's
interpretation of Gerardo's behavior and choice of language, namely English, on the
street is that first, he has a desire to engage and secondly, he has acquired the necessary
tools to do so already. English is not an issue for him, but it is an obstacle for many of his
peers, which becomes apparent later on. Finally, when asked whether his preference for
using either Spanish or English has changed over the years, he states:

*No, not really, except when you get to that point when you can speak fluently
another language, then that's the point when you kinda just – sometimes you
feel that you just wanna speak one language or the other.*

When Gerardo talks about whether he feels different when speaking Spanish as opposed to English, he says:

> *Well, it depends because when you use different languages. To me it feels kinda like different because if I use Spanish, I'm, I don't know, I just say different things and feel a little different about different opinions. If you talk in English, you kinda get that, you kinda switch a little bit your personality to fit into the type of vocabulary that you have.*

To get Gerardo to elaborate on the way in which he feels different, the interviewer asks him how the English-speaking community treats him and what their attitude toward him is:

> *I don't understand the question but what you mean is that if they treat you differently because if you already speak the language than if you're just learning it. It's just that people don't really judge you on whether you know it (language) or not, pretty much it's just the person you are but sometimes you know, you can tell, I don't know. It's just something in people's minds that tells you, if you're, like, one of them, kinda like you were raised like them. Then you know, you feel more comfortable. Like if I come here and I got a friend from Korea that came for an exchange. You know, it's like, we can't talk about the same stuff like that I would talk with somebody who is from Puerto Rico. You know, I talk about different things and I ask them different questions. You know, like curiosity, you ask them like "How is it over there?" It's pretty much like being friends but to an extent kinda, not like judging them. You would behave friendly but different.*

The comments that Gerardo makes will be echoed in many of the American subjects' responses. His wordy explanation reflects, without academic jargon, the position that the current SCT research into SLA takes on the role played by community. Subsequently, both Marisol and Gladys reflect on their observations about their identities.

9.4.3 The cases of Elena, Gladys and Marisol – average American subjects

When asked about positive or negative experiences that had had an effect on their identity regarding their L2 learning, all of the American female subjects mentioned situations in which they had felt insecure or nervous because of English. This came as a surprise to the interviewer because many of the subjects had lived most of their life in the US, having constant exposure to English, and all but one spoke English very fluently. Nevertheless, the feeling of not being accepted or not being a part of the community had affected their L2 learning. The Finns, on the other hand, despite being deprived of an English-speaking community, did not report similar negative experiences. Most of them simply mentioned how their personality changes when they use L2: the talkative ones become less talkative and outgoing when they have to speak English.

Elena became more determined to learn English because of her classroom experiences:

> *I remember, I used to cry a lot, especially in the class. 'Cause I remember one time when we were in math class, I just saw the teacher moving his mouth like ba-ba-ba-ba and I didn't know what he was saying, so I just started crying. So, the students around me, they just laugh at me because they didn't know why I was crying. So, seeing them made me like sad, at the same time mad, like I had to learn English so they don't have to do this anymore. I have to like defend myself. That's basically it.*

When Elena reflects on whether she behaves differently when speaking L1 compared to L2, she comments:

> *When I speak English I behave like more, like behave like professional, well, not professional, like giving you a good point of view, a good impression. When I speak Spanish, it's just like speaking, like, I don't know. I just talk like nothing.*

To "just talk like nothing" occurs when you know you are accepted and consequently have no need to monitor what you are saying. Elena is, again, a typical example of a fluent English speaker who still feels insecure about her language skills and unnecessarily puts pressure on herself when she has to speak English, which in turn affects her production of L2.

Elena:

> *Right now I'm very nervous because I'm speaking English and since I don't speak it that much. And when I speak Spanish, it's just like I'm happy and I'm talking it just like that, like nothing. It just comes and right now I have to think before I talk.*

Later she mentions how she should pay more attention to pronunciation:

> *Like my pronunciation, that's basically it. When I get nervous, I speak very fast and not even, not even I can understand myself.*

Gladys starts by talking about how she was pressured by her monolingual English peers in elementary school:

> *There were like all these intelligent people like trying to make us feel bad – like – I would get out of the class but Ms A would say "Oh don't worry, you're gonna learn"… And I would stay after school. Books like this big (draws in the air), you know.*

On the other hand, later on in the interview Gladys continues on the same topic and reveals how the monolingual Spanish community sometimes places equal pressure on her:

... like a person from Puerto Rico knows only Spanish. And they treat you (Gladys herself) wrong because you're know Spanish and English... Because they go like, you're better than me because you know Spanish and English and I'm never gonna learn English, you know. It feels bad at first but if you get into it, you learn.

What is puzzling in this response is the last comment "if you get into it, you learn". What she means by 'you learn' here is unclear. Learning the ways to engage and participate in communication? Learning more about the Spanish-speaking community in order to be a part of it? It seems that Gladys is a typical bilingual student caught between two communities who both have their own artifacts (history, stories, jargon, meditational tools) and learning them is the key to becoming a fully-fledged member of the community. The participation metaphor comes alive when the American subjects talk about their experiences: it is not so much about knowing enough words or having the right grammar or accent, it is more about knowing the conversational conventions which are typical of the culture one wishes to become a part of (McDermott, 1993:295).

Marisol begins to respond to the question about whether she feels that she behaves the same way in an L1 and L2 environment in a soft, quiet voice:

When I speak English, really polite. Like – with – this and that.

And continues at an increasing volume, almost shouting in the end:

In Spanish I'm polite, too, but there's a difference, yeah. Because in Spanish I speak loud, loud, loud and in English – my voice is kinda loud, you know – in English I'm like, "Would you excuse me" (whispers), in Spanish "il companiso" (reverts to her loud voice) which means excuse me, you know.

Marisol expresses anger at the fact that both she and her mother are treated differently. She goes on at length about this, stressing the fact that it happens although she knows English.

... and sometimes when I go to important places – (changes her voice) this is a little girl, she won't understand – but, you know, they'll be talking behind my back and I'm like "Hello, I speak English, I understand what you're saying" and then turn around and they call me, you know "How are you?" and you know, they were talking behind my back, and now they're calling me really nice. I've had situations when it's happened really bad, like that, you know. They think that only because I'm Mexican, I don't speak English. I know some people don't but I do. Last time they were talking about my mom, you know, and my mom

says "Oh my God, they're talking about me. How can they. I understand. You
know, she doesn't understand that much English but she understands. Yeah, that
happens you know. It really don't matter, I ignore it, you know.

Marisol's response illustrates how difficult it is for the American subjects to gain access to the social networks of their English-speaking communities. The experiences that many of them have had affect their willingness to engage. The fact that Marisol is a fluent speaker of English and yet has to keep proving it to native English speakers, frustrates her. She is also sensitive enough to notice things in her L1 environment, but which she may sometimes misinterpret. Yet these observations and experiences clearly place constraints on her full participation in the community and pose an obstacle to her L2 learning. Despite the fact that Marisol has had positive, encouraging school experiences in her ESL classes overall, they are not sufficient to make her feel at ease when interacting in L2 situations outside school.

9.4.4 Kaisa, Pedro and Fausto – subjects with different learning profiles

When examining the backgrounds of Kaisa, Pedro and Fausto, some commonalities can be detected. In the 1994-95 study, the three subjects were all in the Below Average student category. Fausto had no interest in reading and was never read to when he was little. Kaisa and Pedro, however, had some books at home and were sometimes read to as children. In the final study, they all indicate that they read little in both L1 and L2. All three also consider that their reading and writing skills in English are not very good. Based on their grades, however, Kaisa has developed tremendously, especially in writing, which she comments on in her language biography. Pedro and Fausto both still struggle with English, despite the fact that they are exposed to the language at school and use it at home as well. The crucial element in Pedro's and Fausto's cases is the lack of involvement in L2 community activities.

The average length of an interview was 35 minutes, but in the cases of Kaisa, Fausto and Pedro the interviews lasted less than 15 minutes, which in itself indicates that they were either unwilling to talk about their L2 experiences or that they simply had little to say. Of course, it may also point to the fact that they were reluctant to talk to an adult, which is something I will discuss in the conclusions to the final study. As they talked less than the other subjects, the researcher resorted to other data that was collected. Kaisa's language biography reveals that her writing has improved tremendously, which is something she herself comments on. Both Pedro and Fausto, on the other hand, write very little, opting for bullet points rather than prose. They were also the only ones who did not write a composition when asked to do so.

Both Pedro's and Fausto's families use two languages at home. Fausto uses English with his brothers, and Pedro with his mother. Pedro says that he identifies more closely with the Spanish language, but when he is asked which language he prefers to use, he says:

> *I use both of them. It doesn't matter…*
> *It's hard to explain it* (the difference between English and Spanish)*. You know, if they ask you a question you answer the same, it's just another language.*

But when questioned on how the English-speaking community treats him, he feels that there is a difference:

> *They would treat you bad if you were from other places and they would just treat you, not like the other people from their own group.*

The profile that emerges from Fausto's and Pedro's interviews is different from the rest of the American subjects in the sense that they have very little to say about the surrounding L1 community, either positively or negatively. It soon becomes apparent that they have few friends there and consequently participate very little in its activities. They have not become accepted members of the L1 community, which in their cases is also due to that fact that they have consciously avoided opportunities to connect. Fausto writes in his language biography (a bullet point):

> *When* (he was young) *I will go to the store I just will point at the thing that I wanted.*

In another bullet point illustrating his behavior today, he writes:

> *Most of the time I was at school I will take Spanish because I was afred to say it wrong.*

And the final comment that he makes in writing about his language learning development:

> *then a friend of toll me to just talk and that if I said a word wrong that he will just corrected my.*

Fausto's last comment is touching, exemplifying the significance of moving from an exclusively Spanish community to a mixed or English-dominant one. The concept of *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave & Wenger 1991), which endeavors to describe the changes of engagement in particular social practices that entail learning, is crystallized in Fausto's example. His comment signals a desire to develop: to move from limited participation to fuller participation where L2 is involved.

Kaisa does not have very much contact with L2 speakers, although she mentions that her aunt lives in the US and she has two children her age, who do not speak Finnish at all. She mentions in her biography that this initially inspired her to study English, but she does not indicate whether she has had any contact with them over the years. Kaisa was

interested in English until she had to start writing it, which posed the biggest hurdle for her as far as her L2 development was concerned. As she points out:

> *… but when we started to write I started to have serious trouble. I couldn't write anything. It took almost 6 grades for me to learn it. Now, when I look at my 7th grade English notebooks I have to laugh. I couldn't write as simple as cousin. The only thing I learned in junior high* (she means elementary school) *was to understand English. I know that if I hadn't been in such a class* (bilingual class) *I would be as lousy in english as in other foreign languages* (Swedish, French).

Although Pedro and Fausto have studied in an English-speaking environment and taken most of their high school classes in English, neither their willingness to speak in English nor their writing have improved to the extent that Kaisa's have. Her writing, as can be seen from the extract taken from her biography, is indeed quite good today. It's almost error-free and has a clear structure, whereas the male informants' compositions are less structured and shorter. Kaisa, surprisingly, did not use any Finnish (not even individual words) during the interview, although in the end she admitted how talking in English was a great effort for her.

When asked about how they would like to improve their English, all three responded that they would like to develop their writing skills. In addition, Pedro mentions how he would also like to polish his speaking skills.

Fausto

> *Writing - writing, just write, words and read them and get them on my mind.*

Pedro

> *Yeah, you could write more and get somebody to help you or give you something to write on. Speak it or write it*

Kaisa

> *Yes, in writing, yes.*
> *To write words right.*

Fausto's comment about how he desires to get words into his head by just writing and reading makes no mention of other people. Pedro, on the other hand, makes an implicit reference to interlocutors when he says "speak it". Kaisa, who has no interaction with English speakers, feels that the best way for her to develop is to write.

9.5   Conclusion

On the basis of the interviews, it can be stated that those subjects previously categorized as successful in Study 2 remained successful in the final study. In Study 3, in the American

sample, Pedro and Fausto, who were characterized as less successful (Below Average in Study 2), had still not achieved a level in L2 which they would have felt comfortable with. On the other hand, Kaisa, a Finnish subject labeled less successful in Study 2, had progressed and attained a good level of confidence in both reading and writing in L2. It is open to question whether Pedro and Fausto excluded themselves from the surrounding English community to such an extent that Kaisa ultimately had more exposure to English although she lived in a Finnish environment. As I taught in the same school where Kaisa was a student, I saw how fortunate she was to have a supportive class environment. She had not been forced to undergo a change of school, losing friends in the process, nor was she under any pressure to prove herself to new teachers or peers. I would claim that she benefitted from both the compassionate peers that she had had since elementary school, as well as the consistent support of her L2 teachers..

The linguistic background of the successful American subject, Gerardo, is monolingual: both his parents communicate with him in Spanish only, as do all the members of his immediate family (grandparents and other close family members). Yet, he uses L2 in and outside school fluently. Viridiana, a female subject in Study 2, has a similar linguistic background to Gerardo's, the difference being that her mother speaks hardly any English at all. In both these cases, a strong L1 and subsequently a strong Hispanic cultural heritage fostered in their homes has helped them to build a strong L1 base. This is contrary to what happened in the homes of Pedro and Fausto, where both English and Spanish were used between family members. What is remarkable in the findings is that Gerardo and Viridiana (Chapters 8.1 and 8.2) have succeeded in engaging in activities in L2 as well as in L1, although Gerardo is aware of how his personality changes when he uses the two languages. The extract from the interview where he explains how he feels "in English" and "in Spanish" was an eye-opener for the researcher and a perfect example of how sociocultural theory and situated learning works in practice, namely how the notion of *legitimate peripheral participation* suggested by Lave and Wenger (1991) is realized.

> *Well, it depends because when you use different languages. To me it feels kinda like different because if I use Spanish, I'm, I don't know, I just say different things and feel a little different about different opinions. If you talk in English, you kinda get that, you kinda switch a little bit your personality to fit into the type of vocabulary that you have.*

What Gerardo's response exemplifies is the way in which the physical and social L2 environment has been a source of mental development. The mediational means, in Gerardo's words "the type of vocabulary that you have", have allowed him to become a full participant in both L1 and L2 contexts. According to Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 135), legitimate peripheral participation allows us to see what has traditionally been regarded as the failure to learn in a different light. Sometimes what indeed happens (even if it has not necessarily been the goal) is that members learn to take on a less

empowered role in a community of practice because of the kinds of participation made available to them. Toohey (2001, Zuengler & Miller 2006) considers whether it might be helpful to view some learners as having been marginalized into positions in schools or other communities of practice which perpetuate their peripheral participation, rather than to consign their poor success in L2 learning merely to their failure to learn. Pedro and Fausto seem to fit this characterization of marginalization, having acquired no voice as yet in their communities.

Full membership of the L1, and sometimes even the L2 community, and participation in its activities has not been possible for the American subjects. Their engagement has been hampered by their negative experiences. Gerardo's and, previously, Viridiana's strong L1 (Spanish) identities seemed to help them acquire a similar position in their L2 communities.

10 DISCUSSION

In the final chapter of this study, the overall aims, reliability and validity will be addressed first. After that, the main findings of Study 2 will be discussed with reference to the research questions. The links between the theories and the main findings will then be examined to establish whether the theories achieved their purpose, firstly in generating meaningful research questions, and secondly, in serving, on the basis of the findings, as general theories of SLA in the manner that Long (1990, 2007) suggests they should. In Long's view, a theory should bring order out of chaos, and should provide a ready means of interpreting the findings. This will be implicitly dealt with here. Finally, the limitations of this study will be discussed and suggestions offered for future Finnish educational stakeholders.

10.1 Overall aim of the study and its reliability and validity

The overall aim of this study was to learn about the characteristics of language learners; of those who succeed in their attempt to learn L2 and of those who fare less well. The research at hand comprises three interrelated studies: the Pilot Study and Studies 2 and 3, both of which were designed after the Pilot Study had been completed. In the Pilot Study, the subjects were Finnish high-school-age IB students (16-17 years old), who, on the basis of their school performance, were characterized as successful. Studies 2 and 3 were conducted in both Finland and the United States. In these two studies, the subjects were elementary school age (9-10 year olds) and high school age (16-17 year olds): the American subjects attended a bilingual elementary school and the two groups of Finnish subjects a CLIL class and an IB high school class, both programs being offered by the same school.

On the basis of the Pilot Study, four research questions were formulated and a battery of questionnaires tapping into the socio-economic background of the subjects as well as their personality, motivation and attitudes was devised. In addition to paper and pencil methods, data were obtained through interviews and compositions. Hence both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered when seeking answers to the research questions.

Reliability and validity

In general, reliability in empirical research refers to the consistency of observations across variations in observers or in the observation process. It involves 'warrants', or propositions used to justify the link between the observed performance and the observation results. In quantitative research, reliability is linked to measurement theory, providing a range of mathematical procedures which substantiate warrants about the measurement's reliability (Bachman 2004). The statistical procedures that were employed in this research

were discussed in Chapter 7, where the empirical data were presented. The measuring instruments that were used included the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB, available in Gardner 1985) and the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning, SILL (Oxford 1990, 1991). Both have been widely applied, and the AMTB in particular has generally been acknowledged as incorporating good psychometric properties, including construct and predictive validity (Dörnyei 2005:70, Gardner 1985).

When administering the AMTB questionnaire for the first time in the Pilot Study, it was apparent that some of the questions were somewhat demanding even for the IB students, who were highly proficient in English. These questions were therefore simplified, and translations into Spanish and Finnish were made available while the students were taking the test. In addition, a paraprofessional was on hand in the States to assist me in class during the administration of the questionnaires and to help the students in their L1 if necessary. This was not called for in Finland because I administered the test myself, and therefore could readily translate if required (a Finnish translation of the questionnaire was also available on a transparency in class, however). The administration plan for the instruments originally included three phases: piloting (Study 1), testing (Study 2) and retesting (Study 3). The third phase did not materialize as initially envisaged due to the fact that only a fraction of the 1994-1995 American subjects could be traced in Milwaukee and retested. Hence, a computational analysis of reliability in the form of correlations between the phase 2 and phase 3 tests was not carried out. However, multiple methods were used to corroborate data sources. By dint of this, triangulation was employed to ensure that the data gathered with quantitative instruments were always complemented by qualitative data (for more on the method and different types of triangulation see for example Cohen & al. 2007). The consistency and correspondence between the studied phenomena becomes clear when the data from questionnaires, interviews and compositions are compared.

Evidence which validates qualitative research can be provided by carefully documenting and reporting the details of the observation procedure. A rich description of the participants, the situation and the researcher's role in the observation process should be given. In addition, the theoretical perspective should be clearly stated (Bachman 2004). To meet the criteria set for qualitative research, the context of this study was described in some detail. In this respect, it is particularly important to understand the role of bilingual Spanish speakers in the US, where they represent a minority (and a threat to many people as such). In comparison, the Finns represent a group of majority language speakers, who mostly use English in simulated situations at school. Thus, there is a stark contrast between the social standing of the two groups that were observed.

This could cast doubt on the validity of the study and therefore the setting was described in as much detail as possible. Data gathering, in the form of questionnaires, interviews

and composition writing, took place in the respective schools. The schools can be regarded as representative of any bilingual school in the Mid-West and the south of Finland. The subjects were chosen from schools where I had worked, although the choice of the bilingual school in America came about more by chance than design (I applied for a Fulbright scholarship and could have been placed in any bilingual American school).

The fact that I became a familiar face in both settings was an advantage when it came to administering the tests and, in my view, also helped in obtaining trustworthy responses. I was not directly involved in teaching the students who took part in the study, although I worked in both schools which the informants attended. It is debatable whether this fact serves to increase validity, or detract from it. It is possible that some students gave responses which they anticipated the "teacher" would like to receive, but the fact that there was no direct teacher-student test interface, coupled with the detailed explanation of the purpose of the research for the students should have made it clear that there were no right or wrong answers.

Working in the school in question while conducting this study facilitated many aspects that contributed to the validity of the research: when working in an instructional setting, and a bilingual one at that, you are exposed to the pragmatic issues of bilingual education and the learners who partake in it. Both informal and more formal discussions bolstered the validity of the research and ultimately helped when it came to formulating the research questions. The specialists who were particularly significant in the process were the special education teachers, remedial reading teachers, school psychologists and bilingual class teachers. The validation of the research questions was an ongoing process in the school context and once they were crystallized, a theoretical basis needed to be provided to justify the questions, and furthermore to decide on the methods and devise the instruments.

The broad theoretical framework that characterizes my view of language learning is set out in Chapter 3. In many instances, to reiterate what has been said before, an attempt has been made to explain how the SLA theories have shaped this research. Needless to say, although I have expanded my theoretical horizons during this process, the Cummins Model remains closest to my view of language learning. The Cummins Model, combined with Sociocultural Theory, underpinned the final Study to a great extent.

What remains to be addressed is the meaningfulness of the interpretations that I have made on the basis of the attained data, and the extent to which my interpretations can be generalized beyond this study. While working in America, I was able to attend my first TESOL conference (TESOL Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), which opened the door to the wider community of bilingual teachers. I have been able to participate in six other TESOL conferences while conducting this research, which has made it possible to discuss the interpretation of the data and the links between the

theories and practice with leading professionals in the field. Additionally, I was able to witness the rise of Sociocultural Theory in SLA first-hand. Lectures by Pavlenko (2000, 2001, 2003b-d), van Lier (2003, 2006) and Larsen-Freeman (2000, 2006a & b) at TESOL conferences, in addition to two research workshops in that context, guided me in the interpretation process while conducting Study 3. In addition, the interpretations were discussed with my Finnish colleague, with Dr Heini-Marja Järvinen, among others.

It was decided that in order to make the interpretations as transparent as possible, a wealth of authentic material would be included. This derived mostly from the interviews but, sometimes data were added from questionnaires or compositions. Hence, the reader has quite a good basis for deciding whether the interpretations are meaningful and generalizable beyond this research. What suggests that this is indeed the case is the fact that links have consistently been established to SLA theory throughout (Sociocultural Theory and Cummins, in particular).

According to Holliday (2004), the boundaries in current qualitative research are becoming blurred and researchers are increasingly employing a range of methods to explore the issues which interest and concern them. Holliday's view is clearly very radical when it comes to assessing the validity and reliability of any research. He suggests that postmodern researchers should be able to think outside the box and reinvent their approaches as and when they need to. Although this research is not nearly as radical as postmodern research can be, it could ostensibly be regarded as such in the way it combines data, and in the discernible postmodern twist in Study 3.

10.2 Discussion on the results of Study 2

1. Personal characteristics
Which personality traits are characteristic of the subjects?
Which personality traits do the subjects have in common?

The findings of this study suggest that the successful students (Above Average and Average groups) possessed many of the following personality characteristics: outgoing, talkative, calm, social, carefree, leader, initiator and happy. In addition, the successful students had a positive self-image. As the study did not delve into causal relationships, it is likely that the less able students' dislike of themselves and negative self-image could be a direct result of failure at school. This could be true of the other characteristics as well: they may merely be symptoms of an overall poor achievement level. Similarly, the introverted, quiet nature of the less successful students could simply point to poor verbal skills, and thus would not be a reason for their learning difficulties.

2. Personal histories and backgrounds
Are there common features in the subjects' personal histories that could be linked to success in language learning?
Do successful language learners have similar backgrounds with regard to early literacy and their parents' role?

The background/ history variables that were found to be closely linked to success in this study included the parents' role as guides to early literacy: reading aloud, and providing books for the children. Early literacy facilitates the development of L1, which in turn helps the acquisition of L2. The majority of the successful students (over 90%) were read to (in their MT) when they were little, hence it seems that the subjects who had established their skills in the mother tongue had better chances of succeeding in the L2. In this study, the parents' socio-economic status seemed to be insignificant with regard to success.

3. Affective factors (motivation and attitude, anxiety)
What are the subjects' motivation and attitude toward L1 and L2?
Are the subjects' motivation and attitude toward school and L2 similar?
What is the subjects' attitude toward themselves as language learners? How pronounced is the role of anxiety in the successful language learners' profiles?

The Above Average and Average groups were motivated to study English, whereas the less successful students had lower scores in all of the questions relating to either instrumental or integrative motivation. The sociopsychological model from which the motivational/attitudinal questions emerged served its measuring purpose well, although the Finnish subjects did not live in a bilingual environment.

All the subjects, across the proficiency and nationality boundaries, were equally positive about studying, learning, being at school and their teachers, which is a trend that should at a later stage lower even the less successful students' anxiety levels. In the school context, the facilitating role of the teacher is important: liking vs. disliking the teacher can either enhance or impede SLA respectively. In this study, the teachers had a positive impact on the students. However, despite the teachers' positive role, the less able students felt more nervous when studying and used fewer strategies than their more successful peers. The preference for workbook exercises over more creative types of work, and writing with a peer rather than alone, can indicate the less able students' need to have clear, well-structured exercises, or it may indicate their lack of task-specific strategies, for example, which is an interesting, yet speculative idea.

4. Strategies
Which strategies do successful language learners use?
Do strategies play a major role with regard to success in language classes?

Do successful language learners monitor, attend to form, attend to meaning, guess and have a strong drive to communicate more than their less successful peers?

In this study, Questionnaire 4: Skills and Strategies was fashioned after the SILL inventory by Oxford. The variables were grouped under the four skills: listening, writing, speaking and reading, in order to garner data with regard to task-specific strategies. The successful students deviated from the less successful ones in three domains: listening, speaking and reading. The differences in the use of listening and speaking strategies were quite interesting for a number of reasons. Communication can only take place if the receiver understands the sender's message, during which process listening skills are needed. Furthermore, if communication is to continue, speaking skills are needed. In a school environment, listening and speaking skills are the ones that students learn first in any language; they are the primary skills after which the secondary, academic skills of reading and writing start to develop. The differences between the older and younger students would provide further evidence of this: the IB students' use of all four skills differed from the two elementary groups, producing higher scores in all four skill domains.

5. Differences between Finnish and American elementary school students in bilingual programs
Do successful students in both American and Finnish groups have similar profiles?

The subjects of the present study were a fairly homogeneous group in many respects. They all seemed to enjoy being in a bilingual class and most of them succeeded well in that kind of learning context: the majority liked school, languages, math and learning in general. Only 16 percent (N = 15) of the entire subject group (96) were defined as less successful, and there were no poor students at all. This is in line with Seikkula-Leino's study where she concludes that the number of low achievers is limited, and furthermore that all students benefit from studying in CLIL classes (Seikkula-Leino 2005).

The two elementary samples were similar with regard to their performance in L1 and L2, but the IB students differed from them significantly, succeeding in both L1 and L2. The IB group is of interest since it is a group consisting of screened students who, prior to entering the bilingual program, were tested in L1, English and math. Most of the IB students were above average in all academic subjects, not only L1. Yet, despite being high achievers, they were not necessarily active participants during classroom instruction. On the contrary, they participated but the majority described themselves as quiet. Hence, a classroom situation where students are passively learning by listening and processing the information flow can be deceiving. The talkative ones get more attention but, at the same time, a multitude of cognitive processes (both linguistic and subject-matter-oriented) may be taking place within the quiet ones. Apart from the IB sample, the study did not find any major differences between the two countries.

The less successful students in the American sample performed in a similar way to the Finnish students, while the Above Average group performed well in both L1 and L2 and differed from the other two groups in their use of strategies. In the groups of students that were interviewed in the final study, Study 3, the Finns expressed less anxiety toward using English than their American peers, which may have something to do with the contexts of the learners. As a minority group, Hispanic students encounter more negative attitudes toward them than the Finnish students, most of whom were of Finnish descent. When compared, the interactions in L2 between the Spanish speaking and Finnish speaking subjects are very different: while the American subjects experience high-stakes, real-life encounters in L2 most of the time, the Finns' L2 use can, for the most part, be characterized as low-stakes, often simulated and usually purely voluntary.

10.3 Discussion on the results of Study 3

When the sociocultural model was first introduced in SLA research circles, it aroused a lot of controversy. This controversy revolved around the cognitive versus sociocultural interpretations of learning, and gave rise to further debate on how best to formulate SLA theory (Long 1990, Beretta 1991, Long 1997, van Lier 1994, Firth & Wagner 1997, 1998). In this final study, the sociocultural framework was exploited liberally in the sense that the original Vygotskian tenets of Mediation, Learning and Development, Social and Cultural Activity, the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), Inner Speech and their reinterpretations in subsequent theories such as situated learning or community of practice were applied to situations mentioned by the informants. Observation of, or discourse between the subjects was not systematically recorded, and therefore could not be studied. But the fresh perspective that the sociocultural theory gave to this study by complementing the Phase 1 and 2 studies is important: it helped in situating the learning efforts, both successful and less successful, of the subjects in a larger sociocultural context.

In Chapter 3.1, a distinction was made between the terms second language and foreign language. It was determined that, for the Finnish subjects, English was a foreign language, despite the fact that they were studying it in a CLIL class where the medium of instruction is English. It would appear that this "foreignness" of the language and the corresponding detachment from some of the realities that the American bilingual L2 learners were confronted with, facilitated learning on a neutral basis. The Finnish learners in this study could all be categorized as successful in the end when they were interviewed, a fact which the formerly less successful students also realized themselves. The American learners, on the other hand, were standing on shaky ground both languagewise and culturewise, as their Hispanic identity was often a hindrance when it came to accessing the social networks of the majority language speakers.

What the interviews of the Hispanic students revealed regarding their L2 learning and engagement in the L1 speakers' communities has a link to what Finland is currently facing today. During the time span of this study, the Finnish educational system has been confronted with a new challenge – the growing number of non-native Finnish speakers in our society. In the light of the Study 3 results, whatever efforts have been or will be made in order to facilitate these new Finnish citizens' L2 learning, they will not be successful unless they are complemented with policies which allow them to join and engage in the L1 communities. Furthermore, it is surprising how little cooperation there has been between Finnish as a foreign language educators at all levels and foreign language educators in general. Much of the knowledge attained in FL research is applicable and indeed useful in designing Finnish as L2 education, but the dialogue between experts has not got off the ground as yet.

10.4 Discussion on the links between the SLA theories and the empirical part

The five models which were reviewed provided a solid background for the empirical part. In a school context, and especially during formal FL classes, it was formerly believed that only explicit learning could take place. Since in bilingual classes L2 is used in teaching content, it is my belief that both implicit and explicit learning occur. The Monitor Model has been criticized for merely being a metaphor without concrete scientific evidence of the existence of a monitor, organizer and filter. Instead of trying to find evidence of certain functions such as monitoring, organizing or filtering, some later studies have focused on illuminating how implicitly learned knowledge can be studied and what role the aforementioned functions play in the process (for example, Järvinen 1999).

Bilingual environments offer an excellent opportunity to study the factors that affect SLA. This study focused on environmental, affective, strategic and personality factors. In the light of the results, the division of personality factors in the Cummins and Ellis models into learning resources and cognitive processing, offered the best framework among the five models for studying personality factors. The development of L1, aptitude and age were factors that came up in the results: subjects who had a solid L1 background succeeded better than their peers who did not have a well-established L1 nor any skills in L2. Furthermore, the results of the more successful students indicate that they have well-developed learning strategies and skills.

The overall academic success of the IB students, as well as that of the other successful students, is interesting. It can be speculated whether it signifies that in a school environment the language learning process is like any other cognitive process, or that the metacognitive strategies employed by the more successful students are superior to those of the less able students. The fact that the IB students were older is of significance: they had had more exposure not only to language but also to *other knowledge*. This is

linked with the Bialystok Model according to which adults (in this case teenagers/ young adults) possess more *other knowledge*, whereas younger students need to build up both their *linguistic knowledge* and their *knowledge of the world*.

The subjects under consideration came from two different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In the Hispanic students' environment, there is more pressure to replace the home language with the majority language, which became clear from the siblings' use of both Spanish and English. In the case of the Finnish students, social pressures and attitudinal problems with regard to the use of English are non-existent compared to their Hispanic peers, since English is not the dominant language in Finland. The attitudinal problems experienced by both the elementary groups may be accounted for by inadequately developed language skills in both Finnish/ Spanish and English in comparison with the learners' age groups.

In all, the multi-theoretical approach was successful in many ways. Firstly, the theoretical and conceptual discrepancies between the models led to a search for commonalities and differences between them. Secondly, it was useful to delve into the models for the sake of the empirical study: the models prompted pertinent questions and helped in narrowing down the large scope of the research. Thirdly, the work on the thesis confirmed my initial assumption that no single theory or model would have been adequate in providing a frame of reference for the collated data. Without the evolving sociocultural theory and its perspectives on L2 learning, it would have been difficult to interpret the findings of Study 3.

10.5 Remarks on the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research and for future educational stakeholders

This study did not consider the differences between the two educational systems or the role of the teacher, which are factors that always have an impact on SLA, or on any learning for that matter. Bilingual education is well-established in the United States: no matter which form it takes, it follows the same general guide-lines across the country, has the same qualification requirements for the teachers, and always has its own curriculum distinct from the standard education curricula. In Finland, bilingual education in Finnish and English was a fairly recent phenomenon when this research was first started. For example, there were only three senior high schools implementing the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme at that time, but there are currently fifteen across the country today. The degree of experimentation in lower and upper comprehensive education has remained quite stable. In comprehensive education, Finnish-English bilingual programs follow the standard national curriculum and thus may or may not have a syllabus for L2, apart from the standard FL syllabus. As stated earlier in this

study, the current situation in language education would call for long-term planning, in which educators, researchers and administrators should join forces.

This study did not take into account the role of the teachers and their insights into promoting SLA and the factors affecting the L2 language learning process. It would have been useful to tap into their perceptions concerning language learning to determine whether they were reflected in the results. Were the students in this study fortunate to have teachers that were able to provide both form- and meaning-focused input? Were their teachers able to teach them about metacognitive strategies and present themselves as positive TL models? These are just some of the questions that remain unanswered, and also ones which would be worth exploring in future research. The differences between the educational systems and the social contexts and their possible effects on the results are also topics which were not discussed in any great detail.

When the data on the successful and less successful learners were compared, it became clear that the strategies these two groups of students were using varied. This study relied on previous researchers' assumptions and was mainly able to deduce that the less able students' use of strategies included less desirable techniques which are not believed to enhance language learning. It may be worthy of experimentation, therefore, to design a course that would focus on task-based learning and the strategies employed therein. Data from a teaching experiment focusing on strategy use would be one possibility for a follow-up study in which at least gender and age differences would need to be accounted for, which was one of the limitations of this study.

Research data on bilingual education are needed as bilingual teaching is increasingly becoming a part of everyday teaching practice, not only in English and Finnish, but also in Swedish and Finnish, and Finnish as a second language. Any subsequent statistical data need to be complemented with qualitative data, and vice versa. The objections that were raised in the early years of bilingual education (in the cases of Swedish and Finnish, and English and Finnish/Swedish) when there was hardly any Finnish research data available, led to a situation where bilingual education became the target of unsubstantiated criticism. The debate revolved around topics such as concerns about students' deteriorating skills in L1, the loss of one's own national identity, the unsatisfactory language skills of the teachers, and the poor overall academic results of learners in bilingual education. Admittedly, some of the criticism was justified. For example, the Finnish Ministry of Education took note of the criticisms leveled against the bilingual teachers' linguistic qualifications and consequently increased the linguistic requirements for teachers implementing bilingual teaching. The unsubstantiated prejudices have subsided, however, as research has proved much of the early criticism to be unjustified (for example, Järvinen 1999, Williams 1998, Seikkula-Leino 2005).

This study preoccupied itself with goals similar to those of Järvinen and Seikkula-Leino, in that it aimed to produce results on, and recommendations for the Finnish bilingual programs. However, this present research not only centered on Finnish students learning English as their L2, but also on a group of first or second generation Americans learning English. Therefore it shares common ground with Finnish research conducted in the field of immigrant education, where immigrant children learning Finnish were the main subjects (for example, Mikkola 2001, Lehtinen 2002, Laaksonen 2007).

This study is the culmination of a number of years spent monitoring two groups of subjects on opposite sides of the Atlantic. The results of the Finnish learners please the teacher, the teacher-educator and the researcher in me, but at the same time the results of the American learners concern me. The American L2 learners' situation resembles that facing today's new Finnish citizens. What this study sheds light on, besides the success of the Finnish learners in mastering L2, are the dangers posed by L2 speakers' non-involvement in the community, which is something that was articulated by the American English learners. The Finnish policymakers and educational authorities should ensure that the new Finnish citizens have ways of engaging in societal matters by involving the newcomers in their local communities and thus making the learning of Finnish as L2 for the future generations meaningful. This applies not only to the younger generation, but also to their parents and older members of the community.

All concerned parties should be aware of the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* launched by the Council of European Ministers of Foreign Affairs in 2008 titled "Living Together as Equals in Dignity". The guidelines set forth in the document run parallel to the findings of this research with regard to the American L2 learners. The 2008 White Paper's guidelines for future action to be implemented by policymakers and other stakeholders are as follows:

- plurilingualism
- tolerance and
- intercultural dialog.

This document brings democratic governance of cultural diversity, democratic citizenship and participation, and the learning and teaching of intercultural competences to the fore, but these words will be meaningless unless they are implemented. An important sentiment linked to the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* and to the *Final Report of the High Level Group on Multilingualism* (2007) was expressed by Pedro (Chapter 9.5.4). The quote was a response to how he felt about the surrounding L1 community. This sentence echoes in my head while writing the final lines of this thesis:

> *They would treat you bad if you were from other places and they would just treat you, not like the other people from their own group.*

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Learning and acquiring described by SLA theories

Cognitive learning theories	
IMPLICIT Ellis (e.g. 1994:7, 184, 1995:31) Subconscious and procedural knowledge on which the ability to use the L2 is based. Implicit knowledge is not necessarily fully automatic (for more see e.g. Spolsky 1989:48, Stern 1984:403 & 1993:327).	**EXPLICIT** Ellis (e.g. 1994:7, 184, 1995:31) Conscious and declarative knowledge, i.e. knowledge about the L2. Explicit knowledge is non-automatic and could be referred to as metalingual knowledge (see above, knowledge **about**) (for more see e.g. Spolsky 1989:48, Stern 1984:403 & 1993:327).
PROCEDURAL Anderson (1976,1980:222), Carroll (1981:222), Ellis (1994:8, 176) Procedural knowledge is acquired gradually by performing the skill, and thus it comprises the skills we know how to perform. Procedural knowledge is abstract and cannot be verbalized neither is it measurable. It is knowledge of the language that is automated. Procedural knowledge is **knowing how**, i.e. more static information/knowledge.	**DECLARATIVE** Anderson (1976,1980:222), Carroll (1981:222-245), Ellis (1994:8, 176, 1995:32, 388) Declarative knowledge is acquired suddenly, typically as a result of being instructed. It is knowledge about the language. Declarative knowledge is conscious and can often, though not necessarily, be 'declared', i.e. communicated verbally. Learning a language is similar to learning a skill, i.e. there are different stages that the learner goes through. Declarative knowledge transforms into procedural knowledge by going through three stages (**cognitive stage**: description of the procedure, e.g. a grammatical rule, is learned, **associative stage**: declarative knowledge is decomposed and generalized and thus has become more proceduralized, **autonomous stage**: generalizing process continues and production becomes more automated, the skill to verbalize the knowledge has disappeared, yet production is errorless). Declarative knowledge is **knowing about**, i.e. more dynamic information/knowledge.
Naturalistically oriented SLA theory, the Monitor Model	
ACQUIRED Krashen (e.g. 1987:10): First language is acquired. Second language learning is comparable to first language acquisition if it occurs "naturally" without focusing on the linguistic form. Acquisition is a subconscious process whereby complex rules emerge within the learner. (for more see e.g. Ellis 1995:356, McLaughlin 1991: 20, Stern 1984:20, Spolsky 1989:2, Strevens 1977:41)	**LEARNT** Krashen (e.g. 1987:10): Learnt knowledge is conscious knowledge of a second language, awareness of its rules and grammar and ability to talk about them. Simple rules and grammar can be learnt. (for more see e.g. Ellis 1995:356, McLaughlin 1991: 20, Stern 1984:20, Spolsky 1989:2, Strevens 1977:41)

Chomskyan linguists:	
COMPETENCE Spolsky (1989:51, 76) & Stern (1993:73), Brown (1996:2-4): Competence consists of the abstract mental representation of the rule system. It goes beyond the concrete level of linguistic production representing the psychologically deepest level. Competence refers to implicit intuitive knowledge of language that is not variable. 'Competence' as a construct in a SLA theory is important, because it refers to unobserved, underlying knowledge. **Bachman 1991a:87:** organizational (grammatical, textual) pragmatic (illocutionary, sociolinguistic) **Meara 1996:** communicative**,** linguistic **Lyons 1996:** pragmatic, communicative, sociolinguistic, stylistic **Cook (1993, 1996:242):** multicompetence **Selinker 1996:** Interlanguage competence (for more see e.g. Bley-Vroman 1990, Gregg 1989, White 1990, criticism: Riley 1996, test-applications: Shohamy 1996, Bachman 1991b)	**PERFORMANCE** Spolsky (1989:51, 76), Brown (1996:2-4): Performance refers to overall linguistic behavior, i.e. the observable linguistic production and comprehension abilities in language usage. Performance is dependent on behavior, rating scales and tasks. (for more see e.g. Bley-Vroman 1990, Gregg 1989, Stern 1993, White 1990)
PROFICIENCY *interpreted as* **communicative competence** (e.g. Stern 1993:74, Spolsky 1989:50) Refers to one's ability to use linguistic knowledge in specific contexts without giving any thought to linguistic forms, rules or meanings. Proficiency or communicative competence comprises appropriate and correct language behavior encompassing linguistic and pragmatic knowledge. **Hulstijn 1985:** Interactive approach on second language proficiency should account for how cognitive, linguistic variables interact with social, psychological educationalvariables. (for more see e.g. Ellis 1994:174, Bachman 1991a & b, Bialystok 1978,1979)	**communicative performance** Refers to the actual observable use of the two types of knowledge (analyzed and unanalyzed) in understanding and producing discourse. (for more see e.g. Ellis 1994:174, Bachman 1991a & b, Bialystok 1978,1979)

APPENDIX 2

PILOT STUDY 1990-1991

Composition themes

The first essay:

What kind of school experiences have you had before you came to this class?

Which schools have you attended and where?

Why did you want to study in the International Baccalaureate class?

Where and how do you think you have learned English?

Do your parents know English?

How did you become interested in the English language?

What does it mean to you to know English?

What different aspects are there in the knowledge of a language?

Describe your own skills (strong/weak points). How do you think you should/could improve?

How could the teachers help you to achieve your goals? What kind of teaching do you need?

What kind of future plans do you have?

Do you think that studying in the IB class will help you somehow in the future?

The second essay

Think of the fall term. In what way have you improved in English during these couple of months?

Have you developed new techniques concerning language learning?

How well have the teachers succeeded in their teaching in English?

Write about anything that comes to mind concerning this year and studying in the IB class.

The third essay

You just read your first essay (the first composition was given back to the students for them to see what they had written).

Do you now think differently than you did at the beginning of the school year

… about your skills in English?

… about what is the most important aspect in the knowledge of another language?

… about the future and your future plans?

Write about your skills in English again.

What has changed? How have you improved?

What advice would you give to a person who would want to learn to speak, read, write, and understand English fluently?

How have you felt about keeping a diary?

What positive/ negative feelings has it aroused in you?

APPENDIX 3

STUDY 2 (1994-1995)

Composition themes

Write a story about your family and you. You can also write about your friends at school and at home.

In your story you can include

- your hobbies
- what you do with your parents, siblings, friends when you have free time
- what thoughts you have about English and Spanish / Finnish (speaking them at home, outside home, at school etc)

APPENDIX 4

STUDY 3 (2003-2004)

Guidance for your composition

Write your language **biography** (teacher explains the word), which will give an overview of your most important learning experiences with the English language and culture. You can begin by drawing a time line with milestones on it. The milestones represent all the important memories you have of learning English.

You should also write about your goals, progress and the kinds of things you do in order to learn more.

Write about your feelings as far as learning English is concerned. Are you content with yourself? Why? Why not?

APPENDIX 5

#1 LANGUAGE INVENTORY

NAME_____

SCHOOL_____

GRADE_____

GENERAL/BACKGROUND

1. HOW MANY YEARS OF ENGLISH_____

2. AGE_____

3. SEX_____

MY PARENTS OR GUARDIANS WERE BORN

4. MOTHER

a. America

b. Other country. Where? _____

5. FATHER

a. America

b. Other country. Where? _____

6. MY FATHER OR STEPFATHER/GUARDIAN SPEAKS BEST

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Other. What? _____

d. None

7. MY MOTHER OR STEPMOTHER/GUARDIAN SPEAKS BEST

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Other. What? _____

d. None

8. MY PARENTS SPEAK TO EACH OTHER

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Other. What? _____

9. I WAS BORN

a. Wisconsin

b. Out of state. What state? _____

c. Other. What? _____

10. MY MOTHER OR STEPMOTHER/GUARDIAN SPEAKS TO ME

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Other. What? _____

d. None

11. MY FATHER OR STEPFATHER/GUARDIAN SPEAKS TO ME

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Other. What? _____

d. None

12. I HAVE SIBLING(S)

a. Yes

b. No

13. WITH MY SIBLING(S) I SPEAK

a. English

b. Spanish

c. Both

d. Other

e. None

14. MY MOTHER'S PARENTS SPEAK BEST

a. English

b. Spanish

c. One speaks Spanish and the other English

d. Other. What? _____

e. None

15. MY MOTHER'S PARENTS SPEAK TO ME

a. Mostly English

b. Mostly Spanish

c. Both languages equally

d. Other. What? _____

e. None

16. MY FATHER'S PARENTS SPEAK BEST

a. English

b. Spanish

c. One speaks Spanish and the other English

d. Other. What? _____

e. None

17. MY FATHER'S PARENTS SPEAK TO ME

a. Mostly English

b. Mostly Spanish

c. Both languages equally

d. Other. What? _____

e. None

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

18. MY FATHER HAS

a. A university degree (Bachelor of... Master of)

b. Studied in a vocational school after high school

c. Has a high school diploma

d. Did not finish high school

e. I do not know

f. None

19. MY MOTHER HAS

a. A university degree (Bachelor of... Master of)

b. Studied in a vocational school after high school

c. Has a high school diploma

d. Did not finish high school

e. I do not know

f. None

20. DESCRIBE AS WELL AS YOU CAN WHAT YOUR MOTHER DOES FOR A LIVING

a. Stays at home

b. Is studying

c. None

d. She works

21. DESCRIBE AS WELL AS YOU CAN WHAT YOUR FATHER DOES FOR A LIVING

a. Stays at home

b. Is studying

c. None

d. He works

LITERARY INTERESTS/CHILDHOOD

22. WHEN I WAS LITTLE MY PARENTS or SOMEONE ELSE USED TO READ TO ME

a. Often

b. Sometimes

c. Rarely

d. Never

23. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I READ (or looked at books)

a. Often

b. Sometimes

c. Rarely

d. Never

24. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I HAD CHILDREN'S BOOKS

a. A lot

b. Quite a few

c. Some

d. Not so many

e. None

25. I HAVE BOOKS AT HOME (OTHER THAN SCHOOL BOOKS)

a. For sure more than 30

b. 10-30

c. Less than 10

d. A couple

e. None

26. I LIKE TO READ BOOKS

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

27. I LIKE TO BORROW BOOKS

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

28. I HAVE A LIBRARY CARD

a. Yes

b. No

c. I use somebody else's

29. WE SUBSCRIBE TO A NEWSPAPER/ BUY IT EVERY DAY

a. Two or more

b. One

c. Sometimes get it

d. No

30. MY PARENTS READ

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

31. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I HAD A WILD IMAGINATION

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

32. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I PLAYED ALONE

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

33. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I PLAYED WITH MY FRIENDS

a. A lot

b. Quite a bit

c. Not so much

d. Not at all

34. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I PREFERRED TO

a. Play with friends

b. Play alone

35. WHEN I WAS LITTLE I PREFERRED TO

a. Draw or paint

b. Color or trace or copy

c. Read or listen to stories

36. WHEN I HAVE FREE TIME NOW I PREFER TO

a. Play with friends

b. Play alone

37. WHEN I HAVE FREE TIME NOW I PREFER TO

a. Draw or paint

d. Color or trace or copy

e. Read or listen to stories

APPENDIX 6

<u>#2 LANGUAGE INVENTORY </u>(motivation, attitudes, personality)

NAME   _____

SCHOOL   _____

GRADE   _____

GENERAL

l. I LIKE TO LEARN ABOUT THINGS

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

2. I LIKE TO STUDY

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

3. I LIKE TO BE AT SCHOOL

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

4. I LIKE TO STUDY/LEARN ABOUT MATH

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

5. I LIKE TO STUDY/LEARN ABOUT ARTS (AND CRAFTS)

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

6. I LIKE TO STUDY/LEARN ABOUT MY MOTHER TONGUE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

7. I LIKE TO STUDY/LEARN LANGUAGES

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

8. I LIKE TO STUDY ALONE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

WHEN I STUDY FOREIGN LANGUAGES

9. I ENJOY DOING WORKBOOK EXERCISES

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

10. I FEEL NERVOUS IN THE CLASSROOM

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

11. I LIKE TO BE IN THE CLASSROOM

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

12. I AM ACTIVE DURING MY CLASSES

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

13. DURING MY CLASSES I WOULD RATHER BE QUIET AND OBSERVE THAN TALK

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

14. BEFORE A CLASS I STUDY SO THAT I WON'T MAKE MISTAKES

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

15. BEFORE A CLASS I WANT MY PARENTS/SOMEONE ELSE TO TEST ME

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

16. IT IS EASY FOR ME TO LEARN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

17. MY FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER LIKES ME

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

18. I LIKE MY FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

19. EVERYBODY CAN LEARN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

20. I THINK I AM LUCKY TO KNOW TWO (OR MORE) LANGUAGES

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

I STUDY A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

21. BECAUSE IT WILL HELP ME TO UNDERSTAND OTHER PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND THEIR WAY OF LIFE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

22. IT WILL SOMEDAY BE USEFUL IN GETTING INTO UNIVERSITY AND/ OR GETTING A GOOD JOB

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

23. IT WILL ENABLE ME TO GAIN FRIENDS FROM THE COUNTRY WHERE THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE IS SPOKEN

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

24. BECAUSE I WOULD LIKE TO GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR WAY OF LIFE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

25. BECAUSE WHEN I KNOW THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE VERY WELL I WILL BE MORE APPRECIATED BY OTHER PEOPLE

a. Strongly agree

b. Agree

c.

d. Disagree

e. Strongly disagree

I AM

26. OUTGOING __ __ __ __ __RESERVED

27. QUIET __ __ __ __ __TALKATIVE

28. NERVOUS __ __ __ __ __CALM

29. CAUTIOUS __ __ __ __ __HAPPY-GO-LUCKY

30. SOCIABLE __ __ __ __ __SOLITARY

31. SERIOUS __ __ __ __ __CAREFREE

32. LEADER __ __ __ __ __FOLLOWER

33. INITIATOR __ __ __ __ __OBSERVER

34. HAPPY __ __ __ __ __UNHAPPY

I LIKE

35. MYSELF __ __ __ __ __DON'T LIKE

36. PEOPLE __ __ __ __ __DON'T LIKE

APPENDIX 7

#3 LANGUAGE INVENTORY (STRATEGIES/SKILLS)

NAME   _____

SCHOOL   _____

GRADE   _____

WHEN I LISTEN

1. I get nervous._   __   __   __   __I stay calm.

2. I enjoy it.__   __   __   __   __I don't like it.

3. I pay attention to the speaker.__   __   __   __   __I don't pay attention to the speaker.

4. I hear mistakes.__   __   __   __   __I don't hear mistakes.

5. I don't care about
the speaker's mistakes.__   __   __   __   __Mistakes bother me.

6. I would like to correct mistakes I hear.__   __   __   __   __I wouldn't like to correct them.

7. It's hard to be quiet and listen.__   __   __   __   __It's easy to concentrate and listen.

8. I would like to add, comment, etc
when I am listening.__   __   __   __   __ I wouldn't like to interrupt the speaker to add/comment on smth.

9. It's hard for me to understand
a spoken foreign language.__   __   __   __   __It's easy.

10. I don't pay
attention to pronunciation.__   __   __   __   __ I pay attention to pronunciation (listen to it).

11. I try to understand all the words.__   __   __   __   __I don't try to understand ALL of them.

12. I don't want to ask interrupt and ask if I don't
the speaker if I don't understand smth.__   __   __   __   __understand smth.

13. I want to learn to imitate   I think it's all right to speak any
a foreign language speaker__   __   __   __   __way one likes.

14. I like to check words.__   __   __   __   __I don't like to check words after a conversation.

15. I translate things
in my head.__   __   __   __   __I think in the foreign language.

WHEN I WRITE

1. I start right away.__   __   __   __   __I think or jot down ideas first.
2. I make a plan in the
foreign language.__   __   __   __   __I make a plan in my mother tongue.
3. I like writing alone.__   __   __   __   __I like to write with somebody.
4. I like to talk about   I don't want to discuss what I
my writing.__   __   __   __   __write.
5. I think of grammar.__   __   __   __   __I don't think about grammar.
6. I like to copy texts.__   __   __   __   __I like to write my own text.

DESCRIBE YOUR WRITING:

7. I KEEP A DIARY
a. Very often
b. Often
c. Sometimes
d. Seldom
e. Never

8. I WRITE IN MY FREE TIME
a. A lot
b. Often
c. Sometimes
d. Seldom
e. Never

9. I LIKE TO WRITE IN MY MOTHER TONGUE.
a. Very much
b. Quite a bit
c. It is all right
d. Seldom
e. Never

10. I LIKE TO WRITE IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.
a. Very much
b. Quite a bit
c. It is all right
d. Seldom
e. Never

11. I WRITE IN MY MOTHER TONGUE.
a. Very well
b. Well
c. All right
d. Not so well
e. Poorly

12. I WRITE IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

a. Very well

b. Well

c. All right

d. Not so well

e. Poorly

WHEN I SPEAK

1. I stay calm.__   __   __   __   __I get nervous

2. I need to translate first.__   __   __   __   __I don't need to translate.

3. I listen to myself.__   __   __   __   __I don't listen to myself.

4. I hear my mistakes.__   __   __   __   __I don't hear mistakes.

5. I 'd rather just listen.__   __   __   __   __I like to participate.

6. I ask for help if I don't
know how to say smth.__   __   __   __   __I don't ask for help even if I need it.

7. I try to sound like a native speaker.__   __   __   __   __I don't have to sound
                                                             native-like.

8. I am not actively   I try to use every possible chance to use
finding opportunities__   __   __   __   __the foreign language as much as I can
to speak the foreign language.

9. I get nervous if called on
in the classroom.__   __   __   __   __I like to raise my hand.

10. I like to speak   I don't like to speak the foreign
the foreign language in__   __   __   __   __language in the classroom.
the classroom.

11. I check words afterwards. __   __   __   __   __I don't check words.

12. I don't learn by speaking__   __   __   __   __I learn best by speaking.

WHEN I READ

1. I read slowly.__   __   __   __   __I read fast.

2. I would like to understand
every word.__   __   __   __   __I don't need to understand every word.

3. I read aloud.__   __   __   __   __I don't read aloud.

4. I don't stop to think about what
I read.__   __   __   __   __I stop to think.

5. I translate.__   __   __   __   __I don't translate.

6. I don't think about grammar.__   __   __   __   __I think about grammar.

7. If I don't understand
I guess.__   __   __   __   __I don't guess.

8. I learn words.__   __   __   __   __I don't learn words.

9. I enjoy reading.__   __   __   __   __I don't like reading.

DESCRIBE YOUR READING:

10. I READ

a. Very often

b. Often

c. Sometimes

d. Seldom

e. Never

11. I READ

a. Books

b. Comics

c. Papers, magazines

d. Manuals (computer games, etc)

e. Lyrics of songs

12. I LIKE TO READ IN MY MOTHER TONGUE.

a. Very much

b. Quite a bit

c. It is all right

d. Seldom

e. Never

13. I LIKE TO READ IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

a. Very much

b. Quite a bit

c. It is all right

d. Seldom

e. Never

14. I READ IN MY MOTHER TONGUE.

a. Very well

b. Well

c. All right

d. Not so well

e. Poorly

15. I READ IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

a. Very well

b. Well

c. All right

d. Not so well

e. Poorly

APPENDIX 8

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Student's name: _____

1. Dominant language

a. Spanish

b. English

c. Both equally as good

2. Overall school success (all subjects)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

3. Spanish writing skills/ grammar (spelling, punctuation)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

4. Spanish oral skills (putting forth ideas, presentations)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

5. Spanish reading skills (reading texts aloud)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

6. Spanish reading skills (reading comprehension, independent reading)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

7. English writing skills/ grammar (spelling, punctuation)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

8. English oral skills (putting forth ideas, presentations)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

9. English reading skills (reading texts aloud)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

10. English reading skills (reading comprehension, independent reading)

a. Above average

b. Average

c. Below average

d. Poor

11. Behavior during Spanish instruction

a. Very actively participates

b. Actively participates

c. Sometimes participates

d. Seldom participates

12. Behavior during English instruction

a. Very actively participates

b. Actively participates

c. Sometimes participates

d. Seldom participates

13. What characterizes the student best

a. Actively participates during classroom instruction and is quick, guesses meanings, tries out things, is not embarrassed

b. Participates but is quiet, listens intensively and learns, is interested in grammar

c. Is quiet, does not participate actively, learns, is more interested in forms (grammar etc) and/or writing and reading than discussions, oral tasks

d. Is quiet, seemingly afraid to participate, learns slowly, gets frustrated, lack of interest and/or motivation

APPENDIX 9

Interview questions used in Study 2.

Interview in May, 1995 (Milwaukee)
August 1996 (Turku)

Interview questions

Warm-up

Introduce yourself to the student. Wait for him/her to do the same.

Talk about the class that the student just left. Or alternatively lunch, recess activities etc.

CHILDHOOD AND FAMILY
Where were you born?
Can you remember anything about the first place you lived in?
Who was there with you?
Can you remember the first word you said?
What language did you learn at home?
Who spoke that language?
Did you all speak the same language?
What other memories do you have of languages?
Can you remember any funny or sad incidents?

FRIENDS
Can you remember your first friends outside your family?
Did you go to the same school?
What kinds of things did you do together?
Which language(s) did you use with your friends at school? How about after school?
Do you now have both English and Spanish/Finnish speaking friends?
Which language would you rather use?
How would you describe your skills in Spanish? How about English?
Where do you think you learned the languages?
Who taught you the most?
Can you remember any incidents connected with speaking Spanish/Finnish and English?

CONCERNS AND HOPES
Does something worry you here at school or just in general?
What kinds of things would you like to happen to you and your family in the future?

APPENDIX 10

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (STUDY 3)

THEMES for the interview / written responses

L1, L2 RELATIONSHIP

Mother tongue and second language(s)

- which language do you use at home, school, with friends, with parents, siblings?
- which language do you relate to most closely? Why?
- has your preference for using Spanish/Finnish/English changed over the years? If so, can you remember when and why?

theory:
Multicompetence /SCT
Vivian Cook
Leo van Lier
Scott Jarvis (2003): Probing the Effects of the L2 on the L1: A Case Study
Aneta Pavlenko (2003a): I Feel Clumsy Speaking Russian: L2 Influence on L1 in Narratives of Russian of Russian L2 Users of English

LANGUAGE IDENTITY

Do you think you behave the same way in an environment/situation where your mother tongue is used and in an environment/situation where the second language is used?
- describe what you are like (how do you behave, active, passive, nervous…) in an L1 environment (Finnish/Spanish), L2 environment

Describe what you are like in an L2 (English) environment
      How do people who belong to that community treat you?
      Describe your experiences, examples

Toukomaa & Skuttnab-Kangas
Cook
Cummins (empowerment)

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

What kinds of positive experiences, rewarding moments, have you had while you've been in the bilingual program?

What kinds of negative experiences, frustrations, thinking of classes, various subjects, teachers, peers, learning in general?

What role/impact has the instruction/teaching in the second language had on your learning?

Where and how have you learned English?

What role do you think the teachers in general have played in your learning?

parents, environment: friends, media etc?

Can you remember anything, any moments at school that would have made you think more deeply about your own learning? Give me some examples of situations when you would've understood something new. Why did it happen (what made you understand the phenomenon)? How did it happen (you instigated it, teacher, peers, who)?

theory:
Multicompetence theory
Vivian Cook (2003): Background to the L2 User, Language Teaching Methodology and the L2 User Perspective

Cognitive theories (metacognition)
Ellen Bialystok (2002): Cognitive Processes of L2 Users
Bachman (strategic competence)
Ellis
Cummins 1994
SCT/
Fred Genesee (2001): Portrait of the Bilingual Child

AWARENESS
How much attention do you pay to the way you speak or write your first language?
How much attention do you pay to the way you speak or write your second language?
Is there a difference? If so, can you describe it?

Do you pay attention to how other people express themselves in speaking or writing?

theory:
Krashen (monitoring)
Cummins (Threshold and interdependence hypothesis)
Schuman etc (diary-studies)

MOTIVATION
Why is it important, in your opinion, to know two languages?
What's important to you personally about knowing two languages?