

Thesis
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A STUDY OF THE INTEGRATION OF LITERATURE
AND COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

by

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ABSTRACT

Since the early 1980s, attitudes toward literature in English language teaching (ELT) have undergone two major changes. First, after a long period in which literature was essentially excluded from ELT, it began to be seen in a more favourable light. Second, literature began to be viewed more as a tool in ELT, rather than as the end towards which ELT students should be led. These changes in attitude have led to a surge of interest in literature in ELT, particularly in the context of Communicative language teaching (CLT). This study examines, in several ways, the nature and the extent of this renewed interest in literature. The study explores the evolution of these changes, and puts them in perspective by creating various classifications for current types of approaches to literature in ELT and CLT. It also investigates the degree to which interest in literature in ELT has moved from research and scholarship to actual practice among teachers. In addition, it attempts to extend literature's applications in CLT by experimenting with the use of literature in a domain of CLT generally regarded as unsuited to literature-based teaching: English for Specific Purposes (ESP). The study also offers a series of proposals through which further integration of literature and CLT can take place.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

Alan Maley has observed that 'Literature is back-but wearing different clothes' (1989a:59) in the discipline of English Language Teaching (ELT), i.e. the teaching of English to non-native speakers of the language. On the basis of published research in this area, there is no reason to question the accuracy of Maley's statement. As recently as a decade ago, however, the same could not have been said. When the 1980s began, literature had no real place in ELT outside the context of situations in which ELT students were studying English literature in order to receive a specifically literary education or qualification, generally at tertiary level. That is, literature had virtually no relationship with the teaching of language-the far larger domain of ELT-and only a relative handful of scholars envisioned or advocated such a relationship. This situation was in sharp contrast to the past, when literature had generally played a dominant role in language teaching.

Clearly, then, changes have taken place during the past decade or so, and, in a larger sense, the purpose of this study is to explore those changes. Using Maley's remark as a starting point, the study examines the nature of those changes, and the reasons behind them. Also, where appropriate, it offers critical analysis of them. Underlying this

process of exploration and analysis is a core belief on the researcher's part that such a return for literature is a positive development in ELT.

Looking more specifically at the purpose of the study, it investigates literature's relationship with a particular area of ELT: Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). Among the many approaches which constitute ELT, CLT is generally regarded as the most prevalent within that group. As a result, literature's integration into CLT is a matter of particular importance. It is also a matter of considerable complexity, as well as contention, thereby adding to the need to conduct research into the relationship between literature and CLT.

Here there are reasons to look further into what Maley has said. That is, the fact of an integration of literature into CLT is not in question, but there are many doubts about the wisdom and efficacy of such an integration. Indeed, many ELT practitioners appear to oppose this integration, leading to a serious question about the degree to which the integration has actually taken place. Questions also exist as to the best ways of pursuing this integration.

Returning to Maley's statement, then, we can see that it is a generalization which requires fleshing out if a clear picture of literature's relationship to CLT is to emerge. We need to know more about the ways in which literature is back, as well as the particular clothes it is wearing, with respect to CLT. One of the primary intentions of this study, then, is to provide such a fleshing out by

clarifying what has taken place regarding literature and CLT thus far. In addition, the study looks at ways of extending the relationship which has developed up to this point. In so doing, it aims not only at enhancing that relationship, but at strengthening the overall connection between literature and ELT as well.

We are currently in what might be called the formative years of a new era for the use of literature in language teaching. In this new era, different ways of looking at and employing literature in the language classroom are being developed, ways which to some degree not only alter but also challenge traditional approaches to regarding literature within the language teaching context. An important result of this situation is the emergence of a stimulating debate on the nature of literature and the literary experience as they relate to both the ELT student and the ELT classroom. This debate has created an opening for cross-fertilization between literature in the ELT context and fields traditionally outside the realm of ELT such as literary theory and stylistics, in the process offering new insights from which literature in ELT can grow.

The impetus behind this new era is a steadily growing body of interesting and exciting scholarship on literature and ELT which is impacting not only on contemporary thinking about ELT, but on the teaching of English, especially literature, in the native speaker context as well (see, for example, Durant and Fabb, 1990; Wiley and Dunk, 1985). Furthermore, the subject of literature and

and ELT is being dealt with increasingly not only in published scholarship, but in conferences, seminars, workshops, and other forums in which language teachers gather together to discuss new ideas and research as well. The result is a growing sense that the link between literature and ELT, especially within CLT, may be a major growth area within ELT in coming years.

Given the above situation, it is particularly important that efforts be made to put into clear focus the developments in literature, ELT, and CLT which have taken place so far. This study represents one such effort. Through this endeavour, it is hoped that the relationship between literature, ELT, and CLT, and the integration of literature into CLT, can be enhanced as well as seen in a clearer light.

Key Research Questions

Underlying the comments made in the previous section is a set of questions which shape the direction of the research to be conducted in the study as well as the objectives at the heart of the study. These questions, which overlap to some degree, can be categorized into two groups. These are:

a) From the Maley quotation cited earlier

1. Why did literature essentially disappear from ELT?
2. What conditions made possible its return to ELT?
3. In what senses is literature back in ELT?
4. What influences have shaped its return to ELT?

5. What, specifically, are the "different clothes" Maley refers to?

b) Regarding literature and CLT

1. What is the current status of literature in CLT?
2. How is literature currently employed in CLT?
3. Should the relationship between literature and CLT be expanded?
4. In what ways and directions can the literature-CLT relationship be expanded?

Primary Objectives of the Study

The questions just cited serve as the foundation from which the primary objectives of the study have been formed. Discussed in more general terms earlier in this chapter, they include:

1. To draw a clear picture of the current relationship between literature and ELT.
2. To define the degree to which literature and CLT are currently integrated.
3. To define the nature of that integration.
4. To critically assess the quality of that integration.
5. To not only document and assess, but also to experiment with and endeavour to extend, the relationship between literature and CLT.

By pursuing these objectives, the study will construct a coherent picture of the various developments concerning literature, ELT, and CLT which have taken place in the short but very active period during which these three disciplines have been linked. This process will, in turn, produce useful insights into the current situation regarding the three disciplines, and these insights will lead to valuable perspectives on how the relationship can grow in

future years. In this way literature can assume the meaningful role in ELT and CLT the researcher believes is desirable and viable, as opposed to the minor role an analysis of current conditions suggests it holds at present.

Approach to and Scope of the Study

In order to properly serve the objectives just described, the study's scope is necessarily rather wide. This entails detailing the development of both ELT and CLT, with a particular focus on the theories of language and language learning which have informed their development. Approaches to literature teaching must also be accounted for. This involves looking at approaches within both the native speaker and ELT contexts, since the two have historically been closely linked and are at present in a somewhat mutually supporting relationship. This, in turn, requires looking at the discipline of literary theory. There are two reasons for this. First, as noted previously, interesting possibilities for the inclusion of literary theory in the shaping of literature in ELT are now emerging. Second, the researcher postulates a useful role for literary theory in the literature-CLT relationship, and wishes to research it in the context of future development of that relationship. In addition, it is necessary to gain insight into the degree to which literature has currently penetrated into ELT, thus requiring an examination of certain ELT situations at hand. Finally, in order to explore the researcher's

contention that literature can play a meaningful role in CLT, it is necessary to experiment with a way of exemplifying that role.

Given the scope of the study and the objectives it serves, the approach followed is one in which the study is both conducted and presented in various contexts. The first context is one in which the development of ELT, CLT, and approaches to literature and literature teaching are examined and analysed, with the purpose being to supply the study with a solid foundation from which to work. This context is established in the second and third chapters. The second context is empirical in nature. Here the current roles and status of literature, ELT, and CLT are explored. This takes place in Chapter Four. The third context is an experimental one. Here an experiment in the use of literature in a particular type of communicative teaching situation—a course in English for Specific Purposes (ESP)—is described and analysed. This classroom experiment testing a new application of literature is discussed in Chapter Five. The three contexts are then examined collectively in Chapter Six.

This approach to the study enlists the following research methodologies: review of literature on the subjects central to the concerns of the thesis; content analysis of teacher training programmes in America and Britain; surveys of first year university students in two separate but related contexts; and the design and implementation of a classroom experiment, assisted by one set of the surveys

just referred to, including a needs analysis questionnaire and a course evaluation questionnaire.

Through these research methodologies and the contexts approach described earlier, the study progresses systematically from a broad view of literature, ELT, and CLT in the second and third chapters, to a more concentrated view in two different types of settings in the fourth chapter, and then to the narrow angle view represented in the classroom experiment discussed in the fifth chapter. In this way key features pertaining to the central subjects of the study-literature, ELT, and CLT-are highlighted and then examined in greater detail as the study proceeds.

Value of the Study

As earlier comments suggest, this is an important time in which to investigate the relationship between literature, ELT, and CLT, particularly literature and CLT. Though still a young approach to language teaching, CLT is now firmly established as the most dominant form of ELT. At the same time, because it is still a relatively new type of ELT, its potential continues to be explored and expanded in an ongoing stream of research on the subject. Literature's recent inclusion in CLT is part of that process of expansion, and a considerable amount of work has been done in forging this new relationship. As this research continues, it becomes increasingly important to put it into a larger perspective. The bulk of this research concentrates on ways of using literary texts in communicative classrooms, thus creating something of a vacuum with respect to various theoretical

issues pertaining to the literature-CLT relationship. Also, as this research proceeds, it becomes increasingly difficult to see the forest through the trees, thereby making it necessary to put the developments which have occurred thus far into a wider focus so that the whole picture emerges. Without such a picture, this relationship which holds so much promise will not move ahead smoothly or effectively, since developments will take place outside a larger context.

The value of this study, then, is that it assembles the large picture necessary in this formative stage of the link between literature and CLT. It does this not only by describing what has taken place up to now, but by assessing the quality of the work which has been done and the relationship between literature and CLT which has emerged in the process. Furthermore, by exploring a new direction in this relationship via the classroom experiment discussed in Chapter Five, the study offers insight into ways in which the relationship can be strengthened. At the same time, it suggests possible avenues for additional research into the connection between literature and CLT.

In several different ways, then, the study contributes to our knowledge of the link between literature and CLT, while simultaneously providing insight into literature, ELT, and CLT as separate as well as connected disciplines.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELT AND CLT

Introduction

Chapter Two provides a language teaching framework for the study by tracing the development of English Language Teaching (ELT).

The format for Chapter Two is as follows. First, there is a brief overview of important points concerning the development of foreign language teaching in general, i.e. regarding the teaching of various languages, as well as ELT in particular. Second, several analyses which describe, in broad terms, the development of ELT are reviewed. Third, theories of both language and language learning which have informed the development of ELT, together with their accompanying teaching methodologies, are discussed. Fourth, the most recent and prevalent of these, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), is considered in additional depth in view of its central role in the study.

The role of literature in ELT and CLT is commented on only briefly in this chapter. The same is true of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), a major branch of CLT. Both receive fuller treatment in later chapters. The present chapter will provide the background from which both ESP and a new role for literature arise.

Overview

To understand the development of ELT, it is first

necessary to look at the background from which ELT evolved, i.e. the history of language teaching itself. That history is thoroughly documented in such language teaching surveys as Kelly (1969), Mackey (1965), Stern (1983), and Titone (1968). As these surveys point out, this history extends over a period of more than 2,000 years through the teaching of the classical languages of Greek and Latin to the teaching of modern vernacular languages as travel, for both business and pleasure, throughout Europe increased in recent centuries.

The main point to be made here is that, as the sources just cited explain, ELT's development is a microcosm of the evolution of language teaching itself. That is, many methods and perspectives which have informed the development of ELT have their roots in the longer and larger development of the language teaching field. Thus, as Kelly (1969:363) observes:

The total corpus of ideas accessible to language teachers has not changed basically in 2,000 years. What has been in constant change are the ways of building methods from them, and the part of the corpus that is accepted varies from generation to generation, as does the form in which the ideas present themselves.

ELT, then, has grown out of a fluid language teaching history in which ideas and teaching methods float in and out of popularity through various historical periods. Indeed, as Kelly also points out:

Nobody really knows what is new or what is old in present-day language teaching procedures. There has been a vague feeling that modern experts have spent their time in discovering what other men have forgotten...much that is being claimed as revolutionary in this century is merely a rethinking and renaming of early ideas and procedures. (1969:ix)

Mackey (1965) reinforces this point by noting that most of the methods which appeared in previous centuries are still in use somewhere in the world today. Howatt (1984) makes the same point with specific reference to ELT, and Stern (1983:76-77) explains that 'Language teaching theory has a short memory. Perhaps because of our involvement in current problems and polemics, we have tended to ignore the past or to distort its lessons, and to re-enact old battles over and over again'.

Looking back over this long history, Richards (1985:32) remarks that

The history of language teaching is the history of ideas about what language is and how languages are learned. The application to language teaching of theories concerning the nature of language and language learning has led to a succession of different instructional methods.

These ideas, as they relate specifically to ELT, will be discussed shortly. In larger terms, these ideas have operated within parameters defined by Crystal (1987:178), who says that 'The history of language study illustrates widely divergent attitudes concerning the relationship between writing and speech'. That is, language teaching history is a history of shifting emphasis on written and oral skills. Kelly, in discussing that history, differentiates between 'skill' and 'knowledge' aspects of language teaching, with skill representing a focus on the acquisition of oral proficiency in pursuit of practical purposes (communication for business purposes, for example) and knowledge representing written proficiency where more scholarly or literary purposes dominate. He describes the

history of language teaching within that dichotomy as follows: 'The skill aspect of language predominated during the classical, Renaissance, and modern periods; while in the intervening centuries, the knowledge aspect was taken as the most important' (1969:303).

Looking further at this history, Kelly sees three views or purposes which influenced the development of methods used in pursuit of those purposes. One was the social view, where language was seen as a form of social behaviour; another was the artistic view, in which language was seen as a means of creativity, that is, for literary purposes; then there was the scholarly/philosophical view, where the focus was on the description and analysis of the target language. Reviewing language teaching history on the basis of this framework, Kelly says:

At no period was the ruling aim universally accepted, or any one aim, until the eighteenth century, completely excluded. The cyclic evolution we have observed is largely based on alternation between the social and philosophical aims of language teaching with the literary aim acting as a balance. The need for forceful and elegant expression implied by this third aim kept the other two from going to excess. (1969:399)

Basically, as Richards and Rodgers (1986:1) observe, 'Changes in language teaching methods throughout history have reflected recognition of changes in the kind of proficiency learners need'. In this regard, as Titone (1968) and Kelly (1969) show, variations of the Direct Method, in which native speakers of the target language taught using that language to achieve communicative aims, were used where social purposes prevailed. Derivations of the

Grammar-Translation Method were used to achieve scholarly and literary purposes. It should also be noted that, whatever the methods and purposes at hand, mastery of the formal grammatical constructions was considered essential in the learning of a foreign language. Indeed, the strict adherence to the learning of grammatical patterns through imitation-usually of literary texts-in the Grammar-Translation Method was a primary source of the discontent which led to the development of the Reform Movement of the late 19th century. Reacting against both the emphasis on written skills and on absolute grammatical conformity within that method, the Reformers created the grounds on which ELT as a formal entity evolved.

Here we can begin to look at the history of ELT itself. This means ELT as a discipline with its own research and its own efforts at consolidation. There has, of course, been the teaching of English in some form or another for hundreds of years. However, as Howatt (1984:xiii) explains,

It is really only in the present century that we can begin to discern a separate identity for English as a foreign language which derives in part from the 'applied linguistic' principles of the late nineteenth century Reform Movement, and in part also from its relative freedom from restriction imposed by the demands of secondary school curricula and examination systems.

Thus, ELT as what Howatt goes on to call an 'autonomous profession' (1984:212) is a fairly recent constituent in the larger field of foreign language teaching. Both Howatt and Stern see its development in terms of four phases and, while the dates they use in marking off those phases differ slightly, they offer corresponding accounts of what has

taken place during those four phases. Stern outlines the phases as follows:

1880---World War I
 World War I---1940
 World War II---1970
 1970---Present

(Stern, 1983)

Howatt (1984) uses the following descriptive labels to indicate the general character of each of those phases:

First phase: laying the foundations
 Second phase: research and development
 Third phase: consolidation
 Fourth phase: change and variation

The first phase consists of ELT's move away from two centuries of emphasis on written rather than spoken language, with a corresponding shift to a phonetically-based approach in which students were taught in the target language and instructed in grammar inductively. That is, grammatical patterns were illustrated naturally within the larger framework of learning the language, rather than as the starting, or focal, point of instruction. The features just described represented an adaptation of the principles of the Direct Method as applied by the members of the Reform Movement who, as noted previously, were reacting against much that had transpired in language teaching in the 18th and 19th centuries. In moving to these new principles, the Reformers set in place attitudes toward ELT which constituted its core for the next several decades, particularly

the stress on spoken rather than written language.

The second phase revolves around the increasingly strong influence of linguistics on ELT, specifically with reference to the application of structuralist principles to ELT. Here the habit-formation emphasis which later held considerable sway in ELT was in its formative stages. Likewise, earlier ideas about sociolinguistic dimensions to ELT were being examined. Thus, in this second phase the linguistically-based research which took place set in motion approaches to ELT which dominated it in its third phase.

The third phase, then, was an extension of the second phase, with structuralist principles being applied within a strongly behaviourist orientation. During this phase, then, there was, as Howatt described it, a consolidation of work which had taken place earlier on.

The fourth phase reflects the broadening of the scope of ELT, partly by generally moving away from structuralist-behaviourist practices and partly by embracing a wide and varied range of new approaches arising from an emphasis on communicative and affective purposes in teaching.

These phases will be described in greater detail later. For now it is important to recognize that ELT is a dynamic rather than a static profession. Historically, linguistics has caused an ongoing stream of change as linguistic research has produced new insights into language and language learning. More recently, however-particularly in the fourth phase-the linguistic influence has broadened considerably to include

extensive input from applied linguistics. Disciplines such as sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics have had a strong impact on the recent development of ELT, and research in fields such as second language acquisition, speech act theory, semantics, discourse analysis, and stylistics has likewise made possible the "change and variation" referred to earlier by Howatt in his description of the fourth phase of ELT. As a result, ELT is at present more amenable to influences from many sources than at any time in its past. This state, as will be seen later, has important implications for literature.

Analyses of the Development of ELT

Scholarship on ELT often includes a brief review of the history of ELT. For the most part these reviews provide only the barest thumbnail sketches of ELT's development. Certain texts, however, address the subject in considerable depth. These include Howatt (1984), Kelly (1969), Mackey (1965), Richards and Rodgers (1986), Stern (1983), and Titone (1968). Other texts offering a detailed look at ELT's history are Brumfit and Roberts (1983), Diller (1978), Grittner (1977), Hawkins (1981), Lado (1964), Rivers (1981), Roulet (1972), van Els et al (1984), and White (1988). Richards and Rodgers (1986) and Stern (1983) are the most useful among these texts because of their effective combination of historical information and descriptions of important teaching methodologies, past and present.

Some descriptions of ELT's history supply analyses

of ELT's development as well. Such analyses provide excellent overviews of the boundaries within which ELT has evolved, and are useful to look at briefly as an introduction to ideas about language, language learning, and language teaching which have shaped ELT's development. These analyses can be categorized under three main headings: general education-practical skills; behaviourist-cognitive; and language as thought-language as action. Each of these dichotomies reveals underlying attitudes toward ELT which have played a role in its development.

a) general education-practical skills

Developed by Strevens (1977b), this dichotomy focuses on purposes for teaching English and the impact those purposes have on the selection of teaching methodologies. "General education" approaches concentrate on providing learners with non-linguistic aspects of language learning, such as knowledge of the culture of the target language. Literature also figures within such approaches. In contrast, "practical skills" approaches involve supplying learners with linguistically-based knowledge of the language necessary to achieve more pragmatic goals related to the language. Working within the same framework, Doughty (1973) refers to the latter approaches as those emphasizing "language for living", while the former stress "language for thought". Dubin and Olshtain (1986) use the terms "discrete" to refer to practical skills approaches, while general education approaches are described as "holistic."

Throughout its history, ELT has endeavoured to find the proper balance between the two sides of this dichotomy. Literature's role within ELT has been deeply affected by the debate on which of the two focuses should dominate in the classroom and in the construction of syllabuses.

b) behaviourist-cognitive

These two terms, which were commonly used in discussions of ELT in the 1950s and 60s, reflect fundamentally different attitudes towards how language is learned, and therefore how it should be taught. Behaviourist approaches work on the assumption that language learning is a matter of habit-formation on the part of the learner, while cognitive approaches operate in the belief that language is rule-governed, and that language learning involves more than continuous, non-analytical repetition of grammatical constructions; thought is also involved.

Diller (1978) use the terms "empiricist" and "rational" respectively to represent these two categories of approaches. Lakoff (1972) speaks of "rote-memorization" with reference to behaviourist approaches, while cognitive approaches are reflected in the term "intuitive-generalizing". Mackey (1965) sees the behaviourist side of ELT as "mechanistic" in its orientation, while the cognitive side is "mentalistic".

In each of these dichotomies, we can see the roots of a debate which has been of great importance in ELT since its second phase, and has been argued extensively more recently, especially in its third phase. Those periods in which behaviourist ideas have held the floor have been the

most damaging to literature's role within ELT.

c) language as thought-language as action

This dichotomy comes from Halliday (1973), who views the development of approaches to ELT within these two categories. Language as thought approaches are those which emphasize the learning of rules of grammar and understanding of the formal aspects of English. In sharp contrast, language as action approaches stress a semantic orientation to the teaching of English where the ability to use the language with some sense of its 'meaning potential' rather than merely repeating carefully learned patterns is paramount.

Rivers (1981) looks at ELT's development in a similar way with her distinction between "formalist" and "activist" categories of approaches in which formalist approaches reflect the language as thought type of ELT, and activist approaches are of the language as action kind. Rivers and Temperley (1978), working along the same lines, speak of "skill getting" and "skill using", with the former formalist in nature and the latter activist in its intentions. Widdowson (1978) uses the terms "language as a formal system" to describe language as thought approaches, and "language as communicative events" to refer to language as action methods. Widdowson's dichotomy is especially helpful because it reflects the underlying views of language which shape these different types of approaches. In each of these dichotomies the debate is over whether it is best to stress knowing about a language, or how to actually use a language,

that is, having the ability to generate appropriate discourse. This distinction is especially important in contemporary ELT, and is a basis upon which to build a case for literature in ELT, and particularly CLT.

Collectively, the three categories of analyses reflect the major directions ELT has followed, and deviated between, in its development. An observation by Ellis (1988) puts them into helpful focus and explains how they have been implemented during ELT's various phases. Ellis sees ELT alternating between three general instructional modes arising from the analyses just discussed. One is 'controlled practice,' i.e. learning involving pattern drills and structural mimicry, where learners are essentially conditioned to acquire specific linguistic items of English. Then there are 'controlled-communicative' approaches which combine rote learning approaches and those which stress the development of fluency in English. Third, there are 'communicative only' approaches where, as is generally the case today in CLT, the stress is on developing fluency rather than accuracy in the use of English. All three instructional types can be found in contemporary ELT, and much current debate centres on which type-particularly among the second and third discussed above-best serves the needs of ELT learners.

With the categories and dichotomies discussed in this portion of the chapter serving as an introduction, we can now look in more depth at the development of ELT, with a particular focus on how various theories of language and

language learning have influenced that development.

Theories of Language and Language Learning in ELT

On the surface, the development of ELT is most easily viewed through the shifts from one teaching methodology to another in different periods of ELT history, and a solid view of the evolution of ELT requires a clear understanding of these methods. At the same time, however, it is essential to be familiar with the theories of language and language learning which serve as the foundation of the various approaches to ELT, since it is these theories which make possible the construction of such approaches.

In looking at these theories, it is first helpful to note two points commonly made in texts on ELT. Both are expressed in these terms by Stern (1983). First, he says,

Language teaching requires a concept of the nature of language. Implicitly or explicitly the teacher works with a theory of language. Therefore, one of the central questions to ask of a language teaching theory is: What is the view of language in this language teaching theory? (1983:48)

Second, he notes,

Language teaching demands a view of the learner and of the nature of language learning. The fundamental questions are: What language learner does this theory envisage, and how does it view language learning? (1983:48)

These questions will be examined vis-a-vis ELT by examining, chronologically, the instructional approaches and practices which have both shaped and reflected its development. This chronological approach will be used in the context of the four phases of ELT's development noted in an earlier citation by Stern.

A) ELT's First Phase

A meaningful discussion of ELT methods and the theories underlying them must begin with a focus on the late 19th century and the Grammar-Translation Method since, as is commonly observed in scholarship on ELT, early ELT approaches were overtly conceived and designed in opposition to Grammar-Translation.

As Richards and Rodgers (1986:3) define it,

Grammar-Translation is a way of studying a language that approaches the language first through detailed analysis of its grammar rules, followed by application of this knowledge to the task of translating sentences and texts into and out of the target language. It hence views language learning as consisting of little more than memorizing rules and facts in order to understand and manipulate the morphology and syntax of the foreign language.

As noted earlier, Grammar-Translation dominated language teaching in the 18th and 19th centuries, and in various forms was used in other historical periods as well. It is also continues to exist today, particularly because of its relative flexibility. As McArthur observes,

Grammar-Translation methods can vary and have varied considerably in type and emphases probably since they first acquired their characteristic features, and need not be regarded as a kind of brooding monolith presiding over centuries of frustrated students. Inspired and inspiring teachers existed then and continue to exist now, working within this tradition. (1983:96)

In the late 19th century, however, this approach was the object of extreme criticism. Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983:4-5) summarise much of that criticism when they explain that 'Generally...the "grammar" part of "grammar-translation" was attacked, partly because the grammar used was actually inappropriate to English, and partly because

it was felt that too much emphasis on grammar led to learning about the language rather than learning to use the language'. They add that it was also believed that 'it led to too much concentration on the written, and particularly the literary, forms and too little on natural speech' (1983:5). The resulting situation, according to Lado, was one in which

At the end of the nineteenth century language learning had become grammar recitation and dictionary thumbing. The students defined the parts of speech; memorized conjugations, declensions and grammar rules; and translated selections using a bilingual dictionary or glossary. (1964:4)

The reaction against language that was too 'literary' is worth special note here, because in this criticism we can see the roots of what later became a major source of opposition to literature in ELT: the belief that the language of literary texts is unsuitable for the language classroom, where 'practical' or 'everyday' language is to be taught to students. It should also be noted that this was not a reaction, at that point, against literature itself; indeed, literature held a place of high esteem in ELT at that time, but at advanced levels of the learning process.

Near the end of the 19th century Grammar-Translation was, for the most part, abandoned as such well-known names in European language teaching as Francis Gouin, Wilhelm Vietor, Otto Jespersen, and Maximilian Berlitz developed dramatically different ideas about language teaching which, collectively, became known as the Reform Movement. That movement not only signalled the end of the dominance of

Grammar-Translation; at the same time, explains White, 'The origins of a separate ELT tradition during this century can be traced to a group of teachers who came together at the end of the nineteenth century under the banner of the Reform Movement' (1988:10). Thus, the Reform Movement marks the beginning of modern ELT, specifically through the pioneering work of Henry Sweet within that Reform context.

Hawkins (1981:125) pinpoints the initial thrust of their work: 'For Sweet, as for his German contemporaries, the dragon to be slain was grammar-translation'. This was achieved not merely by opposing the practices within Grammar-Translation, but by posing concrete alternatives to those practices. Howatt (1984:171) summarises them as follows:

The Reform Movement was founded on three basic principles: the primacy of speech, the centrality of the connected text as the kernel of the teaching-learning process, and the absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom.

White, elaborating on those principles, outlines at the the same time the foundations of the first approach to modern ELT:

What were the principles of the Reform Movement, and why were they so innovatory? The first principle, the primacy of speech, was clearly opposed to the existing practice, which focused on the written language. The second principle, which emphasized the centrality of connected text as the heart of the teaching-learning process, was also out of step with current practice, which tended to work with isolated, unconnected and decontextualized sentences. The third principle, advocating absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom, also flew in the face of contemporary concern with the written language. (1988:11)

The Reform Movement was important for other reasons as well, reasons which likewise made possible the development of ELT. One was the introduction of phonetics and phonetic training into the language learning process. This innovation both transformed language teaching and learning and ushered into ELT the dominant linguistic influence noted earlier. Also of great importance was the shift to an inductive approach to grammar. This new practice contrasted sharply with the standard deductive approach and likewise opened the door to an approach to grammar which has taken root in much of modern ELT. Van Els et al outline the major features of this contrast:

By induction we mean that the language learner acquires the command of the L2 rule system needed for proficiency in the language directly from the language material presented. In the deductive approach the rules of the language are explicitly presented to the learner, so that the learner internalizes the rules on the basis of grammatical explanation and analysis. The starting point in induction is the language material itself, and in deduction it is the rules which are given. (1984:142)

Another crucial innovation, says Kelly (1969:313), was the stress 'on association as the key factor in language learning'. That is, it was felt to be essential for learners to be able to develop associations between different elements of a text so as to fully internalize the rules of grammar and use.

Collectively, these ideas and innovations, as Richards and Rodgers (1986:8) point out, 'provided the theoretical foundations for a principled approach to language teaching, one based on a scientific approach to the study of language and of language learning'. Or, as Howatt (1984:175) puts it,

'The Reform Movement offered language teaching something it could hardly refuse-a scientific approach'. As a result, as these citations suggest, from the beginning of modern ELT it was essential to conceptualise language teaching according to theories of language and language learning.

In the case of the Reform Movement, a theory of language which stated that language is primarily speech was placed at the centre of language teaching. Theories of language learning were also stated explicitly. These included, as noted earlier, the belief that learners need to establish associations between elements within the target language so as to gain a real sense of meaning within the language, as well as the idea that learners need to hear the target language before seeing it.

Following on the heels of the Reform Movement, and serving as a link between the first and second phases of ELT's development, was a 'natural' orientation to language teaching which culminated in the Direct Method, the reigning ELT approach of the early 20th century. Arising to some degree from the innovations of the Reform Movement, the Direct Method introduced other key ideas on language teaching and learning as well and in the process further laid the foundation for later practices in ELT.

The Direct Method was based on the same theory of language at the heart of the Reform Movement, i.e. that language is mainly speech. Where it differed was in some of its theories of language learning. The impetus here was the early work in natural language teaching, which

postulates that, as Lado (1964:5) explains, 'learning a foreign language is the same as learning the mother tongue, that is, that exposing the student directly to the foreign language impresses it perfectly upon his mind'. This idea had come from the ELT pioneer Harold Palmer, among others. As Howatt describes it, 'Palmer...started a new quest for natural methods by identifying the spontaneity of natural spoken language with the formation of automatic speech habits' (1984:295). That is, students need the same kind of direct contact with the target language that exists naturally when the native language is learned. Hence, the Direct Method advocated an approach whereby students learned English through exclusive contact with the language in the classroom. Looking further at the theory of language learning fuelling the Direct Method, Stern says that 'The Direct Method was also a first attempt to make the language learning situation one of language use and to train the learner to abandon the first language as the frame of reference' (1983:459).

Stern's reference to language use points to another feature of the Direct Method: the insistence on including a social factor in the learning process. This meant looking at social, rather than literary, uses of the target language, which led to an emphasis on what Stern describes as 'the spoken everyday language' (1983:458). This occurred, in part, through teaching approaches which attempted to associate the language directly with objects in the home, the school, and other environments common to students.

Furthermore, grammar was taught inductively, so that the learning of grammatical structures did not become the object of lessons; rather, such structures were worked naturally into lessons focusing on language use.

The attitude to literary language cited earlier once again deserves special notice. Here we see a continuation of the notion that literary language is unsuitable for the language classroom. Once again, however, it must be pointed out that this did not constitute an opposition to literature; instead, literature continued to play a role in the more advanced levels of learning.

With the emphasis on everyday spoken language, the Direct Method brought to ELT the notion of what Lado (1964) calls "language contact"; this replaced grammar recitation and analysis, and learners acquired English in a manner which was a forerunner of the current Communicative approach. That is, they needed to encounter the kinds of language necessary for everyday discourse in real-world conditions.

Here it is important to note that as the Direct Method was being developed, crucial insights in linguistics were simultaneously developing. The reference here is to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, whose Course in General Linguistics (1916) revolutionized 20th century linguistic thought. An observation by Ullman (1964:50) places these insights in context:

The development of modern linguistics, considered in its broad outlines, seems to fall into three distinct phases...Until the end of the eighteenth century, linguistic studies had a predominantly

descriptive orientation, though description was often vitiated by value judgments and by intrusions of normative criteria. In the nineteenth century, there was a vigorous reaction against this attitude: description was replaced by history, and the latter reigned supreme in linguistics right down to the beginning of the present century. Finally, the teaching of Ferdinand de Saussure ushered in the third phase which was to bring about a synthesis of the two approaches.

Saussure's approach was to distinguish between diachronic, or historically-based studies of language, and synchronic studies, where the focus is on language use within a particular period. He favoured the latter because, as Ullman (1964:4) points out, this kind of descriptive method 'is more akin to the attitude of the ordinary speaker'. This led to his crucial further distinction between 'langue' and 'parole'. Culler defines this distinction and introduces its importance to ELT by saying of first langue and then parole:

The former is a system, an institution, a set of interpersonal rules and norms, while the latter comprises the actual manifestations of the system in speech and writing. It is, of course, easy to confuse the system with its manifestations, to think of English as the set of English utterances. But to learn English is not to memorize a set of English utterances; it is to master a system of rules and norms which make it possible to produce and understand utterances. To know English is to have assimilated the system of the language. And the linguist's task is not to study utterances for their own sake; they are of interest to him only in so far as they provide evidence about the nature of the underlying system, the English language. (1975:8)

Within the language teaching context, the idea of a synchronic approach to language revolving around the distinction between langue and parole made possible the critical notion of a structural view of language, as well

as of language teaching and learning. As Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964:148) point out, 'Saussure stressed that language can only be understood through the set of systematic relations that make up its internal structure'. This idea inspired the structural revolution which started in the late 1920s and shifted ELT in a vastly different direction from that emerging through the Direct Method. Stern pinpoints the roots of that revolutionary change in ELT by explaining that 'A consequence of the synchronic approach advocated by Saussure has been that language in modern linguistics is looked upon as a system of relationships or as an elaborate structure of mutually supporting parts, arranged in some hierarchical order' (1983:126). This belief made possible the later emphasis on pattern drills and other elements of structurally based teaching approaches which asserted the primary need for students to learn to manipulate that 'elaborate structure of mutually supporting parts' described by Stern above.

Meanwhile, the notion of parole enabled linguists and language teachers to focus on language actually in use, in conjunction with the emphasis on everyday language in the Direct Method. Thus, while Saussure's structural orientation led ELT away from the Direct Method and into new regions of language teaching, the concept of parole made possible a link to the Direct Method and the retention of certain of its features. As a result, as the Direct Method evolved into its successor, Palmer's Oral Method, a structural element was added to much that took place in the Direct

Method classroom. This made possible an early attempt at the grading of various communication skills, so that learners were expected to work through a hierarchy or progression of such skills (reflecting a structural orientation) while being instructed via Direct Method techniques. These developments created the foundation upon which the Situational approach to language teaching, the dominant method in Britain from the 1930s into the 1960s (and still in use today) arose.

B) ELT's Second Phase

With the developments cited above, ELT entered its second phase of development, beginning with the Oral/Situational approach (the two terms overlap), which was developed initially in the work of Palmer, Hornby and other British applied linguists. Like American linguists, they were responding positively to the structural foundations of Saussure's linguistics. However, where American linguists, led by Bloomfield, chose to focus on the form of the language rather than its actual use, British linguists 'became concerned with the relationship between language and context of situation' (White, 1988:15). As 'the concept of situation caught the attention of linguists and language teachers' (Kelly, 1969:10), they 'developed an approach to methodology that involved systematic principles of selection (the principles by which lexical and grammatical content was chosen), gradation (principles by which the organization and sequencing of content was determined), and presentation (techniques for presentation and practice of items in a

course)' (Richards and Rodgers, 1986:33).

Crucial to this approach was Firth's work in an earlier version of sociolinguistics. According to Roulet,

Ever since 1935, Firth rejected the traditional conception of a monolithic and homogeneous language...He observed that we all play different social roles according to different situations, and that each role has corresponding to it a certain variety of language. At the same time he made the point that parole was not a 'boundless chaos' and that conversation was much more structured than one would generally believe. In fact, according to Firth, we are not at all free to say what we want since our language activity is governed to a large degree by conventions which bind us to our particular roles and situations. (1975:77-78)

Thus, in addition to the earlier Direct Method emphasis on beginning with the spoken language and the use of the target language in the classroom, the Situational approach revolved around the idea that, as Richards and Rodgers (1986:34) explain, 'New language points are introduced and practiced situationally'. That is, 'each new pattern or lexical item should be introduced to the class in advance of the work with the text, and the presentation be linked to classroom situations in which the meaning of the new item would be established' (White, 1988:13). The texts would then offer dialogues to be used in conjunction with the earlier introduction of language items. In this approach, as with the current Communicative approach, a unit in a text would be based on a particular situation, such as being at a train station, and an accompanying dialogue would feature a continuous stream of utterances related to that situation.

Within this approach, a new theory of language was introduced into ELT, one which evolved from that at the heart of the Direct Method. As Richards and Rodgers (1986:35) describe it, 'The theory of language underlying Situational Language Teaching can be characterized as a type of British "structuralism." Speech was regarded as the basis of language, and structure was viewed as being at the heart of speaking ability'. They go on to say that 'The theory that knowledge of structures must be linked to situations in which they could be used gave Situational Language Teaching one of its distinctive features. This may have reflected the functional trend in British linguistics since the thirties' (1986:35).

As for the theory of language learning at work in this approach, Richards and Rodgers note that 'The theory of learning underlying Situational Language Teaching is a type of behaviourist habit-learning theory. It addresses primarily the processes rather than the conditions of learning' (1986:35-36). The earlier belief in an inductive approach to grammar, and to a duplication, where possible, of the conditions under which children learn their first language, were other theories of learning applied in the Situational approach. The belief that learners learn best when language is presented within a specific situational context was clearly another of the theories of learning at work in this approach.

As noted earlier, the Situational approach had a basis in structuralist ideas about language. This meant that

learners were expected to develop the ability to accurately reproduce English structural patterns. However, the Situational approach was a kind of modified structuralism as a result of the simultaneous emphasis on situation, which brought a semantic element into the use of structuralist principles within the British context. American ELT extended structuralism in a different direction, so that there were essentially two structuralist streams in ELT operating simultaneously from the 1930s into the 1950s. On the British side there was situational structuralism, while on the American side there was grammatical structuralism (Dobson, 1979).

The British situational structuralism has already been described briefly. As for the American grammatical structuralism, three distinct yet overlapping phases can be pinpointed, during each of which the ability to manipulate the grammar of English was the thrust of language teaching. First, there was the early structural ELT arising from the linguistics of Bloomfield in the 1930s. A second phase occurred during World War II with the development of the so-called 'Army Method' of language teaching. The third phase consisted of the fairly recent Audiolingual approach. Here the work of Fries and Skinner dominated the field.

McArthur (1983:35), in an overview of these phases, explains that

Various structuralist schools grew up, during and after the Second World War and had a powerful influence on language teaching. These schools were characterized by an approach to language as analysable data rather than as a living process.

Meaning as a subject for linguistic investigation ('semantics') was relegated to the sidelines in this approach.

The foundation for these phases was laid in the work of Bloomfield. Rivers (1981:41-43), in reviewing Bloomfield's contributions to this grammatically-based structuralism, reproduces the following central principles, which she describes as "slogans of the day":

1. Language is speech, not writing.
2. A language is a set of habits.
3. Teach the language and not about the language.
4. A language is what its native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say.
5. Languages are different.

Points one and two above represent fundamental theories of language guiding this general type of structuralist language teaching, while points three and four state basic theories of language learning which likewise directed the application of structuralist principles.

Point two is especially crucial, because it was the focal point of the behavioural or mechanistic orientation discussed previously. Here language learning was not seen as a creative process, but rather as the uncreative inculcation of sets of grammatical structures through constant repetition of those structures. As this notion took root in American ELT, ELT entered its third phase of development.

Before looking at that phase, it is important to note that as the ideas discussed above became more influential,

literature's role in ELT came under serious threat. During the second phase it had continued to play an important role in the later stages of the language learning process, and indeed represented the goal in language learning for many students and teachers.

C) ELT's Third Phase

The key theory underlying grammatical structuralism, i.e. that language is a set of habits, was central to the move from ELT's second phase to its third phase. As will be seen later, the third phase was a more developed version of the early grammatical structuralism of the second phase.

The notion that language is a set of habits led to an approach to language teaching in which, say Brumfit and Roberts (1983:66), 'learning a language could be viewed largely as the learning of a set of sentence patterns and of items of vocabulary to be slotted into them in a fairly mechanical way'. Long (1986:42) elaborates on this description by drawing attention to the 'emphasis on discrete-point teaching, "correctness" in grammatical form, and repetition of a range of graded structures, restricted lexis, etc.' which developed from the structuralist thought of what can be called the first phase of structuralism (in ELT's second phase of development). In particular, this led to the following situation described by Rivers (1981:72):

The emphasis on structural rather than lexical or situational meaning was basic to the development of pattern or structure drill...Pattern drills were developed as a technique for building habits in the new language. Talking about the operation of the language in conceptual terms or in terms applicable to the system of another language was discouraged.

These theories of language and language learning and their accompanying teaching techniques were implemented in the second phase of grammatical structuralism, and it was at this point that ELT moved into its third phase of development. The starting point for the third phase was World War II, when the 'Army Method' of teaching was introduced. Here the more developed structuralist principles just reported were applied to the linguistic training of American military personnel (translators, code breakers, and others for whom knowledge of German, Italian, and Japanese would be essential) during the second world war, when the exigencies of the war necessitated the rapid and efficient learning of foreign languages.

Structuralist principles in this context were applied in an approach featuring 'immersion in intensive, practical instruction' (Bowen et al, 1985:32). Within this 'immersion learning' environment (Hawkins, 1981:154), pattern practice using graded materials designed to inculcate the fundamental structures of the target language was the primary teaching method. This approach proved to be essential in the development of ELT. As van Els et al (1984:152) observe, the combination of structuralist ideas and practices and the growing influence of behavioural psychology, which had also played a role in the creation of the Army Method, 'contributed considerably to the rise of the Audiolingual method'.

The Audiolingual method, as just noted, grew out of the teaching practices at hand during World War II and, in the American context (as well as the European context to

some degree), was the the principal methodology in the post-war years on into the 1960s. At the core of this approach was an attitude described by Kelly (1969:309), who says of the structuralists responsible for the approach that they 'scorned rule learning, pointing out that this was absorbing analysis, not language'. What they proposed instead was, as suggested earlier, a habit-governed approach in which learners were steeped in the target language through constant repetition of, rather than analysis of, patterns or forms of the language. That is, as Finocchiaro explains, the approach 'emphasized the formal properties of language (the oral and written forms of nouns, verbs, etc.) which students had to learn in order to encode and decode speech, whether or not they understood the meanings of the individual words or of the spoken message they were to convey' (1982:4). This was accomplished mainly, say Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983:7), through the use of 'long dialogues, usually centred on one or more carefully graded structures'. Skills were separated and taught in the order of listening, speaking, reading, and writing

The Audiolingual approach was the product of various theories of language. One, reflecting the structuralist roots of the approach, is described in these terms by Richards and Rodgers (1986:49): 'Language was viewed as a system of structurally related elements for the encoding of meaning, the elements being phonemes, morphemes, words, structures, and sentence types'. This was coupled with the notion mentioned earlier, in which 'language is seen as a

process of habit formation' (Crystal, 1987:374). Kaplan adds this perspective: 'Language was seen as a set of grammatical frames instantiated with a lexicon that fit slots in the frames' (1985:2).

Underpinning these structural views was a crucial perspective arising from the field of behavioural psychology and reflecting the theories of B.F. Skinner. Skinner, echoing the view of language as habit formation, asserted that language was in fact a system or set of learned behaviours. These habits or behaviours were formed out of the network of stimulus, response, and reinforcement that constitute the conditioning processes central to behavioural psychology. This was, as noted earlier by Diller (1978), an empiricist view of language. That is, language is a matter of active practice rather than thought or cognitive interaction. And through this emphasis on creating the proper stimulus/response/reinforcement conditions, the Audiolingual approach was essentially, as Stern describes it, 'a relatively unthinking drill and training approach' (1983:473) in line with the theories of language just outlined.

There are many descriptions of the theories of language learning attached to the theories of language just discussed. Brooks (1960:47) offers one when he says that 'The single paramount fact about language learning is that it concerns no problem solving, but the formation and performance of habits'. Or, as Lado (1964:41) describes it, 'Knowing a language is defined as the power to use its complex

mechanism through bundles of habits', hence language learning and teaching must occur in conditions where such habits are allowed to form. This was achieved partly through the so-called 'mim-mem', or mimicry-memorization practice in which, as the terms imply, learning consisted of imitating and committing to memory through habit formation patterns taught in the dialogue and drill orientation of the Audiolingual classroom. As Rivers (1983:3) says of this practice, 'This mastery would be achieved through the memorization of building blocks of communicative language material and by drilling in the use of structural frameworks'. This technique had originally been developed as part of the Army Method approach.

This process of imitation led to habit formation through the use of reinforcement in line with the behavioural perspective of the Audiolingual approach. Brumfit and Roberts (1983:62-63) explain how this works when they say that 'language was the manifestation of a network of habits built up through conditioning and association in much the same way as any other sort of behaviour...a person's total verbal behaviour will be a system of habitual responses cultivated, or "shaped", through reinforcement'. Thus, as Hawkins points out, 'language learning is the formation of a hierarchy of speech habits' (1981:177) in which, says Kaplan (1985:2), 'the process was overlearning'. This notion of overlearning was crucial; only through the constant repetition of drills through endless pattern practice, during which appropriate reinforcement was

provided, could the desired habits be formed. What the approach amounted to, then, says McLaughlin (1987:7), was a set of principles which included 'sequential control of the learning process, specification of learning goals, and immediate reinforcement'.

In the late 1950s the theories just discussed were seriously challenged by the transformational-generative linguistics of Noam Chomsky. Of particular importance was his powerful critique of Skinner's notions of language and language learning in 1959. This essay paved the way to the rejection, in the main, of Audiolingualism in the early 1960s. Chomsky, in a direct attack on Skinner's behaviourally-based, habit formation theory of language, proposed instead a rule governed theory of language and language learning. Larsen-Freeman (1987:2) summarises Chomsky's rejection of Skinner's approach as follows:

Chomsky argued that language acquisition could not take place through habit formation because language was far too complicated to be learned in such a manner, especially given the brief time available. There must be, Chomsky reasoned, some innate capacity that humans possessed which predisposed them to look for basic patterns in language. Furthermore, people could create and comprehend novel utterances-utterances they could not possibly have encountered in the language that was spoken to them.

That is, says Kaplan (1985:2), 'Chomsky argued that the behaviourist view could not account for the fact that human beings were creative about language'. What he proposed instead, as suggested in the Larsen-Freeman citation, was a theory of language as rule governed behaviour revolving around the key concepts of, and distinctions between,

'competence' and 'performance'. Competence, roughly equivalent to Saussure's *langue*, refers to the formal language system itself and the learner's knowledge of that system and its structural framework. Performance, on the other hand, refers to the learner's ability to use his or her competence by generating discourse in conjunction with the rules constituting competence.

Chomsky also believed that people are born with an innate set of language learning abilities, and that from childhood onwards they build upon that innate capacity through a process of continual hypothesis testing. That is, a language acquisition device they are born with enables them to form ideas about how to generate discourse, and as these ideas are tested in various discourse situations, their competence, or knowledge of how the system works, develops. In other words, they are learning the rules of the language, rules which then govern how they use the language through performance. The emphasis is thus on the development of a knowledge of, and ability to use, rules, rather than the creation of a set of habits.

Under the influence of Chomsky's linguistics (though Chomsky himself issued a denial of the application of his work to language teaching), ELT began to move away from the behaviourally-oriented theories of language and language learning which directed the Audiolingual approach. Of the rule governed theory of language which replaced it, Brumfit and Roberts (1983:67) point out that 'The view of language represented by Chomsky is often referred to as "mentalistic"

because it sees language not as conditioned, stimulus-bound verbal behaviour but as a property of the mind'. This, in turn, led to a new theory of language learning which, say van Els et al (1984:28), 'stresses the mental activities of the language learner himself, and strongly questions the relevance of such external factors as imitation, frequency of stimulus, and reinforcement'.

The new theory of language learning described by van Els et al was a stepping stone towards an approach to ELT which developed in the 1960s as an outgrowth of Chomsky's critique of habit formation type approaches. This newer approach was Cognitive-Code Theory, which reacted against the inductive, behavioural structuralism of the Audiolingual approach by offering what Rivers (1987:xii) describes as a 'deductive, rule-learning cognitive code approach, where listening, reading, and speaking came after learning grammar rules'. She also explains that

Seizing on the idea of rule-governed behaviour, a cognitive code-learning method was proposed that developed from a point of view rather similar to that of the grammar-translation method... Basically, it recommended explaining grammar rules, practicing their use through exercises, and then seeing them in action in the context of reading (or listening) materials. This is a process of language analysis, then application, then synthesis. It is a deductive approach: from rule to application. Students were to acquire "competence" first, before being asked to "perform." (1983:5)

Of particular importance in this cognitive approach, says Larsen-Freeman (1987:3), was that 'Rather than being seen as passive imitators of carefully controlled language input, learners were seen to be active agents involved in a process of "creative construction" '. This new view of

the language learner, when joined during the course of the 1960s with other ideas about language and language learning, created the foundation for the developments in the 1970s which in turn made possible ELT as it is mainly practiced today, in its fourth phase, particularly in the Communicative approach.

One of the crucial additions to the cognitively-based approach was Hymes' development in the 1960s and early 1970s of the vital concept of 'communicative competence'. Reacting against Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence with its emphasis on a knowledge of the rules of syntax of an ideal speaker of a language, Hymes' focus was on the learner's knowledge of the social factors necessary for appropriate communication within specific sociolinguistic contexts. Communicative competence, then, refers to the ability to generate appropriate responses within a wide range of social and cultural factors which shape the boundaries of the expected response. A crucial sociocultural dimension was thus added to ELT, one which brought with it the necessity to help learners actually communicate in ways which are socially as well as linguistically appropriate.

Thus, the concept of communicative competence was instrumental in paving the way towards new ideas about language learning and language learners. Since the notion of a communicative rather than simply a linguistic competence drew attention to purposeful use of a language within social contexts, the processes of language learning, and the learner's role within them, therefore had to be examined

in new terms.

This examination was made possible by another crucial addition to ELT as the 1960s merged into the 1970s: the growing interest in the semantic dimensions of language. Earlier work by Firth and Halliday had, within British ELT, focused on social factors in language use and had informed the development of the Situational approach, where language learning was affiliated, to some degree, with particular situations of language use. However, the structural base of that approach led at the same time to a belief in the habit formation idea, and as a result prevented the development of a full focus on the semantic domain of language. In the 1960s to some degree, and more forcefully in the 1970s, Halliday enlarged the interest in social factors in language learning to include a heavier concentration on the 'meaning potential' of language (Halliday, 1973).

In the early 1970s, then, the work of sociolinguists like Hymes and Halliday brought about in ELT a rejection of the long-standing focus on an ideal hearer-speaker where there was little or no regard for the communicative events and the various social factors surrounding them, i.e. of communication in the real world of genuine speech acts, as opposed to the linguists' sanitized, neatly ordered conceptualization of it which dominated ELT.

In the wake of this rejection ELT specialists, as Finocchiaro (1982:5) points out, stressed 'the central role of appropriateness and acceptability of the speech act in the particular sociocultural situation in which it is said'.

Appropriateness and acceptability referred to communicative competence and the need for learners to be able to generate discourse which was not only grammatically correct but suitable in accordance with the sociocultural, non-linguistic demands of the particular communicative situation at hand. This new emphasis, coupled with a growing interest in speech act theory, especially the work of Austin and Searle, led to a concentration on what Spencer and Gregory (1964:76) call 'language as an activity'. Or, as Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964:38) observe, 'The emphasis now is on the description of language activity as part of the whole complex of events which, together with the participants and relevant objects, make up actual situations'.

Halliday (1970:58) sums up this shift in thinking about language and language learning when he remarks that 'Language does not operate except in the context of other events'. That is, from the language teaching point of view, language cannot be taught in isolation, as was the case when drills and pattern practice dominated much of ELT. Instead, there must be some focus at least on its 'meaning potential' as well, so that learners can actually use the language in the endless varieties of discourse situations they may face later. Without this focus on the semantic, sociocultural aspect of language, learners will find themselves in the all too familiar situation in the past where, after years of study of a language, they are unable to use it the moment they encounter a real-life communicative context. This therefore meant taking into account the

sociocultural factors bound up in communicative situations; this in turn drew attention to the meaning potential of language, since learners could not adapt the linguistic structures they were learning to different discourse contexts without some notion of the meaning of those structures relative to the sociocultural factors necessitating their selection. As Watson (1978:58) explains:

Language is a contextual apparatus, and a message achieves its meaning only by virtue of the circumstances that surround it. This is why, when we receive a letter or a telegram, we normally read the signature first, even though it comes at the end.

With the advent of the notion of communicative competence and the interest in semantically-based, sociocultural factors in language learning, ELT's third phase was replaced by its fourth, and most recent, phase. Before reviewing the fourth phase, a few words about the place of literature within the third phase are necessary. The main point to be made here is that it was during the third phase, particularly when behavioural principles dominated ELT, that literature's role in the discipline diminished to a level where it might be said to have existed only on the fringes of ELT. Within a behavioural, structural context, literature was seen as irrelevant and inappropriate to ELT, since it could not serve the habit formation idea which was central in ELT at that point. It continued to be available to students seeking a literary education, but beyond that had no real role in ELT. It was in reference to this state of pedagogic exile that Maley, cited earlier,

asserted that 'literature is back'. However, it should also be noted that the developments reported in the final stages of the third phase played major roles in the resurrection of literature in the fourth phase.

D) ELT's Fourth Phase

As a result of the new perspectives on language and language learning which evolved at the end of the third phase of ELT's development, ELT began a shift toward a 'general interest in language for communication' (Canale, 1983:2). With that shift, ELT's fourth, and current, phase was initiated. Here the achievement of communicative competence in learners became the primary focus of attention. The semantically-based idea at the heart of this shift to a concentration on communicative competence is described as follows by Spencer and Gregory:

Language events do not take place in isolation from other events; rather they operate within a wide framework of human activity. Any piece of language is therefore part of a situation, and so has a context, a relationship with that situation.
(1964:68)

What was emerging, then, was a view of language as a social activity. This view opened the door to another key perception of language, a functional perception. Indeed, efforts to construct the framework of a theory of function became a focal point of ELT-based research in the early days of its fourth phase. Such a theory, says Halliday, 'is a theory about meanings, not words or constructions' (1973:110). Its purpose, he notes, is that it 'attempts to explain linguistic structures, and linguistic phenomena,

by reference to the notion that language plays a part in our lives' (1973:104). As a result, language teaching involves supplying learners with the ability to perform the various functions that the target language is used for by its speakers; this, in turn, requires a taxonomy of those functions. Hence, as noted earlier, developing that taxonomy became a major research effort in ELT, and it was this effort which eventually led ELT to where it is today. In looking at language as a social activity and at the functions embedded in such activity, ELT was, again, developing a focus on communication, and this focus remains at the centre of ELT:

One other factor which must be mentioned in the development of a new direction for ELT in its fourth phase was the introduction of a humanistic element into the language teaching equation. Like the other factors in the shift which took place in ELT, this one's real importance was first felt in the early 1970s, though its roots in ELT trace back to the 1960s.

An emerging theme in ELT-based scholarship in the 1960s and 70s, when the transition from structuralist-behaviourist type teaching was taking shape, was that within that context there had been no focus on learners' own development. Then, in the 1960s, says Stern (1983:110), efforts were made 'to focus more on the learner as an individual and as a person'. Stern's observation is especially revealing, because it draws attention to two important components in the humanistic aspect of ELT. These two components then inspired

different streams within the humanistic emphasis.

First, the interest in the learner as an individual created an opening for newer applications of linguistics to ELT. One significant example of this was the interest in 'interlanguage' studies. Originating in the work of Selinker in the early 1970s, interlanguage studies focused on a previously neglected variety of language: that of the learner while he/she moves from the first language to fluency in the second language. The interlanguage, an interim hybrid of the two languages is, as Stern (1983:125) explains, 'a language system with its own rules and characteristics' arising from the learner's attempts to shift from the first to the second language. The study of this particular language variety places a focus on the individual learner. That is, a linguistic analysis of an individual's discourse during the language learning process reveals important points about his/her strengths and weaknesses relative to that process. In particular, the study of a learner's interlanguage opens a window onto the nature of the problems he/she is experiencing while at attempting to grasp the target language. As this takes place place, it is the learner on centre stage.

Closely aligned to the interest in interlanguage is the focus on learners' errors. Here Dubin and Olshtain (1986:74) point out that 'If in the 1960s errors had to be avoided at all costs, today errors are viewed as an integral part of the language learning process from which we can gain very significant insights'. In this case the learner

as an individual becomes important, since each learner's errors will vary. Once again, as with interlanguage studies, error analysis produces useful data describing the problems being experienced by the learner-and puts the focus on the learner. This, in turn, impacts on the design or choice of teaching approaches as analysis of learner errors helps generate insight into how to best overcome, from an instructional point of view, some of the difficulties in language learning encountered by learners. This process occurs in five successive steps, identified by van Els et al as identification of errors; description of errors; explanation of errors; evaluation of errors; and prevention/correction of errors (1984:67). Throughout this process, 'learners are seen to be much more actively responsible for their own learning' (Larsen-Freeman, 1986:51), hence reinforcing the idea of the learner as an individual.

This focus on the learner as an individual is also manifested in the relatively recent interest in motivation. Particularly important here is the work of Gardner and Lambert, and their distinction between instrumental and integrative types of motivation. They explain that a student who is instrumentally motivated focuses on 'the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation', while in the case of integrative motivation the learner 'wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group' (1972:3).

Being aware of which kind of learner motivation dominates in a specific learning situation can of course assist a teacher in selecting instructional material appropriate to that motivation. More important in the context of the humanistic element in ELT, however, is the fact that once again it is the learner and his/her needs which becomes the centre of the teaching/learning experience.

The interest in the learner as an individual has also made possible a more intensive focus on the language learning process itself. This is seen partly, as suggested earlier, in the focus on interlanguage studies. A more prominent focus at present is seen in the rapidly growing interest in the field of second language acquisition, particularly in the recent distinction between learning and acquisition. Krashen's work in the 1970s and 80s has been especially influential in this field, and in drawing the distinction cited above.

This learner-centred interest is also seen in the efforts to examine individual preferences for teaching methods among language learners. Rivers describes this aspect of the focus on the learner as an individual when she observes that

Individual students have preferred modalities of learning: some learn best through the ear, some through the eye. They also learn at different rates and employ quite different strategies for understanding and retaining the material to be learned. With this new understanding, teachers were no longer satisfied with a monolithic "what is good for one is good for all" approach. (1982:9)

As a result of this interest in learner preferences, Rivers goes on to say, there was 'a flowering of

experimentation with individual learning programs, diversified content, and courses of differing lengths and intensity' (1982:9). This "flowering of experimentation" has produced the wide variety of language teaching methods employed in ELT's fourth phase.

The above citation points at the second stream in ELT arising from the humanistic emphasis, this one related to the view of the learner as a whole person. In this case the focus is on the 'affective needs' of learners. i.e. those needs intertwined with the learner's personal, as opposed to purely linguistic, growth. Here the primary influence was the field of humanistic psychology and the work of such figures as Maslow and Rogers. What has resulted from this influence is the 'whole language teaching' approach as seen in a method like Community Language Learning. Brumfit and Roberts offer this summary of whole language teaching:

Whole language teaching has taken account of the notion of communicative competence, it has also responded in recent years to pressures to integrate aspects of the learner's personality more fully into the learning process. Indeed, what seems to underlie certain new approaches is the idea that learning a foreign language is, almost more than anything else, a question of overcoming psychological inhibitions and emotional problems so that one can bring one's inherent intellectual resources fully into play. (1983:85-86)

Thus, as Finocchiaro (1982:5) says, 'personality factors' became an important variable in language teaching, creating the 'necessity for making the learner feel valued by teacher and peers in the classroom'. This point of view has supplied ELT with concepts of both language and language

learning vastly different from those which prevailed in the structurally dominated periods of language study, as illustrated in the following observation by Brumfit:

Unlike their opponents, humanistic teachers see language as something which must engage the whole person, not as something purely intellectual; they recognize that their students are people like themselves, with emotional and spiritual needs as well as intellectual ones, people who can contribute to their own learning, who are not the passive recipients of someone else's teaching. (1986:79)

In general terms, regarding the early days of ELT's fourth phase, when semantically-based functional ideas concerning language and humanistically-oriented notions about language learning and learners emerged simultaneously with the crucial concept of communicative competence, two particular points of view can be cited by way of summarising those days. These citations also serve as a prelude to the discussions of the Functional-Notional and Communicative approaches which take place shortly.

The first point of view concerns the prevailing conceptualization of language during this period. Here Rogers (1988:6) refers to 'a view of language which emphasises its role as a means of social interaction'.

As for the reigning view of language learning, which has carried over into the current period, Crystal remarks that

Today, the active role of the learner is an established principle. It is recognized that there are important individual differences among learners, especially in personality and motivation, that can directly influence the teaching outcome. In this way, people are seen to be largely responsible for their own progress. (1987:368)

Joined together, these perspectives point to the

communicative orientation which now dominates ELT, as Ellis (1982:73) demonstrates in the following overview of the developments discussed in the preceding pages:

There have been, perhaps, two major trends in second language teaching in the last ten years. The first concerns the recognition that successful language learning does not depend solely on good materials and good teaching, but also on the general and individual strategies employed by the learner. Learners are not computers which the teacher has to program; they actively construct their own syllabuses which influence (if not determine) the route that learning follows. The second trend concerns the nature of the linguistic descriptions which serve as the basis for language teaching approaches. There has been a shift from descriptions that view language as an independent and unitary system to descriptions that treat language as a form of social activity. In these descriptions the focus has shifted from what language 'is' to what language 'does'. These two trends together contribute to what is now popularly called communicative language teaching.

The ideas about language, language learning, and language teaching discussed thus far in the review of ELT's fourth phase heavily influenced the direction of ELT in the early 1970s and, as Ellis points out above, served as the foundation for the second, or more distinctively communicative, stage of the fourth phase. That stage will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, with separate focuses on its two key approaches to ELT: the Functional-Notional approach, and the Communicative approach.

Before looking at these two approaches, it should be noted that in the first stage of the fourth phase, literature continued to remain essentially outside ELT, except for learners seeking literary training and knowledge. However, the roots of its return to a visible role in ELT

lay in the developments just discussed. These developments opened up new possibilities through which to view literature and its possible contributions to ELT as it was rapidly evolving in the later 1970s and 1980s.

The Functional-Notional Approach

As has already been suggested, the Functional-Notional approach (hereafter referred to as the F-N approach) consolidated the developments which occurred in the first stage of ELT's fourth phase, and in the process shifted ELT into a new direction.

Wilkins, one of the key figures in the creation of the F-N approach, has written (1976:1) that 'One of the major decisions that has to be taken in the teaching of foreign languages is on what basis we will select the language to which the learner will be exposed and which we will expect him to acquire'. Hawkins elaborates on this statement with the following observation which pinpoints the origins of the F-N approach:

The traditional syllabus for language teaching was constructed of 'units of learning' defined in grammatical terms. This produced the grammatically structured syllabus, based on the view that since all learners have to learn the grammar, the order of learning should be the same for all.

In the early 1970s considerable interest was aroused by a proposal to take a different starting point, asking the questions: Who is the prospective learner? What are his/her needs? Can we structure the syllabus according to the functions that he/she can be predicted to want to perform in the language?

This led to the further question: In order to perform the predicted functions, what notions (general or specific) must the learner be able to communicate? (1981:166-167)

As these questions were sorted out in the 1970s, 'the

centrality of communicative purpose' (Finocchiaro, 1979:11) emerged as the guiding principle of ELT. And within this principle, say Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983:22), 'The primary focus is the learner and the function or functions of language-the communicative purpose he wishes to express and to understand'. They further explain that 'It is this sensitivity to individual needs which is the major characteristic of the functional-notional approach to language teaching' (1983:9-10). That is, this approach 'focuses on what people want to do or what they want to accomplish through speech' (1983:13).

Incorporating insights from such disciplines as communication theory, speech act theory, and sociolinguistics, the F-N approach 'deals with language from a semantic point of view' (Hawkes, 1979:21) revolving around the crucial terms function and notion. Nunan (1988:35) defines them as follows: 'In general, functions may be described as the communicative purposes for which we use language, while notions are the conceptual meanings (objects, entities, states of affairs, logical relationships, and so on) expressed through language'.

As noted earlier, then, a central focus of initial research along these lines was to identify, through workable taxonomies, the functions and notions learners would have to become familiar with in the target language. This also included identifying the functions and notions in such a way that they could be taught systematically and effectively in the classroom.

This early work occurred most notably in two sources: a series of publications by the Council of Europe, principally Van Ek and Alexander's Threshold Level English (1975) and Wilkins' Notional Syllabuses (1976), works which set out the guiding principles of the F-N approach as well as classifications of functions and notions to work from.

Beginning in 1971, the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe began to investigate new methods of language teaching to replace the long-standing structurally-based methodologies. As Stern (1983:178) points out, they were hoping to implement 'a more semantic, more social, or more communicative view of language'. This view of language was to be applied to adult language learners throughout the European community, i.e. individuals who had completed their formal schooling and now needed or wanted to learn foreign languages. In the main this meant, according to Project Director J.L. Trim,

people who want to prepare themselves, in a general way, to be able to communicate socially on straightforward everyday matters with people from other countries who come their way, and to be able to get around and lead a reasonably normal social life when they visit another country. (1975:x)

In order to properly serve these needs, says Trim, 'We have to analyse the operational needs of learners and translate them into a reasonable set of operational learning objectives. On the basis of what the learner already knows, we can then identify the set of learning tasks he has to face' (1975:ix). Thus, he says of the British and European linguists who participated in the project, 'The early work of the expert group and their collaborators has been devoted

to the analysis of needs and the definition of objectives' (1975:ix-x). This process of analysis and definition led to an approach which operates, say Bowen et al (1985:50), in this way:

On the broadest level, the communicative needs of various groups of learners are identified. Then the basic social purposes or functions of communication are isolated for each group. These in turn are broken down into various concepts or "notions" expressed by language, such as time, quantity, and space. The next level is more focused: these "specific notions" amount to topics of communication. And serving as a basis for specific notions are "exponents." They consist essentially of linguistic elements, notably grammar and vocabulary.

Central to the application of this functional-notional approach revolving around the identification and analysis of learner needs is a 'unit/credit' system of instruction. Here learners' needs are categorized into 'components', while language is broken down into appropriate units to be learned one by one. According to Van Ek and Alexander, this 'unit-system' approach 'breaks down a global learning task, such as learning Mathematics or learning a language, into portions, or units, each of which corresponds to a component of a learner's needs and is systematically related to all the other portions' (1975:56). Credits are awarded for the successful completion of each unit, measured by the learners' ability to perform appropriate functions with the material learned within the unit, i.e. by achieving specific learning objectives attached to each unit.

Underlying this approach is a feature of great importance throughout ELT's fourth phase, one which began to emerge in the third phase: an emphasis on the learner and

his/her needs. The Council of Europe project, and the F-N approach itself, brought this learner-centred orientation into the heart of contemporary ELT. This is reflected in the following summary of the major contributions of the Council's project by White, who draws attention to the notion of needs analysis, which is an extension of the learner-centred approach. According to White (1988:17-18), there were two primary contributions accruing from the Council of Europe efforts: 'The first was the development of a systematic approach to needs analysis...The second outcome was to make meaning (specifically functional meaning) rather than structure the basis of the language syllabus'.

With regards to Threshold Level English and its contributions to the development of the F-N approach, Trim (1975:vii) says that 'The Threshold Level is remarkable for the systematic way in which the language behaviour appropriate to the defined target audience is specified in its various interrelated parameters.'

The same could be said of Wilkins' slightly later Notional Syllabuses. One of the linguists involved in the Council of Europe project, Wilkins offered a detailed rationale for the F-N approach, and provided a crucial early taxonomy for such an approach.

Writing later in a retrospective on Notional Syllabuses, Wilkins defines the purpose underlying the book when he explains that 'The motivation behind the proposals for a notional syllabus is to make the content of learning more

sensitive to the needs of the learners' (1981:83). This intention is revealed in Notional Syllabuses in the assertion that 'The whole basis of a notional approach to language teaching derives from the conviction that what people want to do through language is more important than mastery of the language as an unapplied system' (1976:42). Here Wilkins is invoking Hymes' notion of communicative competence and the need to understand how a language is actually used, as opposed to the mere acquisition of linguistic competence. As he explains:

One of the major reasons for questioning the adequacy of grammatical syllabuses lies in the fact that even when we have described the grammatical (and lexical) meaning of a sentence, we have not accounted for the way it is used as an utterance... Since those things that are not conveyed by the grammar are also understood, they too must be governed by 'rules' which are known to both speaker and hearer. People who speak the same language share not so much a grammatical competence as a communicative competence. Looked at in foreign language terms, this means that the learner has to learn rules of communication as well as rules of grammar. (Wilkins, 1976:10-11)

Language learning, then, involves far more than the study of the linguistic forms of the target language.

Instead, as Wilkins goes on to explain:

The essence of a notional syllabus will be in the priority it gives to the semantic content of language learning. The first step in the construction of any language syllabus or course is to define objectives. Whenever possible these will be based on an analysis of the needs of the learners and these needs, in turn, will be expressed in terms of the particular types of communication in which the learner will need to engage. (1976:55)

Thus, 'In a notional approach the aim is to ensure that the learner knows how different types of meaning are expressed, so that he can then adapt and combine the

different components of this knowledge according to the requirements of a particular act of communication' (Wilkins, 1976:55-56).

After constructing this rationale for an F-N approach, Wilkins provides a taxonomy of notional categories which serve as the basis of the units used within approach. There are three groups incorporating these categories. First are semantico-grammatical categories encompassing referential aspects of discourse. Then there are modal categories involving modifying aspects of language reflecting such things as a speaker or writer's attitudes. Finally, there are categories of communicative function which make possible distinctions 'between what we do through language and what we report by means of language' (1976:41).

Crystal (1987:374), in an overview of this approach, summarizes it as follows:

'Notional' (or 'functional') syllabuses provided a major alternative to the emphases of formal language teaching. Here, the content of a course is organized in terms of the meanings ('notions') learners require in order to communicate in particular functional contexts. Major communicative notions include the linguistic expression of time, duration, frequency, sequence, quantity, location, and motion. Major communicative functions include evaluation, persuasion, emotional expression, and the marking of social relations.

With this approach to language teaching, Wilkins and the Council of Europe created a significantly different context in which to design and implement language teaching syllabuses. In particular, they strengthened the notion of building courses on the basis of learner-centred needs developed through careful analysis of those needs, put

the stress in the classroom on language use rather than knowledge of language and, through the concept of notions and functions, created a focus on language use within real-life contexts, i.e. those in which the notions and functions actually operate. In the process they paved the way for the development of the approach to ELT which emerged from the F-N approach: Communicative Language Teaching.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

Because of its central role in this study, CLT must be examined in greater detail than those aspects of ELT previously discussed. First there will be a description of CLT via a review of its key features. This will be followed by a review of major proposals for approaches to CLT, with particular reference to their implications for the role of literature within CLT. This review will be succeeded by a few comments on English for Specific Purposes (ESP), a major branch of CLT which is of special interest later in this study.

A) Description of CLT and its key features

CLT represents the most recent stage in ELT's development and, say van Els et al, it is 'undoubtedly the most interesting and most frequently discussed development of the last few decades' in ELT (1984:272).

Interest in language teaching approaches referred to as 'communicative' dates back to the 1970s, with a paper by Allen and Widdowson (1974) representing the first real effort to directly link ELT to a specifically identified

communicative orientation. In general, beginning in the mid-1970s, a new climate emerged in ELT, one which Skehan (1985:1) describes in these terms: 'The past decade has seen a growth of interest in, on the one hand, more communicative methodologies, and on the other, the importance of informal, "acquisition rich", learning environments'. That is, with the recent concept of communicative competence and the shift in focus to the meaning potential in language and to the importance of learners' real-life language needs, ELT specialists looked for more effective communicatively-based methods of instruction to replace the linguistically-based approaches which had dominated ELT for several decades.

Widdowson notes this shift in the following observation:

It seems to me that a revolution is taking place in linguistics against a conceptual order which derives from de Saussure and which, indeed, served as the very foundation of modern linguistics. There is an increasing recognition of the need to pay as much attention to the rules of use, the speaker's communicative competence, as to rules of grammar, his grammatical competence, and that an adequate linguistic description must account for both.
(1979a:12)

Brumfit and Johnson (1979:3) echo this theme of a revolution in linguistics and language teaching and define it in these terms:

It is a reaction against the view of language as a set of structures; it is a reaction towards a view of language as communication, a view in which meaning and the uses to which language is put play a central role. In language teaching this reaction is crystallizing itself into the 'communicative revolution'.

Clarke augments this view with his remark that 'The "communicative revolution" proposed the necessity of providing relevant and purposeful language learning activity set in a

meaningful context which reflects real-world language use' (1989:84). That is, say Richards and Schmidt (1983:xi), 'This has meant a movement away from a narrow linguistic perspective, which is primarily message oriented, to look at the broader implications of considering speakers and hearers as social beings, operating within a context that is at the same time personal, conceptual and interpersonal, as well as being anchored in social and cultural reality'.

CLT incorporates these beliefs about language learning and teaching within an approach which Yalden summarizes as follows:

Communicative teaching exhibits certain distinctive features. It is based on the notion of the learner as communicator, naturally endowed with the ability to learn languages. It seeks to provide opportunities for communication in the classroom as well as to provide learners with the target language system. It is assumed that learners will have to prepare to use the target language (orally and in written form) in many predictable and unpredictable acts of communication which will arise both in classroom interaction and in real-world situations, whether concurrent with language training or subsequent to it. (1987b:61)

Nunan (1988:25) adds this overview of CLT: 'a basic principle underlying all communicative approaches is that learners must learn not only to make grammatically correct, propositional statements about the experiential world, but must also develop the ability to use language to get things done'.

The roots of CLT lie, in particular, in Nunan's latter assertion: the need for learners to be able to 'get things done' with the target language they are learning. This need has arisen, from a classroom point of view, both from positive

reactions to, and negative reactions against, developments within and outside the language teaching field.

On the positive side, communicative specialists have been influenced by research in areas such as speech act theory, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and communication studies. Another influence of increasing importance is the field of second language acquisition (described in detail in Ellis, 1985; Littlewood, 1984; and McLaughlin, 1987), particularly in the distinction between acquisition and learning. Acquisition involves a subconscious process of gaining knowledge, while learning is a conscious process which responds to direct instruction. That is, it is through learning that a knowledge of the rules of a language is obtained, while the acquisition process assimilates those rules and creates in the learner the ability to produce utterances beyond the level of imitating linguistic forms learned in a classroom. For meaningful acquisition to occur, there must be suitable exposure to the language beyond the level of simple instruction in rules.

This distinction is an important one in CLT; it opens new doors in terms of the nature and function of the classroom. Whereas the structural approach focused on learning by emphasizing the study of the formal language system, CLT exploits the concept of acquisition by creating language environments which facilitate the process of assimilation mentioned earlier. It is felt that only through rich exposure to the language beyond the level of

structure can the learner develop an ability to generate the kind of spontaneous discourse necessary in real-world communication situations. Thus, CLT attempts to create appropriate, natural acquisition environments rather than the traditional restricted, structurally-oriented learning situations.

For the most part, then, CLT draws from a wide spectrum of influences related to the broadly-based field of applied linguistics. This represents a significant shift from the traditional reliance in ELT on theoretical linguistics. Indeed, says Roberts (1982:101), 'Theoretical linguistics as such is only of marginal interest to it, especially where linguists' grammars are sentence bound'.

Another point to be made in terms of CLT's development from a 'reaction to' perspective comes from Richards and Rodgers, who comment that 'The wide acceptance of the communicative approach and the relatively varied ways in which it is interpreted and applied can be attributed to the fact that practitioners from different educational traditions can identify with it, and consequently interpret it in different ways' (1986:68). And, says Howatt (1984:192), this widespread acceptance extends to teachers whose roots lie in older, long-established methods of instruction such as the Natural Method, the Conversation Method, and the Direct Method.

The latter point is especially important with respect to literature, in that CLT also creates openings through which literature trained or oriented teachers can bring

literary texts into the language classroom. Structurally-based ELT methodologies, with their exclusive stress on linguistic form and the training of students in the ability to mimic those forms, left no room for a literary presence. CLT, on the other hand, particularly through the impact of the various fields influencing its development cited earlier, creates an open-ended learning/teaching situation in which literature teachers can find ways of adapting literary texts to the CLT framework. This point will be seen in more detail in Chapter Three.

On the other hand, CLT is also a reaction against certain trends in ELT, in particular the structural approach and, to a lesser degree, the F-N approach as well. Here it is worth noting, as a starting point, Howatt's remark that 'The original motivation for adopting a communicative approach in the early seventies was remedial, an attempt to overcome the inadequacies of existing structural syllabuses, materials, and methods' (1984:287). Nunan offers this more elaborate description of the rationale behind that motivation:

It was recognized that simply being able to create grammatically correct structures in language did not necessarily enable the learner to use the language to carry out various real-world tasks. While the learners have to be able to construct grammatically correct structures (or reasonable approximations of target language structures), they also have to do much more. In working out what this 'much more' entails, linguists and sociolinguists began to explore the concept of the speech situation. In so doing, they were able to articulate some of the ways in which language is likely to be influenced by situational varieties. (1988:25)

In essence, says Stern (1981:137), there were two

main criticisms. One he calls 'the Humpty-Dumpty effect', where there is 'the difficulty of making the structures studied one by one coalesce into a serviceable instrument (it is easier to pull a language apart than it is to put it together again)'. The other he calls 'the transfer problem', in which 'what is learned consciously in the classroom is not automatically applied under conditions of real use'. In short, he explains, language teaching was presented in the 1970s with a 'code-communication dilemma' which breaks down into this question: 'To what extent should language teaching be a formal study of the language or simply involve the learner in natural communication?' (1981:137).

The development of the F-N approach in the mid-1970s represented an answer to that question on the side of natural communication through its specification of language content arising from learners' actual, real-life language needs. As noted earlier, Wilkins and other applied linguists focused on particular kinds of speech acts occurring in real-world situations and categorised them according to a common core of notions and communicative functions. However, as Savignon asserts, 'Contrary to what some methodologists have implied, communicative language teaching is not synonymous with a notional/functional syllabus' (1987:19). Indeed, some applied linguists quickly began to question the degree to which F-N syllabuses constituted a genuine move away from a focus on code, or formal aspects of language, and toward communication. As Nunan comments, 'While the development of functional-notional syllabuses represented

a broadened focus, the focus itself was still basically linguistic, and there was a comparative neglect of methodology' (1988:2). That is, the F-N approach was still a reliance on linguistic forms, albeit from a communicative focus. Furthermore, it was merely a syllabus, a collection of language teaching objectives represented through sets of notions and functions to be learned in the classroom, rather than a carefully designed methodology through which instruction could actually take place. Specifying the content to be learned did not ensure that it would be put to the communicative use that the specification was considered to represent. As Candlin observed in 1976, in one of the early reactions against the F-N approach, 'an item-bank of speech acts...cannot serve any more than sentences as the direct endpoint of a communicative syllabus' (quoted in Yalden, 1987b:47). Morrow, in another early criticism, develops the critique further:

The mere adoption of a notional (or, more specifically, functional) syllabus does not guarantee that we are going to teach our students to communicate. Functions are expressed through elements of the language system; in other words a functional course is ultimately concerned with language forms-just as a grammatically based course is. The difference may lie simply in the way the forms are organised. But communication involves much more than simply a knowledge of forms; it depends crucially on the ability to use forms in appropriate ways. The problem with most first-generation 'functional' textbooks is that they have concentrated too much on setting out forms-not enough on practising communication. (1981:60)

Perhaps the most extensive criticism of the F-N approach, criticism leading to the adoption of the CLT approach as a replacement for it, has come from Widdowson. The starting point for his criticism rests in this remark:

There seems to be an assumption in some quarters... that language is automatically taught as communication by the simple expedient of concentrating on 'notions' or 'functions' rather than on sentences. But people do not communicate by expressing isolated notions or fulfilling isolated functions any more than they do so by uttering isolated sentence patterns. We do not progress very far in our pedagogy by simply replacing abstract isolates of a linguistic kind by those of a cognitive or behavioural kind. (1978:ix)

In fact, he says, 'notional/functional syllabus proposals actually imply an extension of previous practices, a development from the structural approach to syllabus design with semantico-grammatical notions as the essential transition, common to both' (1990:42). The F-N approach represents another type of accumulation of forms, and 'we need to dissociate communication from accumulation' (1990:132-133).

In the final analysis, he says of the F-N approach, 'the rationale for such an approach relates primarily to the ends and not the means of learning' (1990:12). He adds that 'Communication is what may or may not be achieved through classroom activity; it cannot be embodied in an abstract specification' (1990:130). "Classroom activity" is what CLT, in contrast, provides, and in this way it concentrates on the means of learning, thereby enabling learners to use the target language for what Widdowson often refers to as 'communicative effects'.

On another front, Widdowson feels that a major flaw of the F-N approach is that

it represents language in a way which dissociates the learner from his own experience of language, prevents real participation, and so makes the

acquisition of communicative abilities particularly (and needlessly) difficult. One does not avoid this fault simply by basing one's pedagogy on a specification of learning objectives. (1979a:246)

Building from this criticism, Widdowson's advocacy of the communicative approach rests partly in his belief that it enables learners to experience the target language more as they do their native language by exposing them to the language in more natural language acquisition settings. This, in turn, allows learners to take advantage of the same resources through which they acquired their first language. CLT, he says, must involve 'extending the learner's ability to realize discourse from his mother tongue to the language he is learning' (1979a:245). The F-N syllabus, with its stress on forms, interferes with that process and as a result separates the learner from meaningful interaction with the target language.

It should be noted, however, that, as indicated earlier, CLT is sometimes considered synonymous with the F-N approach. This, indeed, occurs fairly frequently in books about language teaching. It therefore seems to be the case that CLT, despite the afore-mentioned critiques of the F-N approach, is not so much a strict reaction against it as it is an adjustment of it. Here the F-N approach seems to provide a valuable service in terms of syllabus design by specifying language functions of a communicative nature to be learned, while CLT offers classroom-based practices through which F-N syllabus objectives are pursued. This evaluation is reflected in Brumfit's assertion that 'the most lasting impact of the

"communicative movement" in language teaching may lie more in a reversal of traditional methodological emphases than in a reorganization of syllabus objectives' (1979:183).

Swan (1985b:83) makes a similar assertion: 'I have suggested that methodology is perhaps the area where the communicative approach has done most to improve our teaching'.

Another important element in a description of CLT is the set of theories of language and language learning underlying this approach to ELT. As to its theory of language, Littlewood (1981:x) provides this overview:

A communicative approach opens up a wider perspective on language. In particular, it makes us consider language not only in terms of its structures (grammar and vocabulary), but also in terms of the communicative functions that it performs. In other words, we begin to look not only at language forms, but also at what people do with these forms when they want to communicate with each other.

In short, says Apelt (1981:1), in CLT there is a 'conception of language and language acquisition as a purposeful activity'. As Nunan describes it, 'Among other things, it has been accepted that language is more than simply a system of rules. Language is now generally seen as a dynamic resource for the creation of meaning' (1989:12). In Brumfit's terms, 'we cannot operate with a view of language simply as a descriptive system to be handed over to the learner; language is not a package to be given by one owner to another, it is a means of interaction, self-definition, aesthetic creation, and thought clarification, among other processes' (1980:116).

By way of a comprehensive summary of the language theories at work in CLT, Richards and Rodgers (1986:71)

offer the following description of what they call the 'rich, if somewhat eclectic, theoretical base' of CLT:

1. 'Language is a system for the expression of meaning'.
2. 'The primary function of language is for interaction and communication'.
3. 'The structure of language reflects its functional and communicative uses'.
4. 'The primary units of language are not merely its grammatical and structural features, but categories of functional and communicative meaning as exemplified in discourse'.

With regards to CLT's theory of language learning, Breen and Candlin provide one of the earliest statements in this area:

Language learning within a communicative curriculum is most appropriately seen as communicative interaction involving all the participants in the learning and including the various material resources on which the learning is exercised. Therefore, language learning may be seen as a process which grows out of the interaction between learners, teachers, texts and activities. (1980:95)

Another early perspective comes from Littlewood, who says that

A communicative approach opens up a wider perspective on language learning. In particular, it makes us more strongly aware that it is not enough to teach learners how to manipulate the structures of the foreign language. They must also develop strategies for relating these structures to their communicative functions in real situations and real time. (1981:x-xi)

Littlewood goes on to differentiate between cognitive and behavioural skill development within communicative language learning. He explains that

The cognitive aspect involves the internalisation of plans for creating appropriate behaviour. For language use, these plans derive mainly from the the language system-they include grammatical

rules, procedures for selecting vocabulary, and social conventions governing speech. The behavioural aspect involves the automation of these plans so that that they can be converted into fluent performance in real time. This occurs mainly through practice in converting plans into performance. (1984:74)

In essence, then, language learning in CLT can be said to be 'a process of developing the ability to do things with language (as opposed to learning about language)' (Nunan, 1988:78). That is, 'we need to distinguish between knowing various grammatical rules and being able to use the rules effectively and appropriately when communicating. This view has underpinned communicative language teaching' (Nunan, 1989:12)

At the heart of these comments on theories of language learning in CLT is something described briefly earlier in this chapter: the crucial concept of communicative competence. This concept arose as a direct reaction against Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence, which refers to an individual's knowledge of the rules of a language. Supplying that knowledge was at the heart of structural approaches to language teaching. However, as Tarone and Yule (1989:17) explain,

In recent years, there has been a major shift in perspective within the language teaching profession concerning the nature of what is to be taught. In relatively simple terms, there has been a change of emphasis from presenting language as a set of forms (grammatical, phonological, lexical) which have to be learned and practised, to presenting language as a functional system which is used to fulfill a range of communicative purposes.

The interest in, and priority on, "a range of communicative purposes" means a shift to a focus on communicative competence so that, as Butzkam and Dodson (1980:289) point

out, 'The development of communicative competence is nowadays generally regarded to be the ultimate aim of foreign language teaching'. Bejarano describes this as a movement 'from the ability to merely manipulate the linguistic structures correctly to the ability to use the language appropriately in real communication' (1987:483). As Stern (1983:111) explains, then, 'The term "communicative competence"... reflects the social view of language which has found increasing acceptance since the middle of the sixties'.

The origins of the development of communicative competence lie in Hymes' (1972) assertion that 'There are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless'. These "rules of use" invoke a wide range of sociolinguistic factors which must be taken into account if effective communicative is to take place. That is, language must be seen to operate within a particular sociolinguistic context if it is to be used for an actual communicative purpose. The impact of this insight on language teaching has been, as noted earlier, profound. With reference to CLT, Savignon (1987:17) remarks that

A concern for communicative competence...has brought us face-to-face with the contexts in which language is used. Once meaning is taken into account, matters of negotiation and interpretation are seen to be at the very heart of a communicative curriculum. Language in use, that is, language in context or setting, can no longer be ignored.

In addition to a knowledge of the structural aspects of a language, then, learners must develop an awareness of the 'patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour of the target language' (Wolfson, 1983:61). That is, to achieve

communicative competence, they must gain what Richards (1990:52) describes as 'knowledge of different communication strategies or communicative styles according to the situation, the task, and the roles of the participants'. This means, says Yalden, 'knowing what utterances are appropriate in a particular sociocultural context, both with respect to meanings that one may convey and to the forms one may use in conveying them' (1987b:28). This, in turn, means balancing a knowledge of appropriateness, meaning, and form; the three factors, she says, 'exist in a dynamic relationship' (1987b:28). Ultimately, then, says Widdowson, 'The acquisition of communicative competence involves the learning of interpretative procedures whereby particular situational or contextual factors are recognized as realizations of conditions which determine the communicative function of linguistic elements' (1979a:156).

Much of the application of the notion of communicative competence to CLT has arisen from foundations developed by Canale and Swain in a key paper published in 1980. In this paper they carefully define, in CLT terms, the concept of communicative competence, and further distinguish it from what they call 'communicative performance'. As they explain:

To summarize, we have so far adopted the term 'communicative competence' to refer to the relationship and interaction between grammatical competence, or knowledge of the rules of grammar, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of language use. Communicative competence is to be distinguished from communicative performance, which is the realization of these competencies and their interaction in the actual production and comprehension of utterances (under general psychological constraints that are unique to performance). (1980:6)

Ideally, a CLT course aims at supplying learners with both communicative competence and performance, so that learners acquire the kind of competence structural approaches failed to provide, and develop the ability to express that competence through performance.

Canale and Swain go on to identify three particular types of competence: grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic. This delineation has had considerable impact on the development of CLT. Of these, they say that, regarding grammatical competence, 'This type of competence will be understood to include knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology' (1980:29). As for sociolinguistic competence, 'This component is made up of two sets of rules: socio-cultural rules of use and rules of discourse. Knowledge of these will be crucial to interpreting utterances for social meaning, particularly when there is a low level of transparency between the literal meaning of an utterance and the speaker's intention' (1980:30). Concerning strategic competence, they state that 'This component will be made up of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence' (1980:30).

In a later paper, Canale adds a fourth type of competence: discourse competence. He explains that 'This type of competence concerns mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written

text in different genres' (1983:9). Here he is further elaborating upon the notion of 'actual communication', or performance, discussed in Canale and Swain (1980) by demonstrating the extent to which performance can be carried.

Following from the early work in CLT on defining the concept of communicative competence is the question of how to actually pursue that aim. Yalden comments on how that pursuit begins when she explains that 'The point of departure is always the learner and his needs' (1980:152). In making decisions about course content and the exact nature of the instruction to follow, then, she says that the first step is 'a careful identification of the characteristics of any given group of students' (1980:152). This involves determining what they already know, as well as what they expect or perceive their future needs related to the target language to be. Nunan provides an in-depth look at this learner-centred approach when he says that

Another trend in recent years which has stemmed from CLT has been the development of learner-centred approaches to language teaching, in which information by and from learners is used in planning, implementing and evaluating language programmes. While the learner-centred curriculum will contain similar elements and processes to traditional curricula, a key difference will be that information by and from learners will be built into every phase of that curriculum process. Curriculum development becomes a collaborative effort between teachers and learners, since learners will be involved in decision on content selection, methodology and evaluation. (1989:19)

This learner-centred approach arising from needs analysis work will be illustrated in detail in the discussion of a literature-based CLT-type course in Chapter Five. What

is important to recognize at this point is how the learner-centred classroom which is central to CLT practice begins with a determination of learners' needs, a determination in which learners themselves play a role. Such an approach reinforces the stress on communicative competence in CLT by linking the selection of course content to what students feel are their actual language related needs, i.e. their requirements for actual use of the language in a specific communicative situation. If, for example, a needs analysis process reveals that the students want or must learn about the English used in computer manuals, the teacher/course designer can then incorporate such a focus into the course. In this way students are acquiring real-world use of language targeted to their needs, as opposed to the traditional approach in which a selection of syntactic or lexical items is taught to students regardless of the relevance of those items to the real-world needs of the students.

Just as the learner-centred approach rooted in needs analysis separates CLT from its methodological predecessors, so too does the nature of the CLT classroom. Here Cortese provides some valuable overall perspectives. First, he notes that CLT has replaced 'language-oriented syllabi' where the focus is on language forms and information about the language to 'skills-oriented syllabi geared to actual language use' (1987:28). This change entails three prerequisites which provide the foundations for the communicative classroom. These are:

optimal FL fluency; the capacity to design and successfully to manage an optimal language learning system for given learner groups with specific cognitive/affective and (at times) also professional needs; the capacity to trigger and assist learning events, acting as process-facilitator rather than a transmitter of given products. (Cortese, 1987:28)

That is, to be truly communicative, the CLT classroom must be built at all times on the assumptions that it will strive to develop in learners the ability to meaningfully use the target language, and that it will create the kinds of learning conditions necessary for that ability to develop. These assumptions or prerequisites are met in CLT, say Dubin and Olshtain (1986:95), by a steady focus on 'global, cognitive, and creative activities'. Especially important here is the word activities. Just as CLT is regarded as a learner-centred approach to ELT, it is also seen as an activities-based approach.

Within such an activities-based approach, the focus for learners is consistently on 'experience with language in use' (Rivers, 1981:187). Here, says, Swan (1985b:87), 'It is the characteristic of the Communicative Approach to assess utterances not so much on the basis of their propositional meaning as in terms of their pragmatic value'. This, in turn, means an emphasis on 'more and more realism in the classroom, in terms of learners' needs, which in effect means a further move away from the monastery towards the marketplace' (McArthur, 1983:102). This is manifested in two ways. First, ability to reproduce in isolated circumstances various linguistic forms is no longer stressed; instead, what learners will need to do with the target language in real-world

circumstances shapes what and how they are taught in a CLT classroom. Second, the word activities is applied literally in the sense that considerable class time is devoted to students performing a wide assortment of tasks using the target language. These tasks, which normally involve pair or group work, require students to either participate in simulations of real-life communicative situations, or to work together to analyse or explore how the language has already been used in such situations. As will be seen in Chapter Three, this activities-based focus has made possible the integration of literature into CLT.

The emphasis on an activities-based classroom, rather than one in which learners are presented with and drilled in linguistic structures, is reflected in much of the scholarship on CLT. A comment by Gower puts this emphasis in perspective:

For me, the value of the communicative revolution of the last few years is that it has given us an idea of what a communicative classroom might be; in other words, how learners in the classroom can interact... Basically, for me, it's the communicative classroom that is important, and not so much the other off-shoots of the communicative approach like the notional/functional syllabus, which I think has led to all sorts of problems for language teachers. (1983:235-236)

Looking further at the communicative classroom, there is, says Savignon, a focus on 'the dynamic and interactive process of communication. A communicative classroom allows learners to experience language as well as to analyze it' (1987:20). In such circumstances, explains Scott,

The communicative approach...makes sure that the interactions which take place in the classroom are replications of, or necessary prerequisites for,

a communicative operation. The focus changes from the accurate production of isolated utterances to the fluent selection of appropriate utterances in communication. The learner is now concerned with using language, not English usages. (1981:71)

Such a classroom situation is not only aimed at providing maximum opportunities for meaningful use of the target language through the performance of various communicatively-based tasks or problem solving activities. At the same time, says Bolitho,

it presents an opportunity for the individual experience and personality of every learner to enter the classroom, because if you concentrate more on what people want to say than on how they say it, in a communicative classroom, then you have got to take account of all the experience which people have had before they come to your English class. You can't just assume that your learners of English are blank sheets of paper or empty vessels waiting to be filled. (1983:238)

Thus, the communicative classroom becomes a forum in which students can express themselves. This both enriches their use of the target language and draws them closer to it. It becomes more meaningful to them as they develop the ability to express their thoughts, feelings, and personalities through it; also, as this process takes place, the distance between learners and the language is diminished, hence stimulating further proficiency.

This kind of activities-based classroom situation also creates a non-traditional role for the language teacher. As Richards and Rodgers (1986:78) point out, 'CLT procedures often require teachers to acquire less teacher-centred classroom management skills. It is the teacher's responsibility to organize the classroom as a setting for communication and communicative activities'. This puts the teacher

in the role of a facilitator of communication or, as Dubin and Olshtain explain, a director:

The director's role in a communicative classroom is essentially a creative one in which the prime function is getting other people to do things with language by establishing short-term objectives which coincide with the interests of the majority of the group. Just as the theater director plays a pivotal role in sustaining the fiction of a stage drama, so the teacher/director uses the classroom stage to simulate the real world. (1986:81)

As already indicated, what teachers and learners are mainly busy with in the CLT classroom is an ongoing series of activities, as expressed in different kinds of tasks and problem solving situations. This approach is employed not only to ensure that learners are actually using the target language, but also to provide them with access to authentic communicative situations reflected in equally authentic learning/practice materials. Canale and Swain (1980:33) explain the underlying belief at work here:

communicative activities must be as meaningful as possible and be characterized (at increasing levels of difficulty) by aspects of genuine communication such as its basis in social interaction, the relative creativity and unpredictability of utterances, its purposefulness and goal orientation, and its authenticity.

Richards and Rodgers (1986:72) develop this perspective in greater detail when they identify three essential principles at the foundation of the activities-based approach. First there is the 'communication principle', which posits that 'Activities that involve real communication promote learning'; second, there is the 'task principle', which asserts that 'Activities in which language is used for carrying out meaningful tasks promote learning'; and third,

the 'meaningfulness principle', which underscores the belief that 'Language that is meaningful to the learner supports the learning process'. In line with these principles, then, 'Learning activities are consequently selected according to how well they engage the learner in meaningful and authentic language use (rather than merely mechanical practice of language patterns)' (Richards and Rodgers, 1986:72).

Crucial to the implementation of the activities-based approach is the question of which materials should be used in support of that approach. As noted earlier, this has led to an interest, in particular, in 'authentic' materials. Larsen-Freeman (1986:135) explains the origin of that interest: 'To overcome the typical problem that students can't transfer what they learn in the classroom to the outside world and to expose students to natural language in a variety of situations, adherents of the Communicative Approach advocate the use of authentic materials'. This, says Clarke (1989), is the 'reality factor' in language teaching, and it constitutes a reaction against what he calls 'custom-built materials' in favour of 'undoctored texts'.

Clarke also points out that there is a 'materials debate', with questions about the nature and degree of acceptability with respect to authenticity playing a part in that debate. Many teachers, for example, prefer to adapt an authentic text to suit the purposes of their particular class, so that the materials are not authentic in the strictest sense of the term. Does this 'doctoring' render them inauthentic, and if so, are they then unacceptable?

This question is particularly important in the context of the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) domain of CLT, where the exposure of students to real-world conditions is generally considered an essential part of the learning process. Literature, too, presents challenges with regards to authenticity, and it is within this context that some of the opposition to literature in CLT exists. By its nature, literature is "custom-built" in order to suit authors' purposes, nor does its content conform to real-life communicative conditions in the sense that, say, correspondence from an actual firm would represent authentic business texts. On the other hand, literature, like other art, imitates life, and to a degree that makes its texts appear authentic in many cases. Furthermore, in its use of dialogue, in particular, it depends on the discourse of real life. To what degree, then, can it be considered authentic? And to what extent can students be said to be replicating real-world language use if they work with literary texts? These are some of the questions confronting those who wish to bring literature into the CLT classroom.

In general, say Richards and Rodgers (1986:25), there are three principles underlying the role of materials in CLT. These are:

1. 'Materials will focus on the communicative abilities of interpretation, expression, and negotiation'.
2. 'Materials will focus on understandable, relevant, and interesting exchanges of information, rather than on the presentation of grammatical form'.
3. 'Materials will involve different kinds of texts and different media, which the learners can use

to develop their competence through a variety of different activities and tasks.

Usually, they add, materials 'include language-based realia, such as signs, magazines, advertisements, and newspapers, or graphic and visual sources around which communicative activities can be built, such as maps, pictures, symbols, graphs, and charts' (1986:80).

On the whole, as these comments suggest, materials in CLT are intended to serve, in the main, the activities-based approach which in turn serves the fundamental goal in CLT of developing communicative competence in learners. However, it must also be noted that differences of opinion exist as to how best to approach the design of CLT courses, and these differences impact on the selection of course materials. As the next section will show, certain approaches to CLT entail the use of materials not necessarily aimed specifically at the activities-based approach.

B) Review of major approaches to CLT/implications for literature

Mention has already been made of a 'materials debate' in CLT. There is also a 'methods debate', and this section will review the major contributions to that debate, with some reference to the implications of those contributions to the role of literature in CLT. Approaches deemed more favourable to literature will be described in greater detail in view of the role they play in this study.

Before looking at the most significant proposals for approaches to CLT, a few preliminary points must be made.

First, there are certain common denominators which

link various approaches to CLT. As Coulthard (1977:156) observes, whatever the orientation of these approaches, 'their main aim is to facilitate and encourage communication in the classroom'. Dubin and Olshtain (1986:68) point out other such denominators: 'a communicative curriculum draws from three major areas: a view of the nature of language as seen by the field of sociolinguistics, a cognitively based view of language learning, and a humanistic approach to education'.

Second, there are various dichotomies which highlight the parameters of CLT's 'methods debate', and these serve as a helpful introduction to the major approaches themselves. As such, these dichotomies will first be reviewed as a means of outlining the boundaries of the debate.

Stern (1981) draws an early distinction when he distinguishes between what he calls the 'L' and 'P' type approaches. 'L' approaches are more linguistic in orientation and thus retain connections to structural and F-N syllabuses. 'P' approaches (with P standing for psychological or pedagogical approaches, while L stands for linguistic) place a considerably reduced emphasis on linguistically-based content. That is, where L approaches rely on linguistic analysis, P approaches are more experiential in nature, thereby allowing learners freer reign to experiment with the target language in the classroom.

Ellis (1982) speaks in terms of 'informal' and 'formal' types of approaches. This dichotomy is based heavily on the learning-acquisition distinction described earlier. Formal

approaches focus on learning and therefore are more linguistically structured so as to ensure that learners develop an adequate knowledge of the forms of the language. Informal approaches stress acquisition, where learners sub-consciously absorb and learn to apply the target language in the context of appropriate language use. This type of classroom, says Ellis, 'must be facilitative rather than prescriptive' so that the 'learner is left free to find his own route' (1982:76).

Howatt (1984) distinguishes between 'weak' and 'strong' types of approaches to CLT. Weak types blend both structural and communicative elements into classroom practice, so that learners are instructed in language forms and given opportunities to use the forms in simulated real-world situations which will lead to communicative competence. Strong types stress more of an immersion approach in which learners are expected to acquire knowledge of the language directly through communicating in it. As Howatt describes the two orientations, the weak types are based on a 'learning to use' English approach, while the strong types emphasize a 'using English to learn it' approach (1984:279).

Yet another distinction is that of 'discrete' and 'holistic' approaches, as described previously in a larger context, by Dubin and Olshtain (1986). They discuss the complexities created by the afore-mentioned 'code-communication dilemma'. This dilemma is particularly relevant to CLT, and it presents a vexing paradox which CLT course planners must confront. On the one hand, learners cannot

hope to know a language without some knowledge of its structures and forms; on the other hand, they cannot communicate effectively in the target language unless they move beyond the stage of linguistic competence and develop communicative competence. In response to this dilemma, some CLT specialists lean more to courses where discrete or structural interests prevail, while at the same time allowing for communicative practice. Those with a holistic orientation acknowledge the need for structural knowledge, but believe it arises primarily as a consequence of intensive, real-life practice in the target language. What is more important, and what makes the approach holistic, is that these planners are interested in the use of the communicative classroom to enhance the learners' overall human development. This dichotomy also rests on the distinction between accuracy and fluency, with the discrete types putting considerable stress on accurate reproduction, in grammatical terms, of the target language, while holistic approaches stress communicative fluency rather than linguistic accuracy.

Another dichotomy is offered by Yalden (1987a), who describes both 'procedural' and 'proportional' types of CLT. Proportional approaches are for teachers who, says Yalden, 'may not be able or willing to "go fully communicative" ' (1987a:121). These approaches generally apply to courses of study which are of long duration or are sequenced in some way, allowing for a mixture of more traditional structural components as well as components permitting communicative practice. Procedural approaches, on the other

hand, are 'fully communicative', and 'no formal or analytical exercises are included' (1987a:127). Here, instead, there is the free flowing classroom described by Ellis in his account of the informal approaches to CLT.

Collectively, these dichotomies demonstrate that the path to communicative competence in CLT is far from clearcut. While rejecting the emphasis on linguistic form in structural approaches and, to some degree, in the F-N approach as well, CLT still carries the responsibility of instilling in learners a knowledge of the target language as well as an ability to use it as it is used in real-life situations. The 'methods debate', then, focuses in part on how to resolve the 'code-communication dilemma' within a communicative framework. A primary concern among those who design CLT curriculums, therefore, is how to account for both linguistic and communicative competence within a fundamentally communicative orientation.

In addressing this concern, CLT specialists must bear in mind criticisms CLT has encountered. On a general level, there is a prominent one by Swan (1985a:2), who remarks:

Along with many virtues, the Communicative Approach unfortunately has most of the typical vices of an intellectual revolution: it over-generalizes valid but limited insights until they become virtually meaningless; it makes exaggerated claims for the power and novelty of its doctrines; it misrepresents the currents of thought it has replaced; it is often characterized by serious intellectual confusion; it is choked with jargon.

In particular, Swan feels that CLT has not dealt effectively with grammar and the structurally-based aspects of language learning. As he notes, 'Unfortunately, grammar

has not become any easier to learn since the communicative revolution' (1985b:78). And, in his view, communicative approaches have failed to account properly for learners' need to acquire appropriate grammatical competence.

Closely related to this criticism is one discussed by Morrow (1981:64), who notes that 'One of the most frequently voiced criticisms of a communicative approach to language teaching is that it encourages students to make mistakes, particularly of grammar'. What Morrow is alluding to is the often stated belief that CLT places too heavy an emphasis on fluency in the target language over accuracy.

Widdowson brings these areas of criticism into a wider focus when he discusses what he believes is the 'natural language learning' problem in CLT. As he explains,

The natural language learning problem is this: It turns out that learners do not very readily infer knowledge of the language system from their communicative activities. The grammar, which they must obviously acquire somehow as a necessary resource for use, proves elusive. So quite often the situation arises where learners acquire a fairly patchy and imperfect repertoire of performance which is not supported by an underlying competence. Their doing does not seem to lead naturally to knowing, as has been optimistically assumed. (1990:161)

Another criticism levelled by Widdowson concerns what he calls 'natural language use'. He points out that in natural, real-life communication, 'we adopt strategies of differential access and analysis in the interests of effective communication' (1990:162). These may often involve taking what are essentially shortcuts. These shortcuts eliminate certain elements of linguistic competence, such as when someone says "see you later" as opposed to "I'll see you

later." He points out that native speakers of a language can make such shortcuts without harm to their communicative development, because they already possess sufficient structural knowledge of the language. Students being taught communicatively in duplicated natural language settings may likewise learn to adopt such shortcuts. In the process, he believes, students may bypass areas of linguistic knowledge they need to acquire. This, in turn, leaves them unprepared to cope with the structurally-based requirements of other discourse situations. CLT, he says, too often fosters this bypass syndrome (1990).

CLT, then, must guard against the kinds of grammatically based limitations the just cited criticisms indicate such an approach to language teaching is susceptible to. This is a major challenge within the 'methods debate'. Likewise, this debate has serious implications for literature's integration into CLT. Where the 'L', formal, discrete, weak types of CLT prevail, or within a proportional syllabus, there is likely to be little or no room for literature, since literature has traditionally been regarded as unsuitable for structurally-oriented purposes. On the other hand, within the 'P', informal, holistic, and strong types of CLT, as well as within a procedural syllabus, greater potential for a literary component or presence exists. This would seem to be especially true with respect to the holistic approach, in which the personal development of learners is stressed. Personal enrichment, and the human development which can arise from it, have always been among the benefits accruing

from the reading of literature, and, as Chapter Three will demonstrate, it is partly on this basis that a role for literature in CLT has been encouraged by those arguing its case. Chapter Three will also show how literature is being aimed at the latter category of CLT courses (i.e. the 'P', informal, holistic, strong, procedural types) within the context of its applicability to the activities-based approach popular in that category of courses.

A crucial variable in literature's fate in CLT, then, is the direction CLT course and syllabus design takes vis-a-vis the two general categories of types of CLT courses just outlined. At the same time, the degree to which literature's suitability for CLT courses is successfully demonstrated by those advocating its inclusion in CLT is likewise a significant variable.

Bearing in mind the comments made thus far, we can now look at major approaches to CLT with a particular concern for the role literature can play within them. The value in doing so is that we will then have a foundation from which to view later remarks on literature and CLT, particularly in Chapter Three and Chapter Five. At the same time, we will gain a clearer sense of how CLT has evolved, and of the proposals which have played the leading roles in shaping its development. Given the current predominance of CLT in ELT, this approach will also continue the chapter's focus on the evolution of ELT itself.

We have already seen how, in larger terms, there are two general categories for approaches to CLT. One we will

call Category A; this includes approaches which can be labelled 'structural-communicative' in the sense that they include some focus on a structural element within their communicative orientation. The other is Category B; this includes approaches which can be labelled 'communicative' in view of their consistent emphasis on a non-structural and distinctly communicative orientation. Category A approaches are those which are of the 'L', formal, discrete, weak, proportional types; Category B approaches are those which are of the 'P', informal, holistic, strong, procedural types. As has already been suggested, literature, on the basis of the efforts made thus far to incorporate it into CLT, fits best into Category B approaches. We will look first at the major Category A proposals so as to note their contributions to the growth of CLT as well as their limitations with respect to literature.

Category A proposals begin with one of the pioneering papers in CLT's development. This is Canale and Swain (1980), discussed briefly earlier in the context of its important identification of different types of competence to be developed in learners (grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic). The type of approach advocated in this paper is what is described as a 'functionally organized communicative course'. The approach is defined as one 'organized on the basis of communicative functions (e.g. apologizing, describing, inviting, promising) that a given learner or group of learners needs to know and emphasizes the ways in which particular grammatical forms may be used to express

these functions appropriately' (1980:2). This functional orientation makes their approach one of a modified communicative nature. What they propose is a sequenced type of course in which these functions are dealt with more prescriptively by the teacher in the earlier stages of the course, with a shift to what they refer to as 'genuine communication' taking place within an activities-based approach later. In this later portion of the course it is essential to have 'meaningful communication' opportunities for students. This, indeed, is central to their overall contribution to CLT through their proposal. A key component in the paper is a set of 'guiding principles for a communicative approach', and at the heart of these five principles is a stress on such 'meaningful communicative interaction'. This interaction is manifested in opportunities for learners to practice the functions introduced by the teacher in previous sequences of the course. In this way learners acquire a knowledge of English through presentation of key functions, and the ability to use, as opposed to simply repeating without real comprehension, those functions when they are practiced in the various communicative activities which occur later. The proposal thus aims to provide a bridge between functional considerations and communicative expression with strategies aimed at eventually involving learners in meaningful communicative activity in the classroom.

Johnson, in several influential papers, attempts to provide the same sort of bridge as that described above, though through a different approach. His contributions to

CLT begin with an observation concerning what he calls the 'communicatively incompetent' student produced by standard structural approaches to ELT. This, he says, is the 'problem of the student who may be structurally competent, but who cannot communicate appropriately' (1979:192). From that point of view he favours a communicative orientation so that "structurally competent" students can utilize that competence in real-life communicative situations. On the other hand, he is wary of producing what might be called the 'grammatically incompetent' student through approaches to CLT which fail to build a structurally sound foundation in students. What he proposes, then, is what he calls a 'communicative structural' approach.

This approach recognizes that 'ability to manipulate the structures of the language correctly is only a part of what is involved in learning a language. There is a "something else" that needs to be learned, and this "something else" involves the ability to be appropriate, to know the right thing to say at the right time' (1981:2). On the other hand, 'teachers find that a communicative framework does not automatically lead to the learning of the language system' (1982:128). Hence, structural and communicative interests must both be accounted for in an effective CLT classroom.

Johnson's response to this situation is to propose a 'task-orientated' approach to CLT which relies heavily on 'communicative drills'. Such drills operate within a context 'in which the student is first placed in a situation where

he needs to use language, and is then taught the language he requires' (1982:192). Through communicative drills arising from the communicative structural orientation already cited, learners acquire both knowledge of the language required to cope with various situations, and the communicative skills necessary to effectively use that knowledge. The drilling introduces as well as reinforces the relevant knowledge while creating communicative practice conditions. And, as has already been suggested, knowledge about the language (i.e. structural items) is supplied after students have been placed within a communicative situation. Here Johnson reverses the ordering of the sequence advocated earlier by Canale and Swain,

Morrow also looks into ways of linking structural and communicative concerns. This effort is reflected in his observation that

Communicating involves using appropriate forms in appropriate ways, and the use of inappropriate or inaccurate forms militates against communication even when it does not totally prevent it. The acquisition of forms is therefore a central part of language learning; those of us interested in communicative approaches must not forget this in our enthusiasm to add the communicative dimension. (1981:65)

Morrow's reference to "the communicative dimension" above is a key indicator of the essence of his proposal for CLT courses. That is, he looks at the course as a total course in which a communicative element is a part of that total, albeit the most dominant element. In this way he allows for the inclusion of other elements which will account for the grammatical concerns reflected in the above citation.

In particular, this approach allows for a structural component through which the acquisition of linguistic forms can take place. Indeed, his approach stresses the acquisition of forms so that linguistic competence is assured in learners, but the communicative dimension enables learners to develop communicative ability in the use of those forms.

In terms of the specific type of course he envisions, then, he says that 'There is no reason why a communicative method should not encompass stages of presentation, practice and production, the ideas behind which are perhaps more familiar in a grammatical context' (1981:64). Within this method learners are introduced to linguistic forms (presentation), and then, through the use of an activities-based approach, given opportunities to practice the use of those forms, as well as required to produce their own discourse employing those forms (practice and production). The activities take the form of communicative exercises which are based on the idea that 'developing control of the use of language involves the student in doing things, in making choices, evaluating feedback, bridging information gaps' (1981:64). It is in this sense that his proposal is communicative in nature, since such activities place an emphasis on learners' ability to meaningfully use the forms they have acquired during the course. However, the communicative exercises are promoting correctness in the use of language as well as providing opportunities for creative applications of forms on the part of learners. As such, meaningful use of the target language is not seen as a replacement for

grammatical correctness; in this sense, Morrow's approach retains a steady structural element as well. Still, through the emphasis in the practice and production stages on communicatively-based activities, Morrow's proposal leans more to the communicative than to the structural domain of language teaching.

Littlewood, in contrast to Morrow, offers a proposal which presents a more even balance between the communicative and structural sides of ELT. This is reflected in his statement: 'A communicative approach to the content of a course need not involve abandoning the use of structural criteria for selection and sequencing...mastery of the structural system is still the basic requirement for using language to communicate one's own meaning' (1981:77).

Reinforcing that statement and the stress it places, within a communicative context, on "mastery of the structural system," Littlewood's approach operates in part on a distinction between 'part-skills' and 'total-skills'. Part-skills are those related to grammatical competence; total-skills are those which constitute communicative competence. According to Littlewood, 'In considering how people learn to carry out various kinds of skilled performance, it is often useful to distinguish between (a) training in the part-skills of which the performance is composed and (b) practice in the total skills, sometimes called "whole-task practice" ' (1981:17). In Littlewood's approach, a CLT course focuses on the provision of both part-and total-skills. This focus occurs through another distinction, this one between 'pre-

communicative activities' and 'communicative activities'. The pre-communicative activities are linked to the development of part-skills, and within these activities, says Littlewood, 'the main criterion for success is whether the learner produces acceptable language' (1981:89). Here acceptable refers to 'fluent control over linguistic forms' (1981:89), that is, linguistic competence. Communicative activities involve 'higher-level decisions, related to the communication of meanings' where 'The learner is thus expected to increase his skill in starting from an intended meaning, selecting suitable language forms from his total repertoire, and producing them fluently' (1981:89). Here, he explains, 'The criterion for success is whether the meaning is conveyed effectively' (1981:89).

By dividing his approach into the part-skills/total-skills and pre-communicative/communicative activities dichotomies, Littlewood places equal stress on learners' linguistic and communicative competence, and requires the adequate development of linguistic competence before allowing learners to progress to work on communicative competence. In this way he addresses the concern over CLT's ability to prepare language users who are structurally as well as communicatively proficient in the target language.

One more Category A proposal to be examined is Yalden's proportional approach. Like Littlewood, Yalden works for a balance between structural and communicative elements of language learning. Indeed, her proportional proposal operates on what she calls 'the principle of balance'. This entails

working within three stages: the beginning, intermediate, and advanced. Such an approach allows teachers to vary the proportion of teaching strategies between those focusing on grammatical concerns and those stressing communicative concerns according to the levels and needs learners are working within. The fundamental principle at work, says Yalden, is this: 'While both formal and functional areas have their place, linguistic form is gradually de-emphasized and communicative functions and discourse skills are given more prominence as teacher and student progress toward the end of the advanced level' (1987a:121). At the same time, Yalden notes that 'In using a balanced syllabus, it would have to be borne in mind that there need not be a strict separation between teaching formal and functional areas' (1987a:123).

Within the classroom itself, there will be a combination of 'formal exercises treating linguistic structures...as well as communicative activities focussing on either structural or functional or semantic aspects of language' (1987a:127).

Looked at now as a group, and with reference to their suitability for some use of literature, we can see that these Category A proposals have in common, to one degree or another, the intention of providing a focus on both linguistic and communicative competence. Such a focus does not automatically exclude the use of literature in support of the goals or methods attached to these proposals. Indeed, ways could be found for bringing literature into each of

the approaches, but there would be little point in doing so. As we have already seen, these proposals generally work on the notion of a correspondence between the linguistic forms and communicative functions presented in one portion of a course and practice in the use of them in another part of the course. Literary texts could be used to illustrate these forms and functions, but this would be such a limited, and decidedly non-literary, use of the texts that there is no compelling reason to turn to literature to find such demonstrations. That is, nothing of the texts which makes them literary would be exploited, and so any special pretext for turning to literature is removed. No harm would be done in utilizing literature to exemplify these forms and functions, but such an approach to literature fails to take advantage of the real benefits it offers to CLT. As Chapter Three will show, literature's great virtue in the context of CLT is that it can be employed in an endless variety of ways which stimulate learner discussion and therefore lead to meaningful use of the target language in the process. The nature of the Category A approaches precludes such a use of literature, especially because the exercises and drills used in the communicative portions of the courses usually work within the framework of the forms and functions introduced in other parts of the courses. There is no real avenue for the kind of free, open-ended discussion which literature stimulates so well.

With respect to the Category A approaches, then, literature does not have a meaningful role to play in

support of the purposes of the approaches, nor are the features which enable literature to stand apart from other sources of language teaching materials of value in those approaches.

There is, however, one proposal for a kind of Category A approach in which literature could serve a useful role which would at the same time take advantage of some of the distinctive characteristics available in literary texts. This is a proposal by Brumfit. Brumfit shares the desire of other Category A theorists for an effective balance between structural and communicative aspects of ELT, but he suggests an alternative approach to that balance. The essence of his proposal is contained in the following citation:

A communicative methodology, then, would start from communication, with exercises which constituted communication challenges for students. As they attempted the exercises, students would have to stretch their linguistic capabilities to perform the given tasks, and would be given subsequent teaching, which could be of a traditional form, where they clearly perceived themselves to need to improve to establish communication adequately in relation to the task. (1979:188-189)

On the surface, this proposal resembles one by Johnson discussed earlier. Where Brumfit's offers a new, and significant, dimension is in his belief in the idea of presenting the students with "communication challenges" in the initial phase of the course. This suggests a more aggressive approach to the communicative dimensions of the course than is the case in Johnson's proposal (which also calls for students to first be required to face communicative situations, and then be supplied with the knowledge of forms

and functions necessary to cope with those situations). Brumfit's "challenges" entail, as the citation indicates, circumstances which demand of learners that they "stretch their linguistic capabilities to perform the given tasks", and it is in this area, precisely, where literature is seen to best serve CLT, particularly in the context of problem solving, task based activities. As Chapter Three will demonstrate in more detail, the nature of literature-in its linguistic framework encompassing a wide array of types of language use or varieties, and in its narrative character-is such that it provides learners with hosts of demanding and meaningful communicatively-based challenges hinted at in Brumfit's citation. Also significant here is that these challenges derive from literature's literary properties, unlike the possible uses of literature in the Category A approaches discussed earlier. Literature's specialness would be exploited in Brumfit's proposal, and that would not be the case with the other proposals reviewed.

Brumfit's proposal is heavily based on his well-known distinction between accuracy and fluency, where accuracy refers to correctness or linguistic competence and fluency refers to appropriateness and communicative competence. He accounts for both in his approach, with fluency receiving the bulk of the attention in the course. Both are dealt with through the activities-based approach in a system which functions as follows: 'Short activities tend to be focused on specific elements of language, content, or function... In order to enable students to use language as determined

by genuine communicative and conceptual needs, projects set at a higher level of abstraction will be necessary' (1984:120). He also explains that 'accuracy activity may be aimed at conscious learning by students, but...the conversion of the tokens of the language thus learnt into value-laden systems with genuine communicative potential requires fluency activity in which the learners' focus is on meaning rather than form' (1984:69).

Thus, while accuracy is dealt with in his approach, students' ability to become fluent in the target language is the goal which underlies all activity in the course, whether accuracy or fluency oriented. In such an approach, he says, 'The breaking down of language courses into specific units... with mastery of each stage being desired before the next one is attempted, may be incorporated into our model as a way of structuring much of the accuracy, but will conflict if extensive fluency activity is not also allowed' (1984:136). Here, again, we see the primary stress on fluency related activities, activities which we have already seen are more challenging in their scope and difficulty than is the case in the other approaches within the Category A proposals.

Also significant in Brumfit's proposal is the lack of an ongoing link between forms and functions introduced in one portion of the course and the fluency activities conducted in another. This is in direct contrast to the trend seen in the Category A models described previously, where there is a continuity between the structural and communicative aspects of the courses. Brumfit's model begins with

communicative challenges expressed through various fluency-directed activities, with follow-up accuracy work where necessary. In this way the fluency work is given free reign to expose learners to communicative situations and demands found in the use of the target language, rather than servicing the forms and functions already presented to learners.

In Brumfit's proposal, then, we see an approach which accounts for structural concerns and at the same time leaves room for a use of literary texts in the promotion of fluency. Here, therefore, we see how literature might play a role in models falling within the Category A sphere provided there is a predominant focus on fluency rather than accuracy, and that the fluency related activities include "communication challenges" along the lines envisioned by Brumfit.

Turning now to Category B proposals, we see a domain in which numerous possibilities exist for the meaningful exploitation of literature. These proposals, as we have already seen, break away from the structural and functional roots found in the Category A approaches and instead focus more intensively on the development of fluency in learners. By so doing, they open up avenues for the use of literature not found in the Category A proposals.

First among the Category B proposals is one by Breen and Candlin in a 1980 paper which helped lay the foundations for CLT's development in the 1980s. This paper sets out a framework for CLT by exploring, within the larger contexts of purposes, methodology, and evaluation, a CLT curriculum

in terms of questions about communication, the demands on the learner, the learner's initial contributions, the classroom process, teacher/learner roles, the role of content, and the evaluation of the learner and the curriculum. In the process of that exploration, numerous important insights into CLT are developed.

The paper declares in its opening stage that 'Communicating is not merely a matter of following conventions but also of negotiating through and about the conventions themselves. It is a convention-creating as well as convention-following activity' (1980:90). They also state that 'affective involvement is both the driving-force for learning, and also the motivation behind much everyday communication and the inspiration for the recreation of the conventions which govern such communication' (p. 91). Thus, language learning is seen as a process in which learners must learn to create language uses within an experiential rather than prescriptive context, where the learner's own involvement is recognized as central to the process.

Furthermore, they explain that 'Learning to communicate is a socialisation process' (p. 91), and that

The classroom itself is a unique social environment with its own human activities and its own conventions governing these activities. It is an environment where a particular social-psychological and cultural reality is constructed. This uniqueness and this reality implies a communicative potential to be exploited, rather than constraints which have to be overcome or compensated for. (p. 98)

This view of the classroom is part of a larger view of CLT as an approach in which 'Language learning within a communicative curriculum is most appropriately seen as

communicative interaction involving all the participants in the learning and including the various material resources on which the learning is exercised. Therefore, language learning may be seen as a process which grows out of the interaction between learners, teachers, texts and activities' (p. 95).

As in other communicative proposals, this "communicative interaction" occurs within the activities-based approach, with a stress on 'the communicative abilities of interpretation, expression, and negotiation' (p. 92). Thus, their approach requires the creation of learning conditions in which such abilities are practiced and facilitated, so that 'in endeavouring to interpret and express with a new language, the learner will himself negotiate between the communicative competence he already possesses and that which underlies the new learning' (p. 92).

Their approach, then, views the learner, rather than the language items to be learned, as the centre of the entire learning process. The learner is seen as already being a communicator, the teacher is regarded as a facilitator, and the classroom is viewed as a unique and rich location for meaningful language activity. Furthermore, they advocate the use of connected pieces of discourse in such a classroom, so that more extensive opportunities for exposure to, and work with, the target language can take place.

The primary significance of their approach is its emphasis on language learning as a creative activity where the continual focus of the course is on enabling learners to find ways of developing their own use of the target

language rather than practicing forms and functions prescribed by a teacher.

Another Category B proposal, one which has received considerable attention, is the 'procedural' approach developed and tested by Prabhu. Also known as the Bangalore Project, the experiment in the use of a procedural approach focused on a communicative attempt to supply learners with a knowledge of linguistic forms and accuracy through an ongoing focus on fluency-based work. The project, based in India, lasted for five years, and revolved around a task-based, problem solving methodology.

According to Prabhu, 'The stimulus for the project was a strongly-felt pedagogic intuition...that the development of competence in a second language requires not systematization of language inputs or maximization of planned practice, but rather the creation of conditions in which learners engage in an effort to cope with communication' (1987:1).

Prabhu goes on to explain that

The focus of the project was not... 'communicative competence' (in the restricted sense of achieving social or situational appropriacy, as distinct from grammatical conformity) but rather on grammatical competence itself, which was hypothesized to develop in the course of meaningful activity... Both the development and the exercise of grammatical competence were viewed as internal self-regulating processes and, furthermore, effort to exercise competence in response to a need to arrive at or convey meaning was viewed as a favourable condition for its development. (1987:1-2)

Given this view of grammatical competence, a linguistically organized syllabus was avoided, and 'It was decided that teaching should consequently be concerned with creating

conditions for coping with meaning in the classroom, to the exclusion of any deliberate regulation of the development of grammatical competence or a mere simulation of language behaviour' (1987:2).

In support of this idea, Prabhu and his colleagues developed a problem-solving approach which involved the use of 'pre-tasks' and 'tasks' in each lesson. Pre-tasks consisted of problems which the teacher presented to the class as a whole, with the class then interacting with the teacher in their efforts to solve the problems. Following these pre-tasks, students were given problems or tasks to be dealt with individually or in pairs. All of these tasks required the use of language in communicative contexts, rather than the mere repetition of language forms. Through the completion of these tasks, the students were expected to develop an ability to manipulate language forms in ways which produce meaningful, as opposed to correct but sterile, discourse.

The primary contribution of this proposal is in the ways it conceptualizes and demonstrates the use of tasks in language learning. The tasks were considered to be 'meaning-focused activity', and were seen in a framework in which 'In task-based teaching, lessons in the classroom are not acts of text, or language presentation, but rather contexts for discourse creation' (1987:95). That is to say, students were not expected to mimic language forms, but rather to generate their own discourse which demonstrated, through meaningful use of forms, a communicative awareness of them.

Here, Prabhu says,

It is not claimed that meaning-focused activity eliminates all attention by learners to language samples as form. Such total elimination is probably impossible in any form of teaching, and possibly inconsistent with normal language use. The claim is rather that meaning-focused activity ensures that any attention to form is (1) contingent to dealing with meaning and (2) self-initiated (i.e. not planned, predicted, or controlled by the teacher). (1987:75-76)

The main point here is that, through this consistent focus on meaning within the task-based approach, form is always associated with meaning, rather than seen in isolation. At the same time, the creation of meaningful discourse is the goal continually at hand in the course, thus stressing the need for meaning in effective communication.

Also important in Prabhu's proposal is his belief that 'Learners' immediate motivation in the task-based classroom derives from the intellectual pleasure of solving problems' (1987:55). Here, like Brumfit, Prabhu feels it is essential to challenge students through communicatively based problems which exercise their linguistic and communicative competence. And, as discussed in the review of Brumfit's model, this is where literature has a place in CLT: in helping to set such challenges or problems. This point will be discussed again shortly.

Through challenging students with tasks and problem solving activities, Prabhu enables students to develop procedures, or interpretative strategies, by which they negotiate the difficulties accompanying those tasks and problems. It is these procedures which then enable them to better generate discourse on their own.

This procedural notion is central to another proposal for CLT, one supplied by Widdowson. A key figure in the development of CLT, Widdowson offers what he has variously called an 'integrated', 'discourse-to-discourse', 'procedural' approach.

Widdowson's model begins with his assertion that 'people do not communicate by expressing isolated notions or fulfilling isolated functions any more than they do so by uttering isolated sentence patterns' (1978:ix). Instead, there must be a knowledge of how 'we make use of sentences to perform a variety of different acts of an essentially social nature' (1979b:118). That is, learners must understand how sentences function within various sociolinguistic conditions in order to produce meaningful statements, responses, etc.

Building on these perspectives, and central to his approach, is Widdowson's distinction between usage and use, which he relates to Saussure's langue/parole and Chomsky's competence/performance distinctions. Usage means 'to manifest our knowledge of the language system of English' (1978:3) to produce grammatically correct utterances. With respect to use, however, 'we do not simply manifest the abstract system of the language, we at the same time realize it as meaningful communicative behaviour' (1978:3). He then applies this distinction to CLT in the following way:

A common assumption among language teachers seems to be...that the essential task is to teach a selection of words and structures, that is to say elements of usage, and that this alone will provide for communicative needs in whichever area of use is relevant to the learner at a more advanced stage. What I am

suggesting is that we should think of an area (or areas) of use right from the beginning and base our selection, grading and presentation on that. Only in this way, it seems to me, can we ensure that we are teaching language as communication and not as a stock of usage which may never be realized in actual use at all. (1978:15)

However, an emphasis on use alone from the beginning of a course is not a sufficient condition to build in learners an effective ability to communicate meaningfully in the target language. Another crucial factor is identified in Widdowson's distinction between 'competence' and 'capacity'. Widdowson says of them that 'I think a distinction must be made between what we know of language, our competence, and how we activate this knowledge in particular instances of language behaviour, what I shall call our capacity for realizing the indexical value of language elements in the communicative process' (1984:234). He also explains that

The idea of capacity is an important one in my scheme of things...Whereas competence is taken to be a state of knowledge, stabilized by rules and necessarily an idealized representation of reality, capacity is conceived of as a dynamic set of procedures for exploiting knowledge, for creating meaning which has reference to rules but is not determined by them. (1984:213)

It is capacity, then, which enables learners to generate discourse, and this capacity must be activated and encouraged by the language classroom, with competence serving a role which follows capacity. That is, 'competence comes as a corollary to effective communicative use. And correctness is what the learner moves towards, not what he begins with; something he achieves and not something that is thrust upon him' (1984:250). Indeed, 'Competence...is not something

that is directly taught but something that learners fashion for themselves by recognizing the need for conventional controls over their creative efforts in the interest of better communication' (1984:250).

Here Widdowson shares Prabhu's view that linguistic competence will occur as a consequence of the development of communicative abilities, and at the same time puts the need to focus on capacity ahead of competence. Within that focus, he stresses the necessity for learners to work with discourse, rather than sentences in isolation. In his view, 'If we are to adopt a communicative approach to teaching which takes as its primary purpose the development of the ability to do things with language, then it is discourse which must be at the centre of our attention' (1979a:254). That is, an approach is proposed which 'sees language as discourse, a use of sentences to perform acts of communication which cohere into larger communicative units, ultimately establishing a rhetorical pattern which characterizes the piece of language as a whole as a kind of communication' (1979a:98).

Having now seen key perspectives underlying Widdowson's approach, we can move to how that approach is implemented in the classroom. Here, as noted earlier, Widdowson offers an integrated, discourse-to-discourse, procedural approach. These terms can now be illustrated through a brief look at the key components of the type of course he proposes. This can be done first of all by looking at a methodological tool central to his approach: his concept of 'gradual

approximation'. This is a kind of sequential, graded scheme revolving around the use of pieces of discourse. That is, 'in designing the syllabus, our aim is to order the language items to be learned in such a way that they build up into larger communicative units' (1979a:257). Thus, the level of complexity of the discourse approximates the learner's level of competence as well as his communicative needs at each stage of the learning process.

This approach is integrated in the sense that it requires the use of both the learner's linguistic competence as well as his communicative competence. It is a discourse-to-discourse approach in that the learner progresses systematically from one piece of discourse to another as his communicative competence increases and his capacity is activated. What must now be explained is the procedural aspect of the approach.

The procedural approach, as we have already seen, is a task-based, problem solving methodology which serves Widdowson's need for 'a dynamic problem solving activity within the confines of the classroom' (1984:227). The virtue of problem solving within Widdowson's model is that it creates opportunities for 'the use of procedures for negotiating meaning' (1984:227), and it is these procedures which activate and develop learners' capacity. As Widdowson explains:

Our aim must be to develop in learners a capacity for using language for both thinking and acting so that they can exploit its meaning potential in discourse. This is not a simple matter of learning how to express a selection of notions or perform a selection of illocutionary acts. It is, more

fundamentally, a matter of learning strategies...
for reconciling conceptual and communicative
functions in the discourse process. (1980:242)

By activating learners' capacity, the procedural approach enables them to develop such learning strategies. The problem solving activities which serve the procedural approach are intended, then, 'to create problems which require interpretative procedures' which 'encourage the exercise of the capacity for negotiating meaning and working out the indexical value of language elements in context' (1984:239).

Learners, then, move from one piece of discourse to another, performing various tasks and solving numerous problems along the way. As such, says Widdowson, 'The task for pedagogy...is to devise problems which will require learners to engage discourse procedures in some principled way so that they acquire language for use in the very learning process' (1984:123).

Using the above comment by Widdowson as a starting point, we can now look collectively at the Category B proposals with respect to their impact on a possible literary presence within CLT.

The task Widdowson identified for pedagogy is one which applies to all three Category B proposals reviewed, that is, to find means of allowing students to develop interpretative strategies which, when applied to pieces of discourse, empower them to develop a deeper knowledge of language use and strengthen their knowledge of language usage. This, in turn, develops their ability to generate their own discourse.

Each of the proposals involves putting students in very active roles within the classroom through the setting of tasks and problems for them to engage in ways which, in Widdowson's terms, activate their capacity. These proposals, then, advocate the more aggressive approach suggested in Brumfit's model discussed earlier, one which stressed the importance of "communication challenges." And, as has already been noted, it is within this framework that literature best fits into CLT. As Chapter Three will show, literary texts are amenable to a rich assortment of language and content based tasks and problem solving activities. These tasks and problem solving activities require learners to engage the discourse of the texts and to produce their own discourse in the process of performing the tasks and resolving the problems. Students might be asked, for example, to analyse the discourse strategies and communicative functions employed by one character in a short story in interacting with another character. In the process of performing that analytical task, the students, working in the pairs or group format normally utilized in the activities-based approach, will generate their own discourse in discussing answers with their classmates, as well as in crafting a final answer to the problem.

What we see here is that, in the Category B context, literature's status as literature has value, i.e. there are solid reasons for turning to literature to satisfy the needs of the Category B proposals. It is because literature tells stories (whichever genre is used), and because language is

used in interesting and creative ways in the telling of those stories, that literature can be the base from which language learning tasks and problems of the Category B kind are set. This, again, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. What is important to recognize now is that the Category B proposals, with their emphasis on what Prabhu, earlier, referred to as 'meaning-focused activity', create communicatively-based requirements for learners which literature can serve. Because this emphasis plays a lesser role in the Category A proposals, literature has no significant role to play or special qualities to offer with respect to those proposals. When, however, learners' capacity becomes a major focus of the learning process, as in the case of the Category B proposals, literature can be brought into that process in ways which will activate and enhance that capacity.

C) English for Specific Purposes (ESP)

In reviewing the development of CLT, mention must be made of ESP.

CLT can be subdivided into two major branches. One is General Purpose English (GPE); the other is English for Specific Purposes (ESP). As the titles suggest, these branches have very different orientations.

The discussion of CLT thus far has focused on GPE. Here the emphasis is on providing learners with a general communicative competence in English, that is, where no special purposes for the communication obtain. Students in a GPE course therefore are prepared to use English in such

a way that they can meet a wide variety of communicative demands through an overall proficiency in the language which is not targeted at any particular situation. It is in this domain of CLT that literature's integration into CLT has been aimed.

ESP, on the other hand, is based upon the specific identification of communicative needs. In this domain of CLT, a particular situation becomes the focus of instruction, and a specification of the language related needs of that situation is then made. The instruction itself then attempts to prepare learners to meet those needs. An example would be, say, the English required for airline mechanics. Learners in such a course would then be taught only the English required within that vocational context.

ESP, then, takes the learner-centred orientation of CLT to its most extreme point, since the needs of specific groups of learners become the sole concern and purpose of the course.

Because of this narrower focus on learner needs within specifically targeted contexts-usually within vocational, scientific, or academic spheres-ESP has been regarded as an essentially practical area of CLT. As a result, it has traditionally been felt that there is no place or role for literature in ESP.

This study hypothesizes that literature can play a role in ESP, and it is that hypothesis which is discussed and analyzed in Chapter Five of the study. As such, ESP will be examined in depth in that chapter, where a review

of its main features will be of more immediate relevance.

Summary

The description of ELT's development in Chapter Two has shown how, through four specific phases of that development, ELT has moved from a traditional concentration on prescriptive, teacher-centred approaches to language teaching to, since the early 1970s, a communicative, learner-centred orientation in which learners' needs serve as the focal point in the language classroom. At the same time, those needs are related for the most part to their ability to actually use English in real-life communicative contexts rather than merely acquiring information about language usage, i.e. the rules and conventions of ideal speakers as perceived by linguists. As Brumfit says of the 'communicative revolution', 'The basic argument is that people do not possess language, they use it' (1985:29). Throughout much of its history, as we have seen, ELT favoured possession over use, and as such it utilized various forms of structurally based teaching approaches which attempted to instill in learners a solid knowledge of the language. We have also seen how, during that structural domination, literature receded into the background of ELT, where its primary function was in the service of courses where literary training or knowledge was the aim. It was not perceived to have any real value in language teaching.

With the advent of the communicative era, literature began to be perceived in a more favourable light within a

non-specialist, General Purpose English (GPE) framework. However, as we have also seen, literature's role within CLT is tied to the particular approach to CLT which is taken by those responsible for the planning and implementation of a course. In those CLT courses where structural as well as communicative interests prevail, and where the communicative element is not especially dominant, literature has no real role to play. On the other hand, in courses where there is a more aggressive, thoroughly communicative orientation, literature can be used within the context of the activities-based approach featuring tasks and problem solving exercises which has become a fixture in CLT.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENTS IN APPROACHES TO LITERATURE

Introduction

In Chapter Three the focus of the study shifts to literature. This occurs in two major sections. Section 3A looks at literary theory, with a concentration on particular areas within that discipline which are considered to be relevant and useful to the development of literature's role in ELT and CLT. Section 3B describes and comments on major approaches to literature teaching by discussing the development and key features of those approaches.

The primary objective in Chapter Three is to build a literary framework for the study through a review and analysis of significant work concerning literature as it relates to language teaching. This framework, together with that established for language teaching in Chapter Two, creates a basis from which to look at the more narrowly focused empirical work in the following two chapters.

Section 3A: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO LITERATURE

Overview

Ellis (1974:x) observes that 'The theory of literature and of literary criticism has, of course, been discussed endlessly for thousands of years'. For the purposes of this study, however, it is necessary to look only at theoretical approaches to literature which have developed during the

20th century, since it is from these that benefits to literature within its relationship to ELT and CLT can be derived. It should also be noted that only from certain of these theoretical approaches can those benefits be drawn. It is those approaches which will be discussed later in this section.

The demarcation between 20th century literary theory and that which preceded it arises from the fact that 20th century literary theory represents a dramatic shift in the overall nature of such theory. Prior to the 20th century, the focus of literary theory was mainly on 'positivism', and 20th century approaches to literature are in part a reaction against that focus. Jefferson and Robey (1982:9) offer this description of the positivist approach:

In its pure form positivist scholarship studied literature almost exclusively in relation to its factual causes or genesis: the author's life, his recorded intentions in writing, his immediate social and cultural environment, his sources...It was not interested in the features of a literary text itself except from a philological and historical viewpoint. That is, it used linguistic history to interpret the meaning of individual works, and other branches of history to explain references and illusions; but it disregarded questions concerning the value or the distinctive properties of literature, since these could not be dealt with in a factual and historical manner.

The common reaction against positivism among 20th century theorists is exemplified in a remark by Wellek (1963:256), who, in referring to it as 'petty antiquarianism', characterizes it as ' "research" into the minutest details of the lives and quarrels of authors, parallel hunting, and source digging-in short, the accumulation of isolated facts, usually defended on the vague belief that all these bricks

will sometime be used in a great pyramid of learning'.

The transition from the positivism of the 19th century (and earlier) to the theories which have dominated this century revolves around shifting emphases on three major constituents of literary theory: the author, the text, and the reader. Eagleton (1983:74) provides a useful summary of how literary theory has evolved in the modern era as thoughts about the author/text/reader triumvirate have changed:

one might very roughly periodize the history of modern literary theory in three stages: a preoccupation with the author (Romanticism and the nineteenth century); an exclusive concern with the text (New Criticism); and a marked shift of attention to the reader over recent years. The reader has always been the most underprivileged of this trio-strangely, since without him or her there would be no literary texts at all...For literature to happen, the reader is quite as vital as the author.

In other words, the text and the reader are the dominant concerns of 20th century theory, though the author continues to play a role, albeit a lesser one, through the form of what is now called the 'new historicism', which Palmer (1973:89) defines as a form of literary scholarship which aims 'to make works of different periods more accessible to the modern reader by reconstructing the historically appropriate background as it affects an understanding and judgment of the work concerned'. Here the historical conditions at hand and impacting on an author during the writing of a literary work are presented and analysed. For the most part, though, 20th century literary theory removes the author from consideration and looks at the nature and structure of the text itself, or at the reader's interaction

with the text.

Jefferson and Robey (1982:13-17) offer five categories which represent the major thrusts of 20th century literary theory within the author/text/reader focus. These are: 1) the text as literature; 2) text and author; 3) text and reader; 4) text and reality; 5) text and language. The theoretical approaches which fall within these five categories occur within two large chronological periods during this century. The consensus is that the first period covers the years from the late teens to the 1960s and encompasses the theories of Formalism, New Criticism, and Structuralism. The second dates from the 1960s to the present and begins with the advent of Post-Structuralism (Deconstruction). Such other notable areas as Marxist, Feminist, and Reader-Response theory have also played important roles during this second stage of 20th century literary theory.

The work which takes place within these categories operates within different domains of activity, and here distinctions of considerable importance in the development of 20th century approaches to literature must be made. The three domains are theory, criticism, and scholarship, and each represents an alternative way of approaching literature. Of theory, Wellek (1963:1) says that ' "Literary theory" is the study of the principles of literature, its categories, criteria, and the like'. Gray (1984:58) defines criticism and scholarship when he explains that criticism 'concerns itself exclusively with the appreciation and interpretation of individual texts, while scholarship encompasses literary

history and the establishment of correct versions of texts (textual criticism)'. Rodway (1973:42) looks at the three domains collectively when he explains that

Literary scholarship and literary history...should be regarded as complementary to literary criticism, not as part of it. Critical theory too should be distinguished from criticism, since it concerns itself with the analysis and judgment of concepts rather than works. It is a philosophical activity which should underlie criticism but, again, should not be regarded as part of it.

These distinctions are important for two primary reasons. First, with respect to the development of 20th century approaches to literature, they make possible one of the objectives which was central to the transition from 19th to 20th century approaches: the establishment of a scientific status for literary studies. Early 20th century literary scholars were troubled by the secondary status accorded literary study due to the subjective nature of literary criticism. As science achieved increasingly higher status as the century developed, literary scholars sought the same status for the study of literature. The differentiation between theory, criticism, and scholarship, coupled with the development of linguistically-based approaches to literature in the first quarter of the century, created an opening for a more exalted status for literary study. It was felt, in particular, that literary theorists could deal with literary texts on a scientific basis through the use of linguistic methods of analysis of texts, rather than interpretation of them, hence bringing literary study into the objective scientific realm. Criticism would remain essentially subjective, but theory would be an objective

activity, and scholarship could be as well, depending on how it was approached.

This distinction is also of great importance for the purposes of this study, as well as the integration of literature into ELT and CLT. That is, objections to literature in the language classroom often come from teachers who assume that the use of literature requires instructors and/or students to be literary critics or scholars, and that looking at literature carries the requirement of making informed judgments of the texts at hand. At the same time, they may believe that such endeavours require a deep knowledge of principles and components or technical aspects of literature. Since few teachers, particularly at present, possess such knowledge, it is common for teachers, even those attracted to literature, to feel insecure about using it in the classroom.

The distinction between theory, criticism, and scholarship carries the implication that a teacher need not be knowledgeable in all three areas. Indeed, as will be seen later, criticism and scholarship are essentially irrelevant to the ways in which literature is presently conceived in the context of language teaching. Teachers and, far more importantly, students may well engage in the criticism of literary texts, but from the perspective of personal response and the opportunities for discussion, and meaningful language practice, that such response based activity can create, rather than the informed, learned critic working from sets of literary principles. On the other hand, theory, in an

applied framework, can provide language teachers with valuable insights into ways of introducing texts into their classrooms, and devising workable approaches to them. This point will be developed as the discussion of specific theoretical approaches to literature takes place. The main point to be made here is that theory offers ways of looking at and analysing literature which do not require students or teachers to be literary scholars. Hence the term 'literary theory', as opposed to literary criticism or scholarship, is being used in this study. As will be seen as this chapter progresses, literary theory during the course of the 20th century has produced approaches to literature which make it highly amenable to ELT and CLT.

Through its various approaches, 20th century literary theory focuses not on what texts mean, but rather on how that meaning is produced. As Maclean explains, 'All literary theories have to account for meaning, whether as that which is communicated directly from the author to reader (I.A. Richards), or that which is inherent in the words of a text (New Criticism), or that which arises from its structure (structuralism)' (1982:122). It is here, in this accounting for meaning, that much of literary theory's value for ELT and CLT resides. While considerable value can be gained from asking students to interpret literary works, far more, especially in the communicative context, can be garnered from asking them to study texts to determine how the meanings of the texts have been created by the authors. In particular, they can analyse the language of the texts with that purpose

in mind, and in the process their own language awareness can be heightened. Furthermore, within the activities-based approach central to communicative teaching, they can work together-in the medium of English-in pairs or groups performing tasks and solving problems related to what is found inside the texts. And certain 20th century literary theories provide helpful insights into how such activities can be approached, as well as creating useful pretexts for such activities. At the same time, it should be noted that the goal in these activities need not be the acquisition of literary knowledge. Applications of literary theory, as will be seen later, neither require students to be literary scholars or to become them. Rather, certain 20th century theories open the door to practical, language based, communicative uses of literature in line with the contemporary development of ELT and CLT described in Chapter Two.

In light of these comments, various relevant literary theories will be examined in the remainder of this section in order to illustrate how they can contribute to ELT and CLT. This will entail brief reviews of their main features, as well as analysis of the relevance of those features to language teaching.

Formalism

The origins of the changes which distinguish modern literary theory from what took place before are located in the late teens and early twenties of this century. It was during this period that scholars in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Prague developed what became known as Formalism, a

radical departure from earlier approaches to literary study. Drawing heavily from the linguistics of Saussure, members of the 'linguistic circles' in these cities crafted a new method of literary study, one defined by Eagleton (1983:3) as follows:

Formalism was essentially the application of linguistics to the study of literature; and because the linguistics in question were of a formal kind, concerned with the structures of language rather than with what it might actually say, the Formalists passed over the analysis of literary 'content' (where one might be tempted into psychology or sociology) for the study of literary form.

Crystal (1987:78) adds this description of the Formalists:

The 'formalist' school of Russian (later Czech) critics in the early 20th century focussed on the analysis of the literary text as an end in itself, without reference to social history, the writer's intention, or the reader's reaction. In this approach, literary language was seen as a special variety, whose aesthetic effects could be explained by a systematic, technical analysis.

Crystal's description pinpoints some of the important shifts in literary theory which Formalism initiated. First, there was the firm rejection of the positivistic emphasis of the past; historical factors and authorial biography were now deemed irrelevant to literary study. Second, the philological interests of previous times were replaced by a heavy concentration on what was believed to be the unique language of literature. This latter point is developed further by Sturrock (1986:106), who says:

From its beginnings Russian Formalism brought the study of literature closer together with the study of language...They saw literature as a particular use of language and condemned earlier critics who had written of literary matters as if the language itself were transparent and negligible, because only

the transcendent 'message' counted.

The Formalists, then, shifted literary study into the study of 'literariness', which in their terms meant the formal properties found in language which make a text literary. Further background to this new approach to literature is supplied by Jefferson (1982a:26-27), who describes how it is a reaction to what she calls the 'homespun' emphasis of earlier theorists:

The 'homespun' view of literature had tended to see literature either as an expression of an author's personality and world-vision, or as a mimetic (that is to say, realistic) representation of the world in which he lived...In regarding the literary text as an instrument of expression or representation, the specificity of its literary qualities is likely to be overlooked.

The search for this "specificity of literary qualities" became the new focus of literary research, and in the Formalist context that meant an investigation of the language found in literary texts. The Formalists thus redirected literary study toward an emphasis on 'literary language'. This emphasis was embodied in the following concept, as defined by Sturrock (1986:109): 'If there is a specifically literary use of language, there must be a non-literary use of it also, from which the literary use can be distinguished. Formalism came to be based on a binary scheme whereby language use was divided into the "poetic" or literary and the "everyday" '.

Formalists, then, as Lodge (1988:15) observes, moved literary theory to an emphasis on 'the medium rather than the message'. Or, as Genette (1988:66) states: 'Literature had long enough been regarded as a message without a code

for it to become necessary to regard it for a time as a code without a message'.

With their stress on a linguistic basis for the study of literature and the identification of those features which create its language, the Formalists were also attempting to elevate literary study to a higher level of academic respectability by casting the field in a more scientific light. As Newton (1988:21) says, 'The Russian Formalists rejected the unsystematic and eclectic critical approaches which had previously dominated literary study and endeavoured to create a "literary science" '.

According to Jefferson (1982a:42), this "literary science" was characterized by such major features as 'the central position of language, the devaluing of the biographical element, the notion of a science of literature, and the importance placed on deviation from the norm'. Underlying these features was the afore-mentioned quest to identify, in linguistic terms, the specific properties of 'literariness'. This entailed, in a broader sense, an exploration of the devices of literature; more specifically, this meant studying, through the use of linguistic tools, such notions as 'deviance', 'defamiliarization', 'foregrounding', and the 'making strange' of language in pursuit of literary purposes.

What all of this means in a general sense, says Scholes (1974:76), is that 'Formalism is more concerned with poetics than with interpretation, more concerned with producing useful generalizations about "literariness" than with ingenious readings of individual works'. This focus on

defining literariness is manifested, explains Hawkes (1977:60), in 'a preoccupation with the techniques by which literary language works, and a concern to specify and differentiate these from the modes of "ordinary" language'. Tambling (1988:27-28) adds this perspective on the thrust of Formalist theory:

Russian Formalism began as an attempt to disengage the study of 'literariness' from other forms of writing, such as biography or history: criticism had the function of showing that literature was marked out by devices, techniques...that gave it its distinctiveness. Rather than just accepting the authority of the text and its author, and commenting on the vision within the work, it insisted that critical work began by looking at the literary devices by which the vision was articulated. It had the task of showing that art was a discursive practice, and that its modes of working needed to be shown.

Central to the Formalist task is the notion of 'deviance'. Selden (1989:9-10) introduces deviance in the Formalist context as follows:

The Formalists' technical focus led them to treat literature as a special use of language which achieves its distinctiveness by deviating from and distorting 'practical' language. Practical language is used for acts of communication, while literary language has no practical function at all and simply makes us see differently.

This linguistic deviation taking place in literature is characterized by Leech (1973:75) as

the violations of rules and conventions, by which a poet transcends the normal communicative resources of the language, and awakens the reader, by freeing him from the grooves of cliché expression, to a new perceptivity.

This generally occurs, he says (1973:75), through the technique of foregrounding, an umbrella term encompassing 'all salient linguistic phenomena which in some way cause

the reader's attention to shift from the paraphrasable content of a message ('what is said') to a focus on the message itself ('how it is said').

That is, says Sturrock (1986:109), 'The poetic function of language has as its effect that when we read literature we become more aware of language than we are when we are confronted by language in its other functions'.

The concept underlying this linguistic deviation which creates literary language is 'defamiliarization', or the 'making strange' of language in the service of artistic purposes. In the larger sense, says Shklovsky (1988:20),

The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects 'unfamiliar', to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged.

In purely literary terms, language is used in deviant ways so as to draw attention to itself, in the process altering the reader's experience of the reality, or message, dealt with in the text. As Bennett (1979:20) explains it, literature 'disorganizes the forms through which the world is customarily perceived, opening up a kind of chink through which the world displays to view new and unexpected aspects'. He goes on to say that

Far from reflecting reality, the Formalists argued, literary texts tend to 'make it strange', to dislocate our habitual perceptions of the real world so as to make it the object of a renewed attentiveness. Indeed, they argued that it was this ability to defamiliarize the forms through which we customarily perceive the world that uniquely distinguished literature from other forms of discourse. The vast majority of their studies accordingly set out to reveal the formal mechanisms whereby this effect of

defamiliarization was produced.

Eagleton (1983:4), in describing this process by which literary writers defamiliarize the familiar, summarizes the Formalist view of literary language as follows:

What was specific to literary language, what distinguished it from other forms of discourse, was that it 'deformed' ordinary language in various ways. Under the pressure of literary devices, ordinary language was intensified, condensed, twisted, telescoped, drawn out, turned on its head. It was language 'made strange'; and because of this enstrangement, the everyday was also suddenly made unfamiliar...The Formalists, then, saw literary language as a set of deviations from a norm, a kind of linguistic violence: literature is a 'special' kind of language in contrast to the 'ordinary' language we commonly use.

The Formalists radically altered the direction of literary study by this focus on a special literary language. In so doing, they made the study of language, rather than the interpretation of meaning, the focus of literary research. They also introduced new methods for the investigation of literary texts, as Culler (1982:8) points out in a description of the work of the early Formalists:

Taking as their primary object not the theme of literary works but their 'literariness', Jakobson and his colleagues concentrated on a variety of literary devices, producing systematic analyses of sound patterns, rhythmic structures, narrative devices, and processes of literary evolution...they sought to produce comprehensive theories of literary techniques and structures and had no hesitation in proposing the integration of linguistics and literature.

Bennett (1979:20) makes a similar point when he explains how the Formalists 'subjected particular sentences or verse structures to meticulous analysis in order to reveal the precise nature of the transformation which they effected on the categories of ordinary language'.

The remarks by Culler and Bennett point at perhaps the most important contribution Formalism made to modern literary theory: by identifying the study of literariness as the focus of literary study, the Formalists in turn put linguistics at the heart of that study. As Barthes (1986:159) notes in summarizing the work of Jakobson, a key figure in the development of Formalism, 'Jakobson make literature a magnificent gift: he gave it linguistics'. This, it can also be said, is the gift Formalism made to literary theory, in the process revolutionizing how and why literature is analysed.

Removing the traditional concern on the author-his life and his intentions in a particular work-was likewise a major contribution from Formalism to literary theory. This made the text itself the focus of literary theory, and in so doing redirected the attention of literary theory.

Both the significant contributions of Formalism just cited have implications for the role of literary theory in the integration of literature into ELT and CLT.

First, in shifting attention away from the author and authorial intentions, Formalism creates a new pretext from which to introduce literature into the language classroom. That is, students and teachers are freed from having to delve into the author's life. Instead, they can proceed directly to the text itself, where they can interact with it on their own terms, rather than searching for the author's intended meaning, and/or spending valuable time finding and accumulating information about the author and the composition

of the text. The barriers to literature which have prevented many teachers from turning to literature for language study are stripped away through Formalism's direct route to the text itself. Freed from the weight of what the author expected from readers, as well as from what critics have said in their interpretations of a text, learners can immediately enter and respond to the text within their own experience as readers. Formalism allows, then, for a new approach to literature in terms of how texts are brought into an ELT or CLT classroom.

Second, the focus on literary language central to Formalism creates a direct link between literature and its use in the language classroom. As will be seen later in this chapter, language based approaches to literature in ELT and CLT derive in part from the notion of linguistic analysis of texts developed initially in Formalism. Formalism is one way through which language students can meaningfully study the language of literature, with a view toward building their awareness of the target language as well as practicing the language while analysing its use in the text. In particular, the "binary scheme" noted earlier by Sturrock can be utilized to develop such language awareness or sensitivity. This scheme differentiates between literary and ordinary uses of language. This differentiation can be a helpful tool in the language classroom, as a comment by Nowottny (1962:85) suggests:

the study of meaning in poetic structures will cast light on the nature of meaning in ordinary language, just as much as the study of ordinary language casts light on the nature of poetry. If poetry is language at full stretch, the stretching must help us to see

more clearly the nature of the fabric stretched.

In other words, learners can take advantage of this binary scheme by comparing different uses of language within literary texts, i.e. the familiar or ordinary and the defamiliarized or literary uses. In this way they become sensitized to the target language, especially the ordinary uses which they need to have control over in order to become communicatively competent. The highlighting of ordinary uses against literary uses which Nowotny alludes to, and which Formalism pays particular attention to, hence makes literature a valuable resource in the language classroom.

Therefore, because Formalism creates a basis on which the linguistic study, as opposed to the critical evaluation, of literature can take place, learners can, from a Formalistic perspective, engage in language awareness analysis without being bound up in a preoccupation with the meaning of texts. Here again, then, Formalism creates a new path upon which literature can enter the ELT/CLT classroom. It draws attention to the linguistic resources available in literature, and in so doing presents literature itself, and its potential uses, in a new and highly beneficial light from the point of view of language study.

What is being suggested here, then, is a kind of applied or modified Formalism in which key features of the Formalistic approach to literature are used as grounds on which to bring literature to ELT/CLT students in the context of analysis of the language of literary texts, not to build students' knowledge of literary uses of language, but rather

to increase their awareness of or sensitivity to the target language itself through exposure to various forms of its uses.

New Criticism

Following very much on the heels of the Formalist insights into and perspectives on literary theory, New Criticism, says Robey (1982b:73), 'almost certainly constitutes the English-speaking world's major contribution to literary theory'. Spanning a period roughly from the mid-1920s to the late 1950s, New Criticism in some ways extended Formalist tendencies and in other ways deviated significantly from them.

Like the Formalists, the New Critics rejected the use of history and biography as means of literary study. They also shared the Formalists' interest in the language of literature. And, in the Formalist vein, New Criticism, as Bleich (1988:231) notes, 'was a reaction against unsystematic "impressionism" ', i.e. it, too, rejected the highly subjective criticism of pre-20th century critics.

Where the New Critics differed from the Formalists, and where they paved new ground in literary theory, is described by Robey (1982b:83) as follows:

their notion of structure was a good deal narrower than that of the Prague School, which included all the different levels of the text and not just its meaning; and they were not much interested in ideas of difference, defamiliarization or deviance to which the Formalists and their successors attached so much weight. What the New Critics emphasized was convergence within the text rather than deviation from an extrinsic standard. As a result they were far less interested in literary innovation than the Formalists tended to be.

By way of a broad definition of New Criticism, Holman (1981:295) says that 'Generally the term is applied...to the whole body of recent criticism which centres its attention in the work of art as an object in itself; finds in it a special kind of language opposed to-or at least different from-the languages of science and philosophy; and examines it through a process of close analysis'.

At the heart of New Criticism is an effort, says Butler (1984:117), 'to show the unity and coherence of the work'. And the work, or text, explains Uitti (1969:158), is viewed as 'a monumental thing-in-itself, as a unique but highly ordered "organism", structured according to certain principles'. Fowler (1971:101) echoes this view of the text when he remarks that in New Criticism there is the core 'belief that a poem is an autonomous verbal object all of whose characteristics can be discovered by structural analysis which excludes appeals to externals'. In short, all that matters is the text itself; such traditional tools of literary investigation as authorial intent and historical and social factors impacting on the writing of the text have no place in the New Critical approach. As Bierwisch (1970:96) notes:

The hermeneutics or New Critical method pursues the ideal of examining every artistic work with a minimum of general presupposition and assumes that its structure must be determined by itself alone. Each object is thus ultimately, absolutely unique, incomparable, and inaccessible to any generalization.

In New Criticism, then, says Abrams (1981:118), there is a 'great emphasis on the "organic unity" of structure and meaning...The form of a work, whether or not it has characters and plot, is said to be primarily a "structure

of meanings", and to develop mainly through a play and counterplay of evolving "thematic imagery" and "symbolic action" '.

Central to New Critical practice, and arising from the points just cited, is a perspective on literature in which, says Tambling (1988:22), 'questions of theory are subordinated to an empirical approach which assumes that you can always start looking at the words on the page'.

This emphasis on the "words on the page", irrespective of the author's intentions or other factors constituting the background to a text, is both one of the major legacies of New Criticism and the primary dividing line between the two separate but related theoretical schools which fall under the umbrella of New Criticism.

The first of these schools is 'practical criticism', an approach to literary study developed at Cambridge by I.A. Richards in the 1920s, and the predominant form of British literary scholarship throughout much of this century.

Richards dramatically altered the course of literary theory in English through the publication of two seminal works: Principles of Literary Criticism (1924) and Practical Criticism (1929). In the former he articulated a series of important distinctions and principles which set literary theory on an entirely new track; in the latter he demonstrated the tenets of practical criticism.

In Principles of Literary Criticism he shifted the emphasis in literary study from the author of the text to the reader/critic and his experience of that text. This was

coupled with another vital contribution to literary theory: an interest in the psychology at work in the reader as he/she interacts with a text, particularly with respect to the language of the text. This, in turn, led to another major contribution: his distinction between what he called 'emotive' and 'scientific' or referential language. As he explained it, 'We may either use words for the sake of the references they promote, or we may use them for the sake of the attitudes and emotions which ensue' (1924:211), with emotive language being of particular importance in literature. This interest in emotive language was instrumental in enabling him to centre attention on reader responses to literature, since it is to that language which the reader responds.

Richards' groundbreaking work was extended in Practical Criticism. Here he put his earlier ideas in practice by exploring, in depth, responses his Cambridge poetry students made to 13 poems he had given them minus any information (including the authors' names) about the poems. In his analyses of the students' 'protocols', or explications, of the poems, Richards illustrated his critical principles and theoretical insights. He also outlined the details of what came to be a central feature of New Critical practice: the process of 'close reading' of literary texts, where the focus is on the careful reading of the language of the texts so as to determine the special linguistic effects at work in literary expression. As Bateson (1971:54) says of the process, it serves 'to invite the reader to look hard, really hard, at the words on the page'. And in so doing, the reader's view

is restricted to the text at hand, and its effects upon him, without reference to anything outside that text, and without generalizing about literature, as was the practice in earlier literary study.

The practical criticism developed by Richards and expanded upon by such leading figures in British literary study as William Empson and T.S. Eliot was, indeed, practical; it had no room for theories about literature. In its 'words on the page' approach, its interest in the emotive language of literature, its focus on individual texts rather than literature as a whole, and its rejection of the long-time positivistic emphasis in literary theory, practical criticism redirected literary study and became the first stage in Anglo-American or New Criticism. The second stage involved literary theorists in America in the 1940s and 1950s, who built upon the theories and practices of practical criticism and added new dimensions to the study of literature in the process.

Though the American New Critics had strong ties to the work of Richards and other British theorists, they parted company with them in the latter group's emphasis on the reader's response to texts. This shift in focus was made clear in a comment by Cleanth Brooks, one of the pioneers of American New Criticism, who observed:

The critic may enjoy certain works very much and may indeed be intensely moved by them. I am, and I have no embarrassment in admitting the fact; but a detailed description of my emotional state on reading certain works has little to do with indicating to an interested reader what the work is and how the parts of it are related. (1988:47)

This perspective clashed with one of the primary objectives of practical criticism, which Watson (1978:30) summarizes in these terms: 'The ideal object of practical criticism in its earliest form was pure confrontation between the mind of the poet and the mind of the reader'. The American New Critics moved away from this confrontation to what they felt was a more objective form of literary study. Their approach to New Criticism was embodied in two key formulations: one, the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic approaches to literature; two, the dismantling of the 'intentional' and 'affective' fallacies. These formulations, like those developed in practical criticism, were instrumental in the further development of modern literary theory.

The distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic approaches was made by Wellek and Warren in one of the most important New Critical works, Theory of Literature (1949). Here the extrinsic approach was identified as, in essence, the traditional positivistic emphasis on history; Wellek and Warren pointed out the weaknesses of this approach when they explained that

Though the 'extrinsic' study may merely attempt to interpret literature in the light of its social context and its antecedents, in most cases it becomes a 'causal' explanation, professing to account for literature, to explain it, and finally to reduce it to its origins (the 'fallacy of origins').
(1949:73)

The significance of this criticism is explained by Iser, who says that

New Criticism...rejects the vital elements of the classical norm, namely, that the work is an object containing the hidden meaning of a prevailing truth.

New Criticism has called off the search for meaning-known as the 'extrinsic approach'. Its concern is with elements of the work and their interaction... New Criticism has changed the direction of literary perception in so far as it has turned attention away from representative meanings and onto the functions operating within the work. (1978:15)

Iser's reference to the "functions operating within the work" leads to the intrinsic approach favoured by the American New Critics.

The intrinsic approach defined by Wellek and Warren derived in part from some of the insights provided by Richards, as well as from the linguistic perspectives developed by the Formalists through the influence of Saussure, in particular his distinction between *langue* and *parole*. The Formalists viewed a literary text as a speech act, and therefore a form of *parole*. Wellek and Warren, and the New Critics in general, embraced this idea. And in creating an intrinsic approach to literary study which saw the literary text as a collective speech act enclosed within a self-contained framework, Wellek and Warren argued for a stylistic form of analysis focusing upon such textual features as euphony, rhythm, metre, image, metaphor, and symbol. Where they differed from Richards et al and crafted the second stage of New Criticism was in their exclusive concentration on the above-named features as modes of production, as opposed to Richards' interest in how such features impacted on a reader's experience of a text. That is, the American New Critics were interested in these features in themselves, as the building blocks of literary texts, and therefore in the internal, or intrinsic, workings of literature. Through

such a stress they shifted from interpretation of texts to analysis of how they produce meaning.

This distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic approaches was reinforced by another key second stage New Critical formulation, Wimsatt and Beardsley's identification of what they called the intentional and affective fallacies at work in the bulk of literary criticism. They summarize the two fallacies as follows:

The intentional fallacy is a confusion between the poem and its origins, a special case of what is known to philosophers as the Genetic Fallacy. It begins by trying to derive the standard of criticism from the psychological causes of the poem and ends in biography and relativism. The Affective Fallacy is a confusion between the poem and its results (what it is and what it does), a special case of epistemological scepticism...It begins by trying to derive the standard of criticism from the psychological effects of the poem and ends in impressionism and relativism. The outcome of either Fallacy, the Intentional or the Affective, is that the poem itself, as an object of specifically critical judgment, tends to disappear. (1972:345)

This is another way of reiterating the need to look strictly at the 'words on the page', to view a literary text as something with its own independent existence separate from the author, his/her intentions, history, and so on. More specifically, the identification of the Intentional Fallacy was a criticism of traditional positivistic approaches to texts. The identification of the Affective Fallacy was a criticism of previous subjective criticism, and also of Richards' emphasis on psychology and the reader's experience of a text. Richards' efforts in Practical Criticism were rooted in his distress at his Cambridge students' misreadings of the poems presented to them. The book attempted, in part,

to analyse why they had misread the poems. This was a focus on affect, on the students' psychologically based reactions to the poems, a focus which the later New Critics took to be a deviation from the poems themselves. These second stage New Critics, then, sought a more objective approach to literature which dissected the modes of production in texts, their structural features, without any interference from a concern with the intentions or affective aspects of the texts. As Wimsatt and Beardsley (1972:356) observe:

Poetry is characteristically a discourse about both emotions and objects, or about the emotive quality of objects. The emotions correlative to the objects of poetry become a part of the matter to be dealt with—not communicated to the reader like an infection or disease, not inflicted mechanically like a poison, not simply expressed as explicatives or grimaces or rhythms, but presented in their objects and contemplated as a pattern of knowledge.

From this point of view, literature should be approached through a cool, dispassionate analysis of "the emotive quality of objects" by close reading of the words on the page, that is, the linguistic structures and devices within the text which enable the text's emotive qualities to be produced. Here there is neither author, in the sense of intentions accompanying the text, or reader, in the sense of emotional responses to the text; only the text, in and of itself, is the issue at hand.

Regarding literature's integration into language teaching, New Criticism, in both its stages, has much to offer. Like Formalism, it creates a different pretext on which to introduce literature to ELT and CLT through its 'words on the page' emphasis. That is, only the text

matters; nothing to do with its history, its author, its various levels of meaning need accompany it into the language classroom. In this way common teacher reservations about literature cited in the discussion of Formalism are once again removed. Furthermore, the 'words on the page' approach draws the same attention found in Formalism to the language of literature, hence eliminating expasperating searches for meaning. Literature's linguistic properties once again come to the fore, and can be explored through various 'communication challenges'-to refer back to Brumfit's approach to CLT-manifested in activities-based tasks and problems connected to the language of the text at hand.

The reader based stress in Richards' type of New Criticism can also assist literature in language teaching by making the student/reader's responses to texts a focus of work in the classroom. Here, once again, literature can be applied within the activities-based framework. That is, various activities aimed at facilitating student responses to texts-whether to the plot, different characters and their behaviour, thematic issues and concerns, etc.-can be created, with students then engaging in responses and discussing them with classmates or sharing them with the class as a whole. Here the affective dimensions of literature can be exploited for communicative practice and purposes.

On the other hand, in line with the second stage of New Criticism, the extrinsic aspects of literature can be set aside in a stricter, intrinsically based 'words on the

'page' approach to language analysis work becomes the focus of classroom activity. In this way, as in the application of Formalist ideas, language sensitivity and awareness through a study of the words on the page, minus a concern for factors external to the text itself, can be achieved through the study of literature.

Whichever type of New Criticism is utilised in the classroom, the fundamental New Critical approach of 'close reading' will play a central role. Whether this close reading is used to draw out student responses to the text with respect to their experience of the text or to focus their attention on how language functions within the text, such an approach to literature enhances the students' contact with the target language by bringing students closer to the language of literature, both practical and literary.

Like Formalism, then, New Criticism offers ways of looking at literature which eliminate the burdens many teachers associate with applications of literature in the language classroom, especially as regards knowledge of elements outside the text. At the same time, the core belief in the 'close reading' of the 'words on the page' within the enclosed, self-sufficient world of a literary text enables New Criticism to offer possibilities for meaningful language based uses of literature in ELT, and especially CLT.

Structuralism

By the late 1950s, says Lentricchia (1980:4), New Criticism had fallen into a 'moribund state'. It was gradually replaced by Structuralism, an approach to literary study which

completed a circle initiated by the Formalists. Structuralism marked the end of the first of two major phases in 20th century literary theory, incorporating Formalism, Criticism, and then Structuralism; the second began in the 1970s when Structuralism fell out of favour.

Unlike Formalism, Structuralism's roots are partly in non-linguistic sources. As we have seen, Formalism grew out of linguistics, particularly those of Saussure. As for Structuralism, Lodge (1988:x) observes that

Structuralism is, or was, a movement in what Continental Europeans call 'the human sciences', which sought to explain and understand cultural phenomena (from poems to menus, from primitive myths to modern advertisements) as manifestations of underlying systems of signification, of which the exemplary model is verbal language itself.

Felperin (1985:66) adds this perspective on the origins of Structuralism:

At the heart of structuralism is a scientific ambition to discover the codes, the rules, the systems, which underlie all human social and cultural practices. The disciplines of archaeology and geology are frequently invoked as the models of structuralist enterprise.

With respect to literature, the disciplines of linguistics and anthropology were vital in paving the way for a structural approach to literary theory. Linguistic influences were mainly found in the work of Saussure (in particular his ideas about signs and signification and his distinction between *langue* and *parole*) and Chomsky (especially his identification of deep and surface structures of language and his distinction between competence and performance). At the same time, key Structuralist theorists, particularly Roland Barthes, were drawn to the anthropological work of

Claude Levi-Strauss.

Structuralism also drew heavily upon certain aspects of both Formalism and New Criticism, especially the former. The Formalist influence began with the Prague School's focus on the poetic text as a 'functional structure' constructed out of its uniquely literary properties, particularly its literary language. Furthermore, says Robey (1982a:54), the Prague School 'took as its main object the structure of the individual text as a system'. Thus, he says, 'In speaking of the literary text as a functional structure, the Prague School stressed its effect as a totality, through the interaction of all its constituent parts' (1982a:56). Within this totality, Robey (1982a:52) explains, 'both signifiers and signifieds are governed by a single complex system of relationships', with 'the structure of the text being simply the totality of the relationships that obtain within it'.

The Structuralists borrowed heavily from these perspectives. They retained the interest in 'literariness' as reflected in the language of literature, as Hawkes (1977:100) notes: 'The notion that literary works are about language, that their medium is their message, is one of the most fruitful of structuralist ideas'. They also retained the Formalist stress on individual texts as microcosms of a larger literary system at work. As Jefferson (1982:96) explains, 'the structuralist proposal is that individual works should be regarded as instances of parole informed by rules which belong to a general literary langue'. Thus,

says Scholes (1974:6), 'In literary criticism the Russian Formalists and their structuralist descendants have worked toward discovering the universal principles that govern the literary use of language, from the syntax of fictional construction to the paradigms of poetry'. In this context, remarks Andrew (1982:114), 'The Structuralists are concerned not with any instance of speech but with the system of language. Insofar as they are able, they show that every speech act merely "speaks the system" '.

As for New Criticism and its links to Structuralism, the rejection of any interest in history or biography was a common denominator between the two (as well as Formalism). So was the belief in the combination of coherence and unity at work in the text, making literary texts tightly structured mini-systems in which, says Fowler (1971:20), 'poems are definitely not paraphrasable' due to this internal cohesion.

Structuralism begins with a focus described in the following terms by Freund (1987:70): 'structuralism, in its classical manifestations, concentrated on the laws governing the internal construction of literary texts, and betrayed little interest either in the reader or in the content of the text he reads'. That is, interpreting the meaning of texts was not the issue; instead, says Selden (1989:65), Structuralists worked 'to isolate the true object of enquiry-the system'. Meaning was important only as a point of reference during the process of structural analysis of the text's literary properties.

The Structuralists, then, aimed at a deeper understanding

of the structures at work in literary expression. As Newton (1988:131) observes in summarizing the Structuralist approach:

As language from a Saussurian point of view is seen as a signifying system in which the relations between the elements that make up the system are crucial, so literature could also be seen as embodying systematic rules and codes which enable literature to signify... By considering literary texts as 'paroles' which must be understood in relation to 'langue' or the underlying signifying system, structuralist literary criticism inevitably concerned itself predominantly with poetics as a general science of literature. Individual texts were used mainly to exemplify general characteristics of literature as a whole.

In Structuralist practice, then, explains Selden (1988:66), 'The source of meaning is no longer the writer's or the reader's experience but the operations and oppositions which govern language. Meaning is no longer determined by the individual but by the system which governs the individual'.

Structuralist theory falls within two main camps: French and Anglo-American Structuralism. While both camps share, at the core, the broad principles outlined thus far, they also differ in certain important regards.

Roland Barthes is widely seen as the most influential French Structuralist theorist, as well as the founder of literary Structuralism. Holman (1981:430) introduces the work of Barthes by saying 'structuralist literary critics, such as Roland Barthes...seek not explication of unique texts but an account of the modes of literary discourse and their operation'. Barthes himself echoes this perspective when he states: 'the critic is not called upon to reconstitute the message of the work, but only its system, just as

the business of the linguist is not to decipher the meaning of a sentence but to determine the formal structure which permits the transmission of its meaning' (1972:651). He goes on to define Structuralism as follows: 'Henceforth, it will be understood that structuralism may attempt to found a science of literature, or more exactly a linguistics of discourse, whose object is the "language" of literary forms, apprehended on many levels' (1986:6).

Barthes' view is that 'structuralism "finds itself", one might say, on every level of the literary work' (1986:6-7). He therefore advocates an approach which is in essence a top-down model. Work begins at the larger level: the content and organization of a text. Here the scholar identifies the meaning of the text. The production of that meaning is then traced down, systematically, to the sentence level, where the linguistic structures at work in the creation of that meaning are then analysed in order to generate an understanding of those structures. Barthes describes this as a process of pursuing the 'capillaries of meaning' in a text.

Barthes' Structuralism, then, pinpoints the structures of a text as its most significant features, and he sees linguistics as the principal tool for analysis of those structures.

The Anglo-American approach to Structuralism, inspired chiefly by the work of Jonathon Culler in the mid-1970s, focuses heavily on the linguistics of Chomsky, in particular his distinction between competence and performance. The French Structuralists see literary texts as individual acts

of parole reflecting a larger literary language; the Anglo-American Structuralists, by focusing on the work of Chomsky, are more interested in the rule-governing processes which make literary expression possible. Selden (1989:64) offers this introduction to their approach:

Chomsky showed that the starting point for an understanding of language was the native speaker's ability to produce and comprehend well-formed sentences on the basis of an unconsciously assimilated knowledge of the language system. Culler brings out the significance of this perspective for literary theory...His main endeavour is to shift the focus from the text to the reader. He believes that we can determine the rules that govern the writing of texts...To put it simply, skilled readers, when faced with a text, seem to know how to make sense of it-to decide what is a possible interpretation and what is not. There seem to be rules governing the sort of sense one might make of the most apparently bizarre literary text. Culler sees the structure not in the system underlying the text but in the system underlying the reader's act of interpretation.

This citation points to a key concept in Culler's work: the notion of 'literary competence'. Culler introduces this idea by noting that

Just as the speaker of a language has assimilated a complex grammar which enables him to read a series of sounds or letters as a sentence with a meaning, so the reader of literature has acquired, through his encounters with literary works, implicit mastery of various semiotic conventions which enable him to read a series of sentences as poems or novels endowed with shape and meaning. The study of literature, as opposed to the perusal and discussion of individual works, would become an attempt to understand the conventions which make literature possible.
(1975:viii)

Literary competence, then, approximates Chomsky's linguistic competence in the context of the knowledge of the operations of literature a reader must have in order to derive meaning from a literary text.

With this notion of literary competence serving as a

foundation, Culler has contributed two other important dimensions to Structuralist theory. One is the concept of a 'grammar of literature', which he defines in these terms:

To read a text as literature is not make one's mind a tabula rosa and approach it without preconceptions; one must bring to it an implicit understanding of the operations of literary discourse which tells one what to look for...Anyone lacking this knowledge...would, for example, be quite baffled if presented with a poem...He has not internalized the 'grammar' of literature which would permit him to convert linguistic sequences into literary structures and meanings. (1975:113-114)

Anglo-American Structuralists, then, investigate the elements of this grammar of literature in order to better understand what Culler above called the "operations of literary discourse", i.e. the structures which make a text literature. The French Structuralists do the same. But where the French Structuralists rely on linguistics to analyse those structures, Culler and the Anglo-American theorists look in the direction of his other major contribution to Structuralist practice: an intense focus on what Culler calls 'the activity of reading'. Here the interest is in how the reader of literature is able to read a text as literature. In this sense the reader has been brought back into focus in literary theory, though as a means to the end of understanding structures and identifying the components of literary competence. As Culler (1975:30) explains:

But though structuralism may always seek the system behind the event, the constitutive conventions behind any individual act, it cannot for all that dispense with the individual subject. He may no longer be the origin of meaning, but meaning must move through him. Structure and relations are not objective properties of external objects; they emerge only in a structuring process.

Combining, then, the key concepts of literary competence and a grammar of literature with an interest in the reader, the Anglo-American Structuralists approach literature from this perspective summarized by Culler: 'The question is not what actual readers happen to do but what an ideal reader must know implicitly in order to read and interpret works in ways which we consider acceptable, in accordance with the institution of literature' (1975:123-124).

Despite differences in emphasis between the two schools of Structuralism, they present a common overall approach to literary analysis which Foucault (1988:198) expresses in these terms:

It is a very familiar thesis that the task of criticism is not to bring out the work's relationship with the author, nor to reconstruct the text through a thought or experience, but rather, to analyze the work through its structure, its architecture, its intrinsic form, and the play of its internal relationships.

Turning now to contributions Structuralism can make to the integration of literature and language teaching, the first point to be made is that, like Formalism and New Criticism, it offers a new way of looking at literature in which positivistic elements are excluded from the classroom. In the process literature can enter the language classroom immediately, without the precondition of knowing about literature, about the text to be dealt with, about the author, etc. Furthermore, and again in the same vein seen in Formalism and New Criticism, the reduced emphasis on meaning creates a situation in which learners can approach texts from a perspective in which the understandable fear

of being unable to comprehend or interpret a text is eliminated. That is, the often frustrating search for meaning is replaced by a less threatening, and more viable, approach.

Here we will see, once again, a focus on the language of a text rather than the evaluation of its meaning. Like Formalism and New Criticism, Structuralism can direct language learners to the linguistic features of a literary text. Here Barthes' notion of tracing 'capillaries of meaning' in a text could be especially helpful. Learners could, for example, be presented with a literary text, given a summary of the text's meaning, and then asked to work together tracing, through the text's language, the production of that meaning. To use Foucault's image cited earlier, they could be asked to identify the components of the 'architecture' of the text-not in the sense of specifically literary devices, but in the context of applications of language to create the key effects of the text which combine to form its meaning. They might even be asked to construct 'architectures' for individual characters by analysing the language used by the author in representing that character, or the language the character used in coping with specific situations within the story. In addition, comparisons could be made with the 'architectures' found in other kinds of texts, so that the learners could broaden their awareness of different uses of the target language in various kinds of discourse.

The concept of literary competence could also be of value, though not in the same context in which it is used in Structuralism. In Structuralism it is essentially linked with

the idea of linguistic competence. In terms of CLT, it could instead be associated with communicative competence. Here it could be seen as an element of full-fledged communicative competence, that is, to achieve real communicative competence, a learner could be expected to possess some minimal ability to read literary discourse within reasonable limits. In this way literary competence would contribute to the development of an overall set of expectations comprising the general target competence for learners at different levels of the learning process. This could entail not knowledge of literature itself, but the use of language within literature. Within this framework ability to interpret texts would not be the issue; rather, learners could be expected to be able to analyse the use of language to create certain effects within literary texts. In this way, as in the case of the other literary theories discussed previously, the goals of language sensitivity and awareness would be served.

Structuralism, then, reinforces newer approaches to literature already seen in the analysis of Formalism and New Criticism with regards to ways of bringing literature into the language classroom by removing the need for information extraneous to the text itself. It also provides means for language-based analysis of literary texts. And, in the notion of literary competence, it introduces what could be an additional component within communicative competence through an adaptation of the concept of literary competence.

Reader-Oriented Theories

It was pointed out earlier that 20th century literary theory comprises two phases. In the first, during the progression through Formalism-New Criticism-Structuralism, the primary emphasis was on the literary text, rather than the author or the reader. Here, as we have seen, the goal was to identify and analyse the properties of literature which make it literature, i.e the investigation of literariness through the study of language and structures within literary texts. In the second phase, during which the interest in the text and the general lack of interest in the author have been extended, the reader has also become a major focus of attention.

The second phase of 20th century literary theory began with the shift from Structuralism to Post-Structuralism (or Deconstruction) in the 1970s. For the purposes of this study and the use of literature in language teaching, that shift was an important one in that it was here that the reader was accorded a place in literary theory. As has already been discussed, there was some interest in the reader in the first stage of New Criticism, mainly through the work of I.A. Richards, but that interest had generally faded long before the advent of Post-Structuralism. In Post-Structuralism, however, a very different focus on language resulted in renewed interest in the reader's role in the production of meaning in literary texts.

Central to this new view of language is the notion of the 'indeterminacy of meaning' in which, say Durant and

Fabb (1987:228), 'language will always overrun any determinate interpretation'. Given this conceptualization of language as defying attempts to affix meaning to it, Post-Structuralism introduced to literary theory a perspective on the literary text which involved 'seeing it as irreducibly plural, an endless play of signifiers which can never be finally nailed down to a single centre, essence or meaning' (Eagleton, 1983:138). This idea challenges the views of the text already discussed with regards to earlier literary theories and presents, instead, a situation in which, observes Fischer (1985:86),

Deconstructionists claim...that they make interpretation a means of releasing, instead of throttling, the force of literary works, turning criticism into a risky, liberating venture-as creative, powerful, and free of determinate reference as literature itself...Instead of effacing ourselves before the text and what it signifies, we should, in this view, celebrate our own inventiveness, the 'text' and its signified being two of the many creations that we have reified.

"Our own inventiveness" is a reference to the idea that the reader is responsible for deriving meaning from a literary text and, in the process, validating its existence. As Eagleton (1983:138) explains, 'It is language which speaks in literature, in all its swarming "polysemic" plurality, not the author himself. If there is any place where this seething multiplicity of the text is momentarily focused, it is not the author but the reader'. Here we have what Barthes has described as the 'birth of the reader' (1986:55), a situation in which the reader's interaction with the language of the text becomes a central focus in literary theory.

In Post-Structuralism, however, that focus has not fully

developed. Post-Structuralism revived interest in the reader and the reader's experience of literature, but other interests have been pursued more actively within that discipline of literary theory. Instead, the reader's role in literature has been explored more comprehensively in a school of literary theory known by the general heading of 'reader-oriented' approaches. These approaches fall under two main sub-headings: the German-based Reception Theory, and the American-based Reader-Response Theory. While each of these theoretical disciplines follows a different path in exploring the reader's experience in and of literature, both subscribe to a fundamental view articulated by Fish (1988:314): 'it is the structure of the reader's experience rather than any structures available on the page that should be the object of description'.

Taking this observation a step further, Tompkins (1980:ix), in an introduction to a collection of essays on reader-oriented approaches, identifies major concerns within those approaches:

The essays collected here refocus criticism on the reader. They examine authors' attitudes toward their readers, the kinds of readers various texts seem to imply, the role actual readers play in the determination of literary meaning, the relation of reading conventions to textual interpretation, and the status of the reader's self...

Freund offers an additional description of the parameters of reader-oriented approaches when she remarks that

By refocusing attention on the reader, reader-response criticism attempts to grapple with questions generally ignored by schools of criticism which teach

us how to read; questions such as why do we read and what are the deepest sources of our engagement with literature? what does reading have to do with the life of the psyche, or the imagination, or our linguistic habits? what happens-consciously or unconsciously, cognitively or psychologically-during the reading process? Reader-response criticism probes the practical or theoretical considerations of the event of reading by further asking what the relationship is between the private and the public, or how and where meaning is made, authenticated and authorized, or why readers agree or disagree about their interpretations. (1987:5-6)

Clearly, then, in reader-oriented approaches the author has little or no role to play, and the text itself holds varying degrees of importance, depending on the orientation of the particular theorist at hand. At one extreme there are approaches where the sole focus is on the reader and his/her ability to produce meaning. Here, says Stubbs (1986:117), it is believed that 'the meaning of a text does not just sit "in" the text waiting to be taken out by readers, but... readers actively construct the meaning in the light of their background interests and expectations'. Moving in a very different direction are approaches which retain the previous interest in language while also investigating the reader's role in the literary experience. Gibson (1980:1) summarizes this area of reader-based research when he says:

The fact is that every time we open the pages of another piece of writing, we are embarked on a new adventure in which we become a new person...Subject to the degree of our literary sensibility, we are recreated by the language. We assume, for the sake of experience, that set of attitudes and qualities which the language asks us to assume, and, if we cannot assume them, we throw the book away.

In general, then, reader-oriented approaches cover a broad spectrum of interests and perspectives, leading Suleiman (1980:6) to observe that they follow 'not a single

widely trodden path but a multiplicity of criss-crossing, often divergent tracks that cover a vast area of the critical landmark whose complexity dismays the brave and confounds the faint of heart'.

As noted earlier, these "often divergent tracks" fall generally within two large camps: Reception Theory and Reader-Response Theory. While both focus on the reader as the centre of the literary experience, Reception Theory concentrates on the process of reading whereas Reader-Response Theory focuses on the skills, the competence, involved in effective responses to literature.

Reception Theory is primarily the product of three German scholars: Roman Ingarden, Hans Robert Jauss, and Wolfgang Iser. Though there are differences in the orientations of their work, they are united in their starting point, which Holub (1984:149) describes in this way: 'Displaced from the centre of literary study, the text in reception theory lives only through the reader and the history of the reader's involvement with it'. Jauss (1988:222-223) offers this more detailed account of that perspective:

A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period. It is not a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence. It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a contemporary existence.

Jauss's work is rooted in what he calls the 'historicity' of literature and the varying responses of readers to texts from one generation to the next. As Newton (1988:219) says of Jauss's work: 'He advocates a new type of literary history

in which the role of the critic is to mediate between how the text was perceived in the past and how it is perceived in the present'.

Ingarden (1973) applies the idea of the historicity of the reader's experience of a text more specifically to the reading process itself. He explores the reader's interaction with the 'schematized structure' of a text, a structure which provides the reader with a rudimentary cognitive framework from which to work. However, echoing the Post-Structuralist view of the indeterminacy of meaning in texts, Ingarden sees the reader grappling with gaps existing between the schematized structure and the multitude of possible meanings for the text. In his view the reader seeks a 'concretization' of the text, i.e. a coherence between the initial schematized structure and the interpretations which subsequently arise, through his own history of expectations as he reads the text. As the reader works through a text and encounters 'places of indeterminacy', he falls back on the concretization he has already achieved and the expectations created by that previously established schematized structure. The reader then builds up a longer and longer history of concretizations and expectations as he reads through the entire text, with the reading process being the ongoing experience of coping with the text's indeterminacy. Here reading is pictured as a creative process in which the reader makes concrete the potential meanings of a text.

Iser's work, principally collected and recorded in a highly influential book entitled The Act of Reading (1978),

follows along the same general lines as those developed much earlier by Ingarden. Maclean (1982:130) summarizes Iser's approach in this way:

(Iser) asks: how, and under what conditions, does a text have meaning for the reader? His initial premiss is that the literary work is an effect to be experienced, not an object to be defined. His approach is therefore ultimately concerned with our own involvement qua readers with texts; and with those elements of the text which determine the way in which we read them.

Or, as Holub (1984:149) says, 'The reader's activity in generating meaning, not the allegedly inherent message of the text, is the focus of Iser's concerns'. This point of view is reflected in Iser's assertion that 'The significance of the work...does not lie in the meaning sealed within the text, but in the fact that that meaning brings out what had previously been sealed within us' (1978:157).

Iser says of reading that

the act of reading can be characterized as a sort of kaleidoscope of perspectives, preintentions, recollections. Every sentence contains a preview of the next and forms a kind of viewfinder for what is to come; and this in turn changes the 'preview' and so becomes a 'viewfinder' for what has been read. This whole process represents the fulfillment of the potential, unexpressed reality of the text, but it is to be seen only as a framework for a great variety of means by which the virtual dimension may be brought into being. The process of anticipation and retrospection itself does not by any means develop in a smooth flow. (1987:107)

As we read, then, 'We look forward, we look back, we decide, we change our decisions, we form expectations, we are shocked by their non-fulfillment, we question, we muse, we accept, we reject; this is the dynamic process of recreation' (1987:223). While we engage in this "process of anticipation and retrospection" cited earlier, Iser

explains,

we react to what we ourselves have produced, and it is this mode of reaction that, in fact, enables us to experience the text as an actual event. We do not grasp it like an empirical object; nor do we comprehend it like a predicative fact; it owes its presence in our minds to our own reactions, and it is these that make us animate the meaning of the text as a reality. (1978:128-129)

This view of the reader as the source of meaning within the literary experience is likewise found in the work of the Reader-Response theorists, but they also place a heavy stress on Culler's afore-mentioned concept of literary competence. Thus, instead of looking at the reading of literature strictly from the point of view of the reader's process of reading, they attempt to account for the interpretive conventions readers must be prepared to engage within that process. Here the belief is that, as various critics have described it, the reading of literature is a 'rule-governed process of producing meanings'. Reader-Response theorists explore that process in an effort to determine the specific properties comprising literary competence. They also explore the reader's experience of that process, particularly in view of the fact that different readers using the same rule-governed process produce different interpretations of texts.

Reader-Response approaches evoke a bridge image in which they attempt to understand the processes and structures at work in the reader's efforts to harmonize the literary properties of a text with his own inherent knowledge of general communication properties. As the Formalists noted in their study of literariness, literature seeks to

defamiliarize the language we find in ordinary discourse. Reader-Response theorists are interested in how the reader acquires and applies sufficient literary competence to link the defamiliarized properties of literature with his familiarized knowledge of language and communication in the everyday context. Given the gaps between the two uses of language, a reader must form a bridge spanning the world of literary communication and the world of everyday communication. How this happens, and what conventions are involved in making that happen, are areas of enquiry which form the substance of Reader-Response research.

Collectively, the reader-oriented theories offer another way in for literature in the context of language teaching, particularly within the framework of the activities-based approach used in CLT. Here Barthes' earlier cited declaration of the 'birth of the reader' is especially applicable. Using reader-based approaches as a foundation from which to view the language learner, the 'birth of the reader' can also be proclaimed in the confines of the language classroom in the sense of an emphasis on the learner's responses to literary texts. By utilizing the concept of the 'indeterminacy of meaning', teachers can free themselves and their students from the burden of textual interpretations imposed from outside the classroom. That is, learners can, in the spirit of this notion, be given free reign to respond on their own to literary texts so as to create their own experiences with the texts. These experiences can then become the focus of activities-based

work in the classroom. Tasks and problem solving activities can be set so as to channel learner responses to particular areas or aspects of texts as well as to enhance the quality of those responses by making them more intense through the narrower focus provided by the tasks.

It has already been seen in Chapter Two how, in CLT, the learner is placed at the centre of language learning, and how the learner's active engagement in the process of learning is essential if communicative competence is to be developed. One way to link literature to those principles is to view the learner in the context of the reading of literary texts in the way that reader-based approaches do: as the arbiter of meaning in the texts. However, in the CLT classroom this role does not become an object of study, as in literary theory, but rather serves as a springboard from which to connect literature and the activities-based approach to language teaching by capitalizing on the learner's responses to literature. The student's experience of literature thus becomes a platform from which the target language can be used to discuss and represent that experience, as well as to conduct it through the actual reading of the text. And in the process the learner has the freedom to interact with the text from his/her own experiences and background, rather than being confined by expectations and interpretations imposed by external sources such as critics or authors of the texts.

Here again, then, literary theory provides a new and non-threatening way of introducing literature into the

language classroom by moving away from the burdensome belief that teachers and learners must possess external knowledge of literature in order to exploit it for language learning purposes. The student-reader takes the central role in a reader-based approach to literature, and within this role the learner can creatively and meaningfully engage literature through the medium of his or her own experiences of texts. This, in addition to supplying many opportunities for activities-based uses of the texts, also enables the learner to have enriching personal interaction with literature in the target language. Freed from having to match the author's or critics' interpretations of texts, learners can make the text and their interpretations of it their own, thereby drawing a deeper connection between themselves and literature and creating channels for personal growth and expression at the same time.

The great value of reader-oriented theories with respect to ELT and CLT, then, is that they provide a foundation from which to declare 'the birth of the learner-reader'. Through this declaration, literature can be brought into the classroom as a means of providing such a focus, where the stress would be on the learner's experience of literature. Because of its wide-ranging uses of language, as well as its content, literature provides ample opportunities for learner responses, and these responses can then be used in the service of language awareness and/or learners' personal enrichment and growth through exposure to literature.

Summary

This review of literary theory has focused on four areas of such theory which the researcher believes can be beneficial to the integration of literature into language teaching. There are, of course, other disciplines within literary theory. Two notable disciplines not discussed here are Marxist Theory and Feminist Theory. Both have received considerable attention in scholarship on literary theory, but neither is seen to be applicable to the goal of bringing literature into the language classroom, hence they are not reviewed.

Another discipline, Psychoanalytic Theory, deserves brief mention with respect to the interests of this study. This approach to literary theory is related to the reader-oriented theories just discussed, in that it also focuses on the reader. It builds from the same notion of the indeterminacy of meaning previously noted by concentrating on the ambiguity of literature. As Wright (1982:145) explains, 'unlike most other discourses, which may try to escape from ambiguity, literature consciously cultivates it'. Psychoanalytic theorists see this ambiguity or indeterminacy as a crucial feature of a text which serves as a focal point for the expression of the reader's personality, particularly in the context of desires. Here a reader's interpretation of a text is seen to be a reflection of his or her desires, or other elements of the personality. As Norman Holland, a leading figure in this approach to literature, observes:

A literary text, after all, in an objective sense

consists only of a certain configuration of specks of carbon black on dried wood pulp. When these marks become words, when those words become images or metaphors or characters or events, they do so because the reader plays the part of a prince to the sleeping beauty. He gives them life out of his own desires. When he does so, he brings his lifestyle to bear on the work. He mingles his unconscious loves and fears and adaptations with the words and images he synthesizes at a conscious level. (1975:12)

Holland also remarks that 'Each person who reads a story, poem, or even a single word construes it differently. These differences evidently stem from personality' (1988:204). Psychoanalytic theorists explore the dynamics of this process, mainly by comparing the reactions of different readers to the same text. This kind of approach could be used in the language classroom as well, with learners discussing and comparing their own reactions and responses to texts. Such an approach would provide opportunities for meaningful practice in the target language through discussion of the different responses, and what they signify about the students in the course.

Another literary theory worth briefly noting is Speech Act Theory. Culler (1982:10) describes the starting point for this approach to literary study: 'Whatever else it is, a literary work is a speech act of some kind and thus deserves the attention of a branch of linguistics neglected until recent years: pragmatics, the study of language in use or language as action'.

Developed most notably in the work of Mary Louise Pratt, Speech Act Theory applies to literature some of the methods and perspectives originating in the linguistics of Austin and Searle. It works from a core belief that there is no

such thing as 'literary' language, i.e. that the literary-ordinary language distinction at the heart of much of 20th century literary theory is not only false, but injurious to the study and appreciation of literature. Speech Act Theory attacks that distinction while serving as a link between the formerly separate worlds of literary and everyday communication. Pratt (1977:89) illustrates this point in the following summary of Speech Act Theory:

a speech act approach to literature enables and indeed requires us to describe and define literature in the same terms used to describe and define all other kinds of discourse. It thus does away with the distortive and misleading concepts of 'poetic' and 'ordinary' language. Speech act theory views a person's ability to deal with literary works as a part of his general 'ability to handle possible linguistic structures in specific contexts'...In short, a speech act approach to literature offers the same basic model of language as all our other communicative activities.

This approach to literature would be useful in the language teaching context in the sense of alleviating the fears of teachers and students who avoid literature out of a belief that it uses language differently than in everyday senses, and that these special uses make it too difficult, or too irrelevant, to face in the language classroom. It could also provide tools for the analysis of discourse found in literary texts as a way of drawing learners' attention to the pragmatic aspects of the target language. However, this approach to literary theory, like Psychoanalytic Theory, has not experienced the depth of development found in the other approaches to literature discussed earlier, leaving teachers with less to draw upon in attempting to

bring a speech act or psychoanalytic perspective into the classroom.

Still, these approaches, like those reviewed previously, illustrate the fundamental point being made in this section of Chapter Three: that literary theory can play a valuable role in the attempt to connect literature and language teaching. This role begins with a proper view of literary theory. Here it must be seen not as a collective body of knowledge and insights language teachers should study as an end in itself, or to deepen their awareness of the world of literature as a discipline of its own, but as a means towards language teaching ends. That is, knowledge of relevant literary theories can be useful in illustrating different ways of looking at literature, ways which counteract the narrow view which developed as language teaching underwent changes discussed in Chapter Two. As has already been explained with respect to the various literary theories reviewed in this chapter, such theories present literature in a light which blends into that which illuminates ELT and CLT at present. These theories provide techniques by which literature can be linked to the activities-based approach of CLT, but just as importantly, they remove barriers which previously stood between literature and language teaching in terms of perceptions of literature itself and of what teachers and learners have been presumed to need to know about it prior to using it to develop language skills.

It would therefore be helpful for teachers to acquire some rudimentary awareness of literary theory, i.e. those

theories discussed in this chapter. This would not require in-depth or extensive reading of the vast body of scholarship on 20th century literary theory. Instead, exposure to major ideas and perspectives would be sufficient to enable teachers to grasp the views of literature available in those theories, and to acquire a working knowledge of the teaching techniques and perspectives they offer. Such exposure could be built into teacher training programmes, not as a major feature within such programmes, but simply as a component or course, or even part of a course, available in such programmes. Here the primary goal would be to help teachers define literature within a language teaching context, rather than literature as literature. Teachers would thus not be trained to be literary scholars or theorists, but rather would be given guidance in how to view literature as a tool in language teaching.

Section 3B: APPROACHES TO LITERATURE TEACHING

Overview

According to Carter (1988:3-4), approaches to literature teaching, in both the first and second language contexts, fall within three general categories. First, there are information-based approaches, in which facts about literature-literary history, distinguishing features and properties of different literary genres, etc.-and commonly accepted interpretations of texts are supplied to students in a traditional lecture-type format. Second, there are personal-response based approaches, where the focus is on individual responses to

texts. Here the discussion/tutorial format is emphasized. Third, there are language-based approaches. These approaches, with a focus on the language of literary texts, usually employ either stylistic techniques featuring linguistic analysis of texts or language teaching procedures aimed at increasing students' ability to use language through a greater awareness of language in use.

There is, then, as reflected in Carter's taxonomy, a considerable amount of overlap between literature teaching in the first and second language frameworks. This overlap is especially strong in information and personal-response based approaches, says Carter. It is in the language-based approaches where ELT literature-related work paves a more independent path, though even there the strong interest in stylistics among many ELT specialists promoting the use of literature is linked to developments in literary theory, which is rooted in the world of first language literature teaching. The activities-based approaches to literature discussed in numerous recent publications on literature and ELT represent the widest divergence between first and second language literature teaching. But here, too, cross fertilization is taking place, as noted in Chapter One with reference to recent first language literature teaching texts by Durant and Fabb and Wiley and Dunk, where native speaking students are introduced to English literature through an activities approach.

a) Literature teaching in the first language context

Turning specifically now to the teaching of literature

in the native speaker, or first language, context by way of a further overview of literature teaching, it must first be noted that such teaching with respect to English literature has a relatively brief history. This is a result of the fact that English as a subject, at least at university level, is itself a comparatively new discipline dating back only to the mid-19th century. And it wasn't until early in this century that English literature acquired any status as a discipline in its own right. As Whalley (1985:128-129) explains:

until that time-say the first quarter of the twentieth century-it seems always to have been assumed (in England at least) that a firm acquaintance with the literature of one's own language was what-given a salutary shove at school-civilised people achieved, somehow, in the dog-watches, when nobody was looking. You didn't have to 'take courses'; you were taught your own language at school and made to read a certain amount of 'what everybody reads'; after that you were on your own...Oxford considered 'English' hardly a matter worthy of serious study, compared with classics; and when an English school was eventually established late in the nineteenth century, the emphasis was placed on philology and Anglo-Saxon (a foreign language), and after Anglo-Saxon the advance towards Milton was tentative and grudging. It was not supposed that in such a study you were meant to enjoy English: that was your own affair, not the University's. Cambridge was a little less stuffy, and recognized that there might have been some writing in English after 1800 that would, in educational terms, reward study.

In those earlier days, says Marckwardt (1978:22), 'literature was approached primarily from the point of view of its historical development', that is, in the form of the still popular survey course approach. It wasn't until the 1920s, he says, that the historical approach began to give way to one based on genres.

It was also in the 1920s that, as already discussed, the New Critics' 'words on the page' approach and I.A.

Richards' development of practical criticism impacted on the teaching of English literature. Here, as we have already seen, was where the interest in history and authorial biography took a secondary position behind the text itself.

English literature teaching underwent another major change in the 1930s, one described by Eagleton as follows:

In the early 1920s, it was desperately unclear why English was worth studying at all; by the early 1930s it had become a question of why it was worth wasting your time on anything else. English was not only a subject worth studying, but the supremely civilizing pursuit, the spiritual essence of the social formation. Far from instituting some amateur or impressionistic enterprise, English was an arena in which the most fundamental questions of human existence-what it meant to be a person, to engage in a significant relationship with others, to live from the vital centre of the most essential values-were thrown into vivid relief and made the object of the most intensive scrutiny. (1983:31)

The principle underlying the scenario described by Eagleton was the 'social function' of literature. Articulated principally through the literary criticism of F.R. Leavis and T.S. Eliot, the social function of literature was a concept which stressed, as noted by Eagleton above, the "supremely civilizing pursuit", i.e. the use of literature to create order in a society in the midst of crisis. Literature provided this civilizing influence in two ways. First, the best literature was said to supply a society with its most heightened values and beliefs, hence an appreciation of that literature made possible a true understanding of the greatness of the society itself. Second, and of paramount importance in much of the British literary criticism of that period, was the belief in literature's ability to both glorify and improve the one thing considered most essential to any

society's identity: its language. The feeling at the time was that the English language had been devalued through increasing commercialism and an accompanying championing of ordinary language. Literature's mission was thus seen to be to rescue the language from that state of decline. As Eliot asserted, 'We may say that the duty of the poet, as poet, is only indirectly to his people: his direct duty is to his language, first to preserve, and second to extend and improve' (1957:20).

The teaching of English literature reflected those beliefs. That is, literature was taught from the points of view of a) drawing attention to the civilizing qualities of literary texts and b) focusing on literature's special use of language, i.e. its literariness, as a means of further reinforcing the belief in the unique power and status of literature and of protecting the English language. Here the New Critical 'words on the page' emphasis served perfectly the approach to literature teaching just described. By directing readers to the words on the page, these critical/teaching strategies provided an ideal opening for bringing students into more meaningful contact with the sublime, civilizing language of literature found in the canon of English literary masterpieces.

In England, in particular, literature teaching was dramatically altered by the impetus initially provided by Richards in the 1920s and Empson, Eliot, and Leavis in the 1930s and beyond. Indeed, as Eagleton (1983:31) observes, 'the fact remains that English students in England today

are "Leavisites" whether they know it or not, irredemiably altered by that historic intervention'. In England, then, literature teaching has become, for the most part, a combination of the positivistic approach of earlier times and a blending of Richards' and Empson's practical criticism and Leavis' and Eliot's social function of literature approach.

In America, on the other hand, the development of various schools of literary theory, beginning with New Criticism, make literature teaching a more eclectic endeavour. Approaches to teaching have shifted with the advent of each subsequent literary theory, though the traditional survey/genre approach has maintained a steady presence. This frequent alteration in teaching approaches in response to shifting critical/theoretical trends which have developed, particularly in recent decades, has been the source of considerable controversy in American literary journals and within university English departments.

b) Literature teaching in ELT

Continuing now with the overview of approaches to literature teaching by looking at ELT, it is necessary to break the subject into two separate but connected components: first, the larger history of literature teaching in the non-native language context, and second, the teaching of English in particular.

As Louis Kelly's authoritative 25 Centuries of Language Teaching (1969) makes clear, non-native literature teaching extends into the earliest years of language teaching as the

medium through which the age-old traditions of instruction based on rhetoric and the grammar-translation method were enacted. Vincent (1986:209) puts this long history into perspective by observing that

There is a long and honourable tradition of seeing an appreciation of literature as the pinnacle of foreign-language achievement, intensified in the case of English by the fact that its literature is widely considered the greatest achievement of English-speaking peoples.

Marckwardt (1978:3), echoing Vincent's remarks, offers this overview of the history of literature teaching:

For many years, and indeed until quite recently, the reading of literature was regarded as the capstone of the foreign-language learning experience. This was true, at least, of the Western world. The student of German climaxed his studies with a course in Faust, his Spanish counterpart with the reading of Cervantes and the works of Siglo del Oro. When English was studied as a foreign language, all roads led to Shakespeare.

While these comments do not touch upon methods of literature teaching, they do point out the vital role literature has traditionally played in the learning of a foreign language. As for the approaches which accompanied this esteemed status for literature, it is first essential to note, as Crystal (1987:178) explains, that 'The history of language study illustrates widely divergent attitudes concerning the relationship between writing and speech'. Writing, he notes, has traditionally dominated this relationship. He goes on to say of writing that 'It was the medium of literature and, thus, a source of standards of linguistic excellence. It was felt to provide language with permanence and authority. The rules of grammar were, accordingly, illustrated exclusively from written texts' (1987:178), i.e.

mainly literary texts.

This use of literature to illustrate grammatical rules, as well as style, was the long-established grammar-translation approach, the operation of which was described in Chapter Two. The relationship between this approach and literature is outlined by Rivers (1981:29): 'It aims at training the student to extract the meaning from texts in the new language by translation into the native language and, at advanced stages, to appreciate the literary significance and value of these texts'. The underlying purpose of this approach, she says, was 'to prepare students to read and appreciate great literature and philosophy' through 'the deductive presentation of rules and explaining of structure, followed by exercises and translation of passages of prose, and sometimes poetry, to make students conscious of the contribution of each word or syntactic structure' (1983:2-3).

Eventually this approach to language teaching became institutionalized to the point where, says Smith (1972:274), 'no one questioned the position of literature in a foreign-language syllabus. It had pride of place. It was considered that the most prestigious manifestation of language was a natural choice for teaching material'. It was in the 19th century, in particular, when this view dominated language teaching and, as Smith (1972:274) adds, 'The view had its logic, since the commonest goal for a foreign-language syllabus was indeed to enable the pupils to read literature'.

At that point, then, literature was not only the chief means of language teaching through the grammar-translation

method but the end of such teaching as well. As Stern (1983:246) points out, 'Language teaching was preparatory to the study of literature', a situation which then and later had serious ramifications for the role of literature in language teaching. First, it reinforced the focus on written rather than spoken skills, a focus which later led to a strong reaction against literature, as Povey (1984:ix) explains: 'In recent years, literature has played a minimal role in the ESL classroom. This has been due largely to the reaction against the earlier translation methods, which had failed to develop language speakers'. Second, with specific reference to the teaching of English, it created another role for, and approach to, literature. Here the emphasis was on the use of literature to transmit an understanding and awareness of the culture of the target language. This was in line with the spread of British colonialism and the subsequently felt need to educate indigenous members of the colonial possessions in the language and ways of British society. As Howatt (1984:212) describes the situation:

During the nineteenth century there was a largely unquestioned assumption that English should be taught in colonial schools in essentially the same way as in the mother country. The basic educational aim was the assimilation of British culture through the medium of English literature.

This emphasis on literature as a repository of life and things British had two effects in the non-native teaching of literature. One, it moved literature teaching in a more directive 'teacher text-centred' (Harper, 1988:402) mode in which the language of the text was of little or no importance, unlike in the use of the grammar-translation approach. This

shift towards the content, rather than the language, of literature was one which was not reversed in a significant sense until very recently. Two, it made non-native literature teaching highly amenable to the 'social function of literature' school of thought initiated by Leavis and Eliot in the native literature teaching context. The significance of this amenability lay in the fact that, during the heyday of this notion, which dominated English faculties for many years beginning in the 1930s, ELT teachers were being educated in that same tradition, and thus adopting the same view of literature and literature teaching. At that point, and until fairly recently, the specialized training of ELT teachers did not take place. Hence, ELT teachers were the products, usually, of university English departments, where they acquired the concept of literature as a purveyor of culture and the values of that culture, rather than as an example of the target language in use. This, in turn, meant that they took into their ELT literature instruction the approach described earlier by Howatt, in which the literary and cultural, rather than the linguistic, properties of literature were emphasized in the classroom. As Strevens explains:

Originally, teachers of English overseas (because it was overseas, not in Britain, that the great majority of British ELT took place) felt themselves akin to teachers of English as the mother tongue, and especially teachers of English literature. Most British teachers engaged overseas had a degree in English literature and few had any specialist training as teachers of English language. (1977b:56)

Given this kind of background, ELT practitioners moved away from the grammar-translation method of literature-based instruction and adopted, instead, the techniques found in

native speaker classrooms. This meant a concentration on the content of literary texts through teacher-centred methodologies, with an emphasis on the reading and appreciation of English literary classics. As for the development of language proficiency in English, Short and Candlin (1986:91) note that 'The assumption was that if the students were continually exposed to the best uses of the English language, it would in some sense "rub off" on their own performance in the language'.

In general, during the first half of the 20th century, the overall approach to literature in the ELT context was one in which, says Strevens (1977b:60), literature was 'taught as a part of a broad general education, oriented towards the humanities. It used to be linked with, and often incorporated, an introduction to the study and appreciation of English literature, and this constituted the principal justification for teaching the language'. Here literature was included in the higher levels of the language learning process. And the methods used were the teacher-oriented approaches of the first language classrooms.

During the second half of this century, the use of literature underwent dramatic changes in view of larger changes in the thinking about the teaching and learning of languages discussed in Chapter Two. For one thing, as already noted, literature itself fell out of favour in the general domain of ELT. For another, when literary texts were used, the context was usually one in which students were aiming at a knowledge of literature in English rather

than improved proficiency in the language. Here literature teaching was characterized by the 'flight from the text' approach in which, explain Short and Candlin (1986:90), teachers 'have frequently retreated into teaching about literature (for instance, giving students biographical facts about authors, descriptions of literary movements and critical schools, synopses of novels and plays) instead of teaching the literature itself...In practice, the background course tended to displace the texts-not surprisingly, as background is easier to teach'.

The overall situation regarding literature in ELT in the years from World War II until the 1980s is described in the following comprehensive summary by Collie and Slater:

Not so many years ago, there seemed to be a decisive swing against literature in English as a foreign language. The emphasis in modern linguistics on the primacy of the spoken language made many distrust what was seen as essentially a written, crystallized form. Literature was thought of as embodying a static, convoluted kind of language, far removed from the utterances of daily communication. Because of this it was sometimes tarred with an 'elitist' brush and reserved for the most advanced level of study. Even at that level, the need for an arsenal of critical terms, the 'metalanguage' of literary studies, convinced many teachers that it could not be studied satisfactorily in the foreign language. There was dissatisfaction at the amount of time devoted in the native language to appreciation of finer literary points. Moreover, in some cases literature was also seen as carrying an undesirable freight of cultural connotations. What was needed was a more neutral, more functional kind of English, shorn of any implication of cultural imperialism and relevant, in a way that much of literature is not, to the demands of particular uses in business, trade, travel or tourism, advertising, and so on. (1987:2)

The roots of most of these objections to literature can be traced back to World War II and the development of the Army Method of language teaching described in Chapter Two.

That method, as we have seen, emphasized the use of pattern drills through a focus on sentence structures and the ability to reproduce grammatically accurate sentences in the target language. This approach was used on a much more widespread basis during the Audiolingual period of language teaching. Situational teaching, which was also popular during that period, likewise stressed the importance of pattern practice, though in particular communicative situations.

Against this background of structurally-based teaching, literature was seen as out of place in the language classroom, leaving the use of literary texts to those teachers who were teaching advanced level students pursuing an interest or qualification specifically in English literature. For the most part, then, literature entered into what Rutter et al (1985:59) refer to as 'a "generation" of neglect'.

The above citation is contained in a document which perhaps best summarises the situation literature found itself in throughout much of the post World War II era. This document is a report on the place of literature in courses offered by the British Council in its highly respected and widespread operations around the world. In a review of the role of literature in Council syllabuses, the document states that

Promotion of English literature went out of fashion in the Council as early as the mid 1950s...Part of the reason was that much that passed under the name of literature teaching was not worthy of support e.g. erudite surveys of English literature for students who lacked the basic English needed to read it. But it happened also because the best energies were attracted or diverted into the new

mode of ELT activity. (Rutter et al, 1985:52)

This citation is interesting not only for the account it gives of literature's fall from grace in ELT, but also for its commentary on how literature was taught at the time it went into decline. What we see here is the approach cited earlier by Short and Candlin, where a backgrounds focus prevailed, and where students were given glimpses of the English literary canon, that is, extremely limited uses of approaches to literature.

The report goes on to state:

The downgrading of priority for literature has been reinforced by the Council's increasing policy of concentrating its resources on strictly-defined target areas. Outside university departments of English (an important but limited constituency), literature can have no definable target area in the sense that medicine, agriculture, engineering or technology can have. Its "target" is the educated reading public, which may be composed of doctors, scientists or engineers, possibly eminent in their own field and thus people whom the Council should seek to influence, but difficult to define as a neat and identifiable group. (1986:55)

This citation points out the major problem literature has encountered more recently. Structurally-based objections to literature prevailed in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. In the 1970s, however, the shift in interest to communicative competence, and the move towards ESP type courses which accompanied that shift led to a strong focus on the special purposes situation which ESP caters to. That is, specific groups of learners were targeted-groups such as those mentioned above by Rutter et al-with courses designed to meet only those interests. As the British Council response to that situation indicates, literature was seen to be

unsuited to the needs of such courses. What value would there be for literature in a course for engineers?. As Maley (1990:3) observes, the use of literature 'was seen as part of the bad old "traditional" methods' which had no place within the structural and notional-functional/ communicative orientations which dominated ELT throughout the second half of the 20th century. It is only very recently that this situation has begun to change. This change has meant not only a revival of interest in the use of literature in ELT, but the development of different ways of approaching literature as well, as the remainder of the present chapter will show.

Review of Major Contemporary Approaches to Literature in ELT

Discussions of the uses of literature in ELT often centre on two popular and overlapping dichotomies which are generally seen as representing such uses in broader terms. These dichotomies are a) literature for language/language for literature and b) literature through language and language through literature. Through these dichotomies we can see the principal ways in which language and literature are viewed in support of each other in contemporary terms.

These dichotomies serve as part of the larger background from which to look at uses of literature in ELT. Also helpful in this background sense is a commonly acknowledged distinction between three major purposes for the inclusion of literary texts in ELT classrooms or syllabuses. One of these purposes is linguistic; here the linguistic features of literature are utilised for either broadening students'

proficiency in and/or knowledge of the target language or increasing their knowledge of literature and its linguistic properties. Another of these purposes is educational; here literature is used as Leavis intended it: to enhance individual development and, ultimately and most importantly, the development of society. Third, literature is used in pursuit of cultural purposes; in this case, literary texts are studied from the point of view of increasing students' knowledge of the culture of the target language, or even their own culture.

Recent scholarship focusing on approaches to the use of literature along these lines offers several particularly helpful models of such approaches.

One of these is that by Carter described earlier, in which there are information-based, personal-response based, and language-based approaches, with the latter identified as the most popular set of approaches at present (see Carter, 1988).

Another model is one proposed by Carter and Walker (1989) which distinguishes between product-centred and process-centred approaches. Product-centred approaches focus on teaching about the literary text. Here, they say (1989:4), 'The best work has tended to focus on the text as holistic, something which is intact and even sacrosanct. The related pedagogies have been concerned with the development of skills for reading the text as an object of study'. Stylistic approaches, which emphasize analysis of texts as fixed products, provide popular methods for such use of literature.

In contrast, process-centred approaches are aligned with current language teaching theory and stress the manipulation of literary texts so as to develop students' language ability. Process-centred approaches incorporate activities-based methods which are found in communicative applications of literature in which texts are seen as means toward communicative purposes rather than as ends in themselves.

Ibsen (1990) offers a similar model in which she distinguishes between linguistic and communicative approaches. The first set of approaches is essentially stylistic in nature, while the communicative approaches focus on tasks and activities to be performed by learners as they interact with literary texts.

Maley (1989b) categorises these approaches under two headings: literature for study and literature for use. Literature for study approaches may include traditional methods in which literature is taught as an end in itself, or other methods designed along the lines of the product-centred types just cited. On the other hand, literature for use approaches centre on the task and activities-based methods which exploit literary texts as stepping stones toward increased communicative competence. That is, literature is used 'as a resource for language learning' rather than as a 'cultural artefact' (1989b:10), as in the literature for study approaches.

Moody (1983) takes a different tack when he discusses extrinsic and intrinsic approaches to literature in much the same ways previously discussed with reference to New

Critical distinctions. Extrinsic approaches focus on providing providing students with biographical, historical, and other kinds of background information about literature. Intrinsic approaches penetrate more deeply into texts in order to provide learners with greater awareness of the grammatical, lexical, thematic, and cultural properties of texts.

One more model of note is offered by McRae (1988), who distinguishes between approaches based on teaching literature and on learning literature. Teaching literature approaches are teacher-centred and stress a 'study as exercise' format in which students learn about texts through various question and answer type strategies. Learning literature approaches are learner-centred and lead students to interact with texts through 'study as experience' strategies echoing the current trend toward activities-based procedures.

Collectively, these models establish the parameters within which ideas about literature in ELT have evolved since World War II, and we can see from them that literature is viewed from many different perspectives within ELT. Here it is interesting to note that these many roles envisioned for literature have evolved during a period in which, as we have already seen, literature was largely displaced from ELT. What this suggests is that, despite the general absence of literature from ELT classrooms, literature had not disappeared from scholarly view. Indeed, as the remainder of this chapter will show, considerable thought was given to ways of using literature during

those decades in which it was in essence excommunicated from mainstream ELT. That is, literature underwent a process of intense examination during its period of exile, and this process produced valuable insights into how to better utilize literary texts within the context of language teaching. Before looking at those insights in terms of different major categories under which they fall, it is important to briefly review statements concerning literature in two separate issues of the ELT Journal. These statements are useful in demonstrating how literature had not completely disappeared from view during its years of exclusion, and how thoughts about its possible use were gradually changing.

First we will look at several citations from the second issue of the then newly established ELT Journal, i.e. in 1946 (quoted here from a reprint in 1986, volume 4), when structural-behaviourist ideas about language learning and teaching, and language itself, were beginning to dominate ELT. Under the heading 'Balance and Proportion', the following relevant comments were made:

The suggestion has at times been made that language teaching is becoming too technical. It has been said that language study is becoming dehumanized and mechanical, that the pupil is caused to lose whatever he may have of initiative and that he becomes a mere automaton responding blindly to stimuli applied by his teachers...Is the enthusiasm that should inspire the language learner being dampened or even extinguished by the new teaching techniques? Is it possible that the approach to literature, the goal of so many language learners, is being blocked and progress impeded? (1986:262)

Here we see early signs of the movement away from literature, and a concern about that movement. The next citation amplifies that concern, but at the same time

reflects displeasure with some approaches to literature:

We must condemn the teacher who subordinates the art of living to the art of making a living, who ignores literature and the cultural heritage which he should help pass on, who concentrates on technique because it gives him the reputation of being a successful teacher, success only too often being judged solely by examination results. Equally we must condemn the teacher who, though his knowledge of the highways and byways of literature may be extensive, has so little knowledge of methodology that his language teaching is ineffective, or even a complete failure. (1986:263)

The editorial goes on to distinguish between three aspects of language learning: 'getting to know the language, coming to use the language, and acquiring the feel of the of the language' (1986:263). Literature is seen as being responsible for providing learners with the third aspect listed above, and this task is expected to require new approaches to literature teaching. Remarking that 'the study of literature is too often dehumanized' (1986:263), the editorial asserts that literature teachers must move away from traditional methodologies which mechanically supply students with information about texts and work more towards inspiring students by being 'a guiding personality, a philosopher and friend' (1986:263). Thus, 'the study of literature needs the sympathetic help not of pedagogues, but of teachers with broad minds, broad sympathies, and broad knowledge' (1986:264).

Here it is interesting to note this call for new ways of dealing with literature at a time when its influence in ELT was waning. As we will see later, this call was answered in a number of valuable ways. Meanwhile, it is now worth looking at another ELT Journal editorial, this one by

Lee (1970). He began by posing the following questions:

To what extent need learners of a foreign language study the literature written in that language? Often the answer given is 'Not at all'. But what is missed, and how is the language learning affected, if the literature is ignored? (1970:1)

These questions reveal how literature had fallen out of favour in ELT, and how an interest in bringing it back was perhaps beginning to form.

After briefly summarising common objections to literature, Lee went on to observe that

The substance of the English language, however, has been shaped by literature. It is in literature that the resources of the language are most fully and most skilfully used. It seems to follow that literature should enter into the language-study of those who are to use the language with the greatest possible skill and effect. (1970:1)

After making this call for a return to literature, Lee offered a framework under which literature could be integrated into the practical, structurally-based arena of ELT, thus attempting to pull it back into the heart of ELT, and in the process anticipating some of its later uses:

Literature is rooted, so far as the foreign-language learner is concerned, in the oral basis of language learning: rooted in lively and meaningful oral drills, in spoken and acted dialogues, in simple dramatisation of stories; indeed, in those very procedures which make for successful and interested learning of the language. (1970:2)

These remarks, together with those in the 1946 editorial, indicate, once again, not only how interest in literature had been retained, albeit in the background of ELT, but also how there was an acknowledged need to look for more suitable ways of bringing literature back into the ELT classroom. And it was within this spirit that much of the work related

to literature in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, and on into the 1980s, took place.

Scholarship in this area has been extensive, and will be reviewed through a categorisation of major types of approaches to literature in ELT. Before looking at these categories, particular attention should be drawn in advance to texts which have attempted on a broader scale to bring literature into the language classroom by providing, through overviews or collections of papers on the subject, a wider sense of the possibilities within this endeavour. Notable books which work in this vein are Brumfit (1983), Brumfit and Carter (1986), Carter, Walker, and Brumfit (1989), Holden (1988), Marckwardt (1978), Moody (1971), and Sage (1987). Helpful articles serving the same purpose, from the overview perspective, are Chattopadhyay (1983), Du (1986), Gajdusek (1988), Krsul (1986), Leki (1986), Lott (1988), Maley (1989b), Muyskens (1983), Reeves (1986), Salih (1989), Stern (1987), and Zughoul (1986).

We will now look at the major categories of approaches so as to gain a systematic sense of particular lines of development in the integration of literature and ELT/CLT. Within each of these categories, such development will be explored chronologically so as to build a clearer sense of the evolution of thought as it pertains to the categories. The categories themselves are conceptualised, broadly, according to the dichotomy by Ibsen discussed earlier, in which approaches to literature in ELT are seen to be essentially linguistic or communicative in nature.

Linguistic Approaches to Literature

Before reviewing the approaches which fall within this category, some classification is in order regarding the term 'linguistic.' It is being used here to refer, in a very general sense, to approaches which focus on the analysis of the language of literary texts. Students' attention is thus directed principally to the linguistic framework of the texts in question, as opposed to emphasizing decoding their meaning.

Linguistic approaches to literature can be broken down into two general sub-categories. One such set of approaches can be labelled close reading approaches; here learners work within the 'words on the page' concept already described so as to increase their understanding and awareness of the target language, and at the same time to enhance their appreciation of the texts themselves. This, in turn, is meant to develop their literary competence while simultaneously aiding their linguistic/communicative competence. The other set of approaches can be labelled stylistic approaches; here there is a more concentrated focus on the language of the texts so as to foster the growth of linguistic as well as communicative competence. As the label stylistic itself suggests, this occurs through a study of the style and stylistic features of the language used in the texts.

The division between close reading and stylistic sets of approaches is not a hard and fast one, but such a separation is useful in delineating some of the variety which exists in linguistically-oriented work with literature. Hence, the two sub-categories will be presented independently of each other.

a) Close reading approaches

As we have already seen, the notion of close reading of literature was developed at Cambridge by I.A. Richards in the 1920s, with the idea being to bring students directly to the text itself, minus the interference caused by any awareness of the text's history vis-a-vis the author's background, the social and historical conditions at hand when it was written, etc. This meant an intense focus on the 'words on the page', i.e. on the language of literature.

Initial interest in the application of this technique with respect to ELT came about directly in reaction to the standard approach to literature which had prevailed in ELT during the first half of this century. Stern (1987) discusses that approach partly by distinguishing between two primary streams within it. One, the British tradition, 'presupposes that English literature is taught in English in schools using a British-style curriculum' (1987:48). The other, the Continental tradition, is based upon the view that 'English literature is studied as evidence of a distinctly foreign civilization or culture, and is integrally related to civilization studies' (1987:48). She goes on to note that, in terms of methodology,

The approach to teaching literature both in the British and Continental fashions is fairly academic and traditional, in terms of both the selection and presentation of materials. The curriculum generally consists of a chronological survey of British, or British and American, literature adhering closely, if not exclusively, to the classics. Teaching consists primarily of lecture and examination, perhaps with discussion, and/or grammar translation. (1987:48)

It was against this background that Williams, in two papers (1951:a&b), explained and then applied Richards' methods of practical criticism to the use of literature in ELT. The practice of close reading was advocated as a means of 'showing how a language works as a medium of expression' (1951b:91). As Williams went on to explain:

The analysis of any particular piece of writing reveals, in its full force and complexity, the actual operation of words in an organization. To students who are familiar with the general meaning, or alternative meanings, of a word, the apprehension of a particular force, a particular shade of expression, as revealed by analysis, is a notable way of learning the 'feel' of a language, and its precious yet various modes of communication. (1951b:91)

In making this early call for a close reading approach to literature in ELT, Williams initiated a shift in the use of literature toward the 'language through literature' and 'literature for language' emphases cited earlier and so frequently advocated at present. In so doing, he drew attention to the language of literature in a way which broke with the traditional approach described earlier by Stern.

A few years later, Bottrall (1953-54) likewise saw a value in directing students to the 'words on the page', though not at the expense of meaning, which he felt a strict adherence to New Critical practices would lead to. On the other hand, he warned against learners getting 'bogged down in "meanings" ' (1953/54:39), and saw a close reading approach, used in moderation, as a viable way of bringing students into greater contact with the language in literary texts.

A decade later, Sharma (1966) echoed the call for a

close reading approach in ELT, with a particular focus on how such an approach would make the language of literature come alive for students, especially the language in poetry. Moody (1968), in a book entitled Literary Appreciation, discussed in detail the use of close reading through an examination of his own use of the technique with African students. A later book by Moody, The Teaching of Literature (1971), continued the focus on close reading of the language of literature, particularly in support of his core belief that 'there is no hard and fast division between Literature and Language' (1971:83). Here close reading was no longer being seen solely in the sense of Richards' use of the technique, but rather as an umbrella term representing the idea of analysis of the language of literature so as to increase learners' language awareness. That is, literature was meant to be seen as a language teaching aid in the same light in which other sources of such material would be. Hankins (1972) continued this theme by discussing a modified close reading technique which would not only enrich learners' language awareness, but make the classroom more interesting at the same time by moving students away from the unimaginative course materials commonly used at the time.

Papers by Allen (1976) and Hall (1979) focused on providing a theoretical basis from which language teachers could develop the use of literature for language analysis work; in the process, such work would not only improve language skills but, according to Hall (1979:98), would provide

students with 'an understanding of the merits of whatever texts they read'.

The papers discussed thus far, while useful in introducing the idea of using literature as a source for language analysis work through close reading of texts, were still fairly limited in scope, but here it must be remembered that ELT itself was still restricted mainly to the idea of linguistic competence, an idea which mitigated against literature. That is, language awareness or sensitivity in learners was not a goal in ELT yet, so that there was not fertile ground in which to fully nurture the idea of language analysis.

As the idea of communicative competence gained strength in the 1970s, however, it was possible to envision wider roles for literature within the broad notion of a close reading approach. A paper by Widdowson (1979a) exemplifies this widening of the concept of language analysis.

Widdowson's paper makes a case for the inclusion of poetry in 'the practical business of learning a foreign language' (1979a:153); in his view, 'poetry can be incorporated as an integrative element into a language course and... properly presented, it can serve as an invaluable aid in the development of communicative competence' (1979a:153). Here, in linking literature with the growth of communicative competence, Widdowson is enlarging possibilities for language analysis work as well, because such work will no longer simply draw learners' attention to the use of the target language. Instead, it will contribute to the development of real-world

communicative ability. This will be achieved through a focus discussed in much of Widdowson's work: on helping students to learn various interpretative processes whereby they better understand and can more effectively use the target language. According to Widdowson, 'although poetry is an abnormal use of language, its interpretation involves the same essentially normal procedures as are required for the understanding of any discourse and that it is precisely because of its abnormality that poetry can be used to direct the learner's attention to these interpretive procedures' (1979a:153). That is, learners can be given opportunities to interpret, or analyse, the language found in literary texts so as to cultivate their ability to interpret, and make use of, other forms of language.

In this paper Widdowson does not directly invoke the technique of close reading, but in his assertion that 'What a language course must ultimately develop in the learner... is a technique for deriving the communicative value of linguistic elements as they occur in discourse' (1979a:156), he is encouraging the use of language analysis as a means toward communicative competence. Hence language analysis through a broadened notion of close reading took on a more productive role at this point than it had in the past, when it served the primary purpose of supplying learners with more knowledge of the target language. Now it was seen as directly contributing to the production of discourse as well as the interpretation of it.

In a later paper, Widdowson (1986) advocates a close

reading approach which builds further upon the idea of helping learners to develop interpretive abilities and strategies through the use of paraphrases of texts. His proposal is to present students with, ideally, several paraphrases of the same original literary text. Through close reading and language analysis of both the original and the paraphrased texts, students can explore subtle differences of interpretation between the texts, in the process sensitising them to the business of interpretive reading in literature, and to the target language itself. This, in turn, will enhance their overall communicative competence.

Lott's A Course in English Language and Literature (1986) continues the interest in close reading and language analysis as a means of bolstering learners' awareness of, and ability to use, English. This work, a series of units consisting of various language-based exercises, uses literary texts as a means of allowing students 'practice in the use of the English language' (1986:vi). Each of the 20 units revolves around 'a particular and important language feature of English' (1986:vi), with students studying these features through close reading. Exercises are used to stimulate as well as measure the language analysis work, and composition assignments require use of what they have acquired through their close reading.

In the 1980s the general notion of a close reading approach was applied not only to the idea of increased language proficiency through language analysis as well as

the language awareness it produces, but to the development of literary competence as well. This was seen in a collection of papers edited by Brumfit (1983), with Moody (1983) drawing on the work of Richards and Wellek and Warren in a proposal to better train ELT students in the skills required to properly read literary texts. Jones (1983) writes on the same theme by discussing how students can, through close reading, acquire an ability to properly interpret 'literary conventions' as a means of strengthening their language ability. In other words, increased literary competence can lead to increased communicative competence.

In his 1985 collection of papers, Language and Literature Teaching: From Practice to Principle, Brumfit also writes on the importance of developing literary competence in the ELT context, with language analysis work a part of that process. Here literary competence is discussed in the context of CLT. The background is supplied in the following citation:

Recent approaches to language teaching have ignored literature teaching. However, increasing recognition of the difficulties of communicative syllabuses has led to a more cautious approach. It is not necessary to retreat, though, to turn again with interest to literature teaching, for literature provides us with a convenient source of content for a course in a foreign language, and a truly notional syllabus will need to be constructed round concepts and subject matter which develop in complexity. (1985:105)

In calling for a link between literature and CLT, Brumfit feels that learners must possess some literary competence in order to make effective use of literary texts, and it is through language analysis work that such competence can develop by making learners aware of the literary

properties found in such texts.

One more paper to be reviewed with respect to broadly defined close reading approaches and in the context of the development of literary competence is Widdowson (1985). Widdowson believes that 'The task for literature teaching... is, I would suggest, to develop a pedagogy which will guide learners toward an independent ability to read literature for themselves, as a precondition for further study' (1985:186). This means to 'develop in students the ability to perform literature as readers, to interpret it as a use of language, as a precondition for studying it' (1985:194). Such reading of literature can only occur if learners possess a sufficient degree of literary competence, so that part of the task of teachers is supplying that competence. And here, as seen in other work by Widdowson cited earlier, the key is analysis of the language of literary texts. According to Widdowson, the techniques required to prepare students to read literature effectively 'should be accountable to the principle that literature reading is a matter of realizing the contextual significance of language' (1985:190). This realization comes about through language analysis, that is, a form of close reading which necessitates that learners penetrate into the language and the language operations inside the text at hand. As this takes place, they learn to interpret the communicative strategies at work in the text, and this ability in turn enables them to "perform literature as readers", as noted earlier, because they have now acquired a knowledge of how language

operates in literature. It is within this knowledge that literary competence evolves.

On the whole, then, we have seen how the close reading/ language analysis segment of linguistic approaches to literature in ELT functions to build learners' language awareness, as well as literary competence through that awareness, by requiring students to focus on the 'words on the page' of literary texts. We have also seen how such language analysis work can be connected to the development of communicative competence. This is especially true when such work is conducted within the framework of the activities-based, communicative approaches to literature to be discussed later in this chapter.

Collectively, this body of work has played a vital role in linking literature to language teaching by developing the notion of language analysis work rooted in literary texts where such work can build learners' awareness of the target language. In advocating such a use of literary texts, the close reading approaches have helped cast literature in a light which makes it more amenable to recent emphases in language teaching.

b) Stylistic approaches

The first attempts to draw a connection between the then emerging field of stylistics and the use of literature in ELT occurred in the 1960s. Though stylistics played no important role within the literature-ELT context until much later, the significance of its appearance with respect to ELT cannot be underestimated. As Banjo (1985:201), in a

comparison of theories impacting on the development of the literature-ELT link notes, 'no comparable theoretical framework for teaching English literature to speakers of English as a second language has emerged until recently when stylistics came to the rescue'.

Stylistics itself has a long history when defined rather broadly; indeed, as Kelly (1969) points out, the roots of stylistics are in the centuries-old field of philology. In more modern terms, as Brumfit and Carter (1986) and Carter and Walker (1989) observe, stylistics derives to a large degree from the practical criticism and the New Critical approach of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s.

Definitions of stylistics are in plentiful supply. One used extensively in ELT scholarship comes from Widdowson's seminal text, Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature (1975): 'By "stylistics" I mean the study of literary discourse from a linguistic orientation' (1975:3). According to Leech and Short (1981:69), 'stylistics investigates the relation between the writer's artistic achievement, and how it is achieved through language'. Style itself, says Ohmann (1970:262), 'is a characteristic use of language', and, as Spencer and Gregory (1964:64) explain, the value of the study of style through stylistics is that 'at its best it leads to the development and critical maintenance of a sensitive attitude to language'. Turner (1973:242) sees its benefits in these terms: 'If one value of stylistic study is to be raised above others, it is its value in revealing the rich complexity of language'. It is precisely these

kinds of benefits-"a sensitive attitude to language" and being aware of "the rich complexity of language" in the target language of English-that help make stylistics so appealing in the ELT context.

Stylistic study can take many forms. In broader terms, says Ullman (1964:100), there are two main types of such study: 'those which explore the style of language and those which are focused on the style of a writer'. Freeman (1970:4) offers this further breakdown of types of stylistic investigation: 'style as deviation from the norm, style as recurrence or convergence of textual pattern, and style as a particular exploitation of a grammar of possibilities'.

Within ELT, the most helpful view of types of stylistics appears in Carter (1982) and Carter and Walker (1989). Here the distinction is between 'practical criticism' and 'practical stylistics'. Practical criticism derives from the New Critical approach to literary theory, as we have already seen, and as such is tied to some degree to the evaluation of literary texts. On the other hand, practical stylistics is a modified form of practical criticism which aims, through linguistic analysis of texts, to provide ELT students with what Carter calls 'a clear and operable "way in" ' to a literary text (1982:10), in the process sensitizing language learners to the ways in which the target language works as it shapes the literary text in question. The approaches to be reviewed within this sub-section of the present chapter are of the practical stylistics type. In order to view them more systematically, they will be

broken-down into the 'general' and 'comparative' streams.

Before looking at texts within ELT which have shaped the growth of these streams, mention should be made of works outside the ELT context which have been background influences on that growth. These include: Chapman (1973), Chatman and Levin (1967), Chatman (1971), Ching et al (1980), Crystal and Davy (1969), Durant et al (1988), Freeman (1970), Halliday and Hasan (1976), Joos (1961), Leech (1969), Leech and Short (1981), Short and Breen (1988), Traugott and Pratt (1980), and Turner (1973).

The publication of Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory's Linguistics and Style (1964) represents the beginning of a stylistic element in ELT, particularly Enkvist's monograph within that work. In this monograph Enkvist paid particular attention to some of the language related problems encountered by foreign students while reading literature in a target language. Enkvist's thesis was that stylistics would assist literature teachers caught in the dilemmas of the then current language environment by offering a way out of 'a no-man's land mapped neither by traditional foreign-language textbooks nor by school or university texts designed for first-language students' (1964:5). That is, with its roots in linguistics and its interest in the language of literature, stylistics was seen as a natural bridge between the then linguistic orientation of ELT and its literary tradition. In particular, as Enkvist explained, 'One major problem...in the teaching of a foreign language is giving the student a sense of style' (1964:6), a problem which

could be overcome by approaching literary discourse through stylistic analysis. Spencer, too, in his introduction to the book saw style as a place where 'literary and linguistic studies meet' (1964:ix).

Linguistics and Style was important not only in foreseeing a role for stylistics in ELT, but also in initiating both the general and comparative streams of stylistic approaches to be discussed in this portion of Chapter Three.

1. General Stylistic Stream

Turning first to the general stream, it is important to point out that the term general is used for a stream where no one stylistic approach dominates, as is the case in the comparative stream. Instead, within the general stream the focus is primarily upon advocating and developing the idea of a stylistic approach to literary texts as a means of enabling learners to better understand how the target language functions.

As noted earlier, Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory made, and developed in some detail, an early call for the use of stylistics in ELT. This call was reinforced, indirectly, by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964), who briefly touched upon linguistic/literary issues and offered some insight into the relationship between the two disciplines. Halliday (1967) extended those insights by defining the parameters of linguistic analysis of literature.

Two other publications in the 1960s are also worth noting by way of the development of a general stream in stylistic approaches to literature. Both papers, by

Rodger⁶ (1969:a&b), further explored the possibilities for stylistic analysis. His focus was on the literature, rather than the language class, but within that context he saw great value in stylistics as a tool by which to develop students' knowledge and appreciation of language. As he explained, 'our primary duty is not so much the teaching of knowledge about literature as the imparting of skill in the recognition and comprehension of literary modes of meaning' (1969a:89). Furthermore, 'To discover literary meaning for oneself is to discover language and its modes of operation' (1969b:210).

A key element in Rodgers' papers was his attempt to break down the notion of separate languages for literary and everyday discourse. As he explained:

The language of literary texts is not a wholly different medium from that used in all other (non-literary) forms of linguistic communication. Unlike the painter or sculptor, the writer takes over a medium already meaningfully structured and systematized. As the most complex and subtle mode of human communication, language already has its own built-in rules, conventions and norms. These the writer may exploit and arrange in unusual ways that extend or even partly transcend the normal communicative resources of the language. But the meaning of the work depends upon the norms of that language, even where it most deviates from or violates them. The facts of objective text are thus linguistic facts. (1969a:91)

By addressing the literary/non-literary language dichotomy, Rodger began to break down one of the major barriers to the use of literature in ELT: the notion that in literature the language is 'different', and as such ill-suited to the needs of the language classroom. Dismantling this dichotomy has been a regular theme in stylistic

scholarship. Also, by making the case for stylistic analysis of literary texts, Rodger helped to create an opening for a new role for literature in ELT whereby students' understanding of the operations of the target language could be sharpened through careful linguistic analysis of the language.

In the 1970s the major impetus toward a stylistic approach to literature within ELT came from Widdowson. First there was a paper in 1974 which discusses in general terms the nature of a stylistic analysis of literature with reference to ELT. The discussion is supplemented by exercises which illustrate how various types of approaches developed up to that point in time operate. Then there was Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature (1975), a pivotal book which continues to be highly influential at present. Like Rodger, Widdowson's focus is on the students in literature courses; however, certain emphases in the book extend its application to the language classroom as well. This occurs, in particular, because of its interest in 'communicative value'. Here Widdowson discusses a familiar theme in his work: that language learners need to see the target language in more meaningful contexts, extending beyond word and isolated sentence level. Candlin sets the scene for this message in the book's preface when he observes:

Now it is this emphasis on communicative value which is of greatest importance to the development of teaching materials for language learning, whether oriented towards the study of literary texts or not. For too long materials have remained at the surface patterns of linguistic text, and have not drawn learners towards an understanding of the layers of meaning which can be peeled off from utterances; learners have seen sentences only as illustrations of grammatical patterns and have not asked pragmatic

and sociolinguistic questions of what communicative value they have in given settings. (1975:viii)

Widdowson develops this notion of communicative value by distinguishing between text, messages, and discourse. Text, he says, is the domain of the linguist, who 'directs his attention primarily to how a piece of literature exemplifies the language system' (1975:6). On the other hand, 'The literary critic searches for underlying significance, for the essential artistic vision that the poem embodies and we will say that he treats literary works as messages' (1975:6). He goes on to explain the third element, discourse, in these terms:

Between these two is an approach to literature which attempts to show specifically how elements of a linguistic text combine to create messages, how, in other words, pieces of literary writing function as a form of communication. Let us say that this approach treats literature as discourse. (1975:6)

The latter, discourse-based, approach is where stylistics enters the picture. And here we see how stylistics can develop in learners a deeper knowledge of the target language itself as they see, through systematic analysis of how a text's elements "combine to create messages", the language in operation. In this way they see the root notion of 'communicative value' in action, and are then able to use the awareness of that value which they have gained in their own use of the language.

Widdowson's fundamental effort in the book, then, is to offer an alternative to the traditional search for meaning which was at the heart of past uses of literature in language teaching. Using his core belief in communicative

value as a foundation, he extends the interest in interpretive reading approaches discussed in other papers he has published as a means of helping learners to build strategies for understanding the linguistic operations at work in a text. Through stylistic analysis, learners construct these interpretive strategies as they seek to determine the communicative value of the discourse at hand in the text.

The primary technique for such activity, as outlined later in the book, is a comparative one, and so the book will be discussed again later in this chapter. What is important to note now is how Widdowson further develops the idea of stylistic analysis, and how, through the linking of stylistic analysis with the concept of communicative value, he advocates an approach which has implications for language as well as literature teaching in which literature, through stylistics, could serve language teaching ends.

Sopher (1976) offers a direct connection between stylistics and ELT. Asserting that 'The central purpose of linguistic analysis of a literary text is, as I understand it, to demonstrate, in concrete terms, both what has been communicated and how it has been communicated' (1976:63), Sopher provides insights into ways in which this what and how can be analysed and appreciated, hence strengthening learners' understanding of how the target language functions. In each case-the what and the how-second language learners increase their language sensitivity and awareness by a focused look at the target language in actual operation, and without having to pay primary attention to the interpretation

of the meaning of the text as a whole. The linguistic production of that meaning is of at least equal importance.

The interest in stylistics was advanced further by two publications in 1982 which focused, in part, on ELT.

Carter's Language and Literature (1982), a collection of papers on stylistics edited by Carter, includes a valuable introduction by him which defines and places in both the native speaker and ELT contexts the field of practical stylistics, an approach arising from this belief: 'As readers of literature we are involved first and foremost in a response to language' (1982:4). Practical stylistics provides means by which readers can analyse their responses to or interpretations of literature by directing their attention to the linguistic properties of literary texts. This will allow students to demystify literary texts, an especially important act in the ELT context, as well as giving them an 'introductory mode of analysis for learning about language' (1982:6). Carter also addresses the objection that the language of literature is 'so remote from everyday usage that the student can derive little of practical value from contact with literary texts' (1982:11) by saying in defence of practical stylistics that

Literature is an example of language in use, and is a context for language use. Studying the language of a literary text as language can therefore enhance our appreciation of aspects of the different systems of language organisation. (1982:12)

That statement is at the heart of stylistic approaches within the ELT context, and also serves as a crucial justification of literature in the language classroom by identifying

the grounds on which literature can be viewed in support of language teaching objectives. Carter himself uses that statement to lead to his conclusion that 'My point is simply to underline that the integration of language and literature teaching in English classrooms is long overdue' (1982:12). Practical stylistics, he feels, is an ideal means by which that integration can be implemented.

Carter and Burton's Literary Text and Language Study (1982) likewise lays a foundation upon which to build a practical stylistic approach to literature for both literary and language teaching purposes. Noting that 'literary texts are in a primary sense made from language' (1982:3), they go on to say that 'we offer an approach which is aware first of all of how the language of the text works as language' (1982:4-5). Furthermore, it is language in use, in context, and so 'it is our view that language study is richer and ultimately more practical for being study of language in use (in this case literary text) and for being linguistically detailed and principled' (1982:6). Such a perspective is of particular importance within the context of CLT, where actual language use is what students practice and aim to achieve. Stylistics, they demonstrate, provides such practice, especially because 'Language study is not merely the servant of literature study. Literary texts can set interesting language problems to solve' (1982:7). That is, the approach they advocate uses stylistics to solve language-based problems, hence building up learners' language awareness, and leading to increased proficiency through that

awareness, particularly because the awareness is of actual language use. It should be added that this problem solving dimension of stylistics is one of the reasons stylistics holds appeal within the activities-based CLT context.

Walker's Language for Literature (1983) works along the lines just described. Designed to 'bridge the gap between language and literary studies' (1983:6), the book consists of ten units which require students to complete various language-based exercises and tasks in stylistic analysis based on extracts from literary texts.

Approaching stylistics on a more comprehensive level is The Language of Literature (1983) by Cummings and Simmons. Using systemic linguistics as its foundation, the book discusses and demonstrates theories and methods of stylistic analysis, and thus reinforces the general notion of a stylistic approach to literature and language study. Of considerable additional importance is a foreword by Halliday, who outlines the goals and principal reasons for stylistic analysis. Here he deals, in part, with concerns about such analysis, noting that

Not so long ago, "stylistics" was often seen as rather threatening; the linguistic analysis of a literary work would be denounced almost as if it was an indecent act, an uncouth violation of its integrity. To study the grammar of a poem was to destroy its vitality and inhibit the mature appreciation of its poetic qualities. (1983:viii)

Instead, he says, 'Far from damaging the object, or one's perception of it, the act of close and thoughtful linguistic analysis turns out to enhance one's awareness and enjoyment. What seemed flat becomes rounded, what was

rounded has still further dimensions added to it' (1983:viii). This is precisely the kind of awareness the language learner can benefit from, making stylistic analysis a valuable tool in deepening learners' experience of and exposure to the target language so as to aid in their use of the language.

Halliday also devotes considerable space to breaking down the literary/ordinary language dichotomy, in the process making literature more amenable to language teaching. His fundamental point is that, while literary texts contain linguistic deviation of various kinds, they draw from the same pool of linguistic resources as do other texts. Indeed, as he observes:

the vast majority of literary works, whether prose or verse, do not bend the grammar of English in any way at all; and conversely texts in which "rules" are "broken" are generally not what we would think of as literary ones. The sensational headlines of mass circulation newspapers have more deviant grammar than will be found in a typical selection of modern poetry. Very few literary texts depend for their impact on a departure from the norms of the language in which they are composed. (1983:xi)

Just as Cumming and Simmons provided a helpful overview of stylistics in their 1983 text just cited, Short's Reading, Analysing and Teaching Literature (1989) is a text of major importance in the larger vein of discussing and demonstrating the wide range of possibilities available in stylistics as applied to ELT. It also provides a number of illuminating papers presenting various kinds of stylistic analysis. In addition, it describes valuable links developing between the discipline of literary theory and the recent attempts to utilize literature in ELT. In particular, it

supports the idea of a reader-response type orientation in the literature-ELT link. The thrust of the book is described by Short in these terms:

For teacher and pupil what counts is what works; and it is in this sense that reading, analysing and teaching literature go so interestingly together. After a period when English literature all but disappeared from the EFL curriculum in many countries, it now appears to be making something of a comeback. But this new use of literature for language teaching purposes involves an approach which is unlike traditional literary study, and is instead inextricably linked with the stylistic approach and empirical theories concerning how people read and understand. The use to which the literary texts are being put in these EFL classrooms is, in tenor, not unlike the deconstructionist approach which is being hotly debated within literary criticism itself. (1989:9)

While many of the papers in the collection are detailed and technical demonstrations of stylistic approaches, two papers by Carter are particularly helpful in terms of defining the parameters of stylistics and ELT. The first of these papers, Carter (1989a), reviews developments in stylistics vis-a-vis ELT. The second, Carter (1989b), discusses eight areas of teaching in which stylistics can play a role: teaching the grammar; the teaching of text as discourse; teaching the lexis; creative writing; interpreting the text; comparative textology; teaching the 'nature' of language through literature; and studying the 'nature' of literariness.

An intriguing paper in the collection, by Van Peer (1989), has particular appeal for language teachers because he discusses the use of the cloze test as a stylistic device. Using both randomly constructed and controlled type cloze tests, Van Peer tries to focus students' attention on

various stylistic features, such as cohesion. His view is that such tests will not only bring to students' attention stylistic aspects of texts, but will provide opportunities for meaningful student discussion as well, especially if students compare their responses to the tests. In this way students sharpen their language skills and awareness and at the same time learn more about language operations within texts.

A number of short papers dealing with stylistics also appeared in the 1980s, and these helped to illustrate the kinds of uses to which stylistic analysis can be put. Bengi and Kurtboke (1985), for example, demonstrate the use of analysis of foregrounding and cohesion in poetry with two objectives in mind: increasing students' language awareness, and creating a forum for discussion of the target language in use. Prodromou (1985) also advocates work with the analysis of cohesion, as well as coherence. He stresses the use of such analysis in group-work situations, with the focus being on helping students understand why the writers of literary texts made the linguistic decisions that they did so as to strengthen their own decision-making ability in English. Meanwhile, Dicker (1989) focuses on four text manipulation strategies commonly used in language classes - reordering, deletion, insertion, and substitution - as ways of providing linguistic investigation of literary texts. In this way, he says, 'students can be exposed to various angles on the representational meaning of the text and form hypotheses on what the text is all about' (1989:28).

At the same time, their language sensitivity is heightened. Lazar (1989) reinforces earlier work cited regarding analysis of cohesion as a way of showing students how literature 'orders and patterns language' (1989:3) as well as violating various conventions. One other paper to be cited is Nagaraj and Yadugiri (1989), who discuss the benefits of stylistic analysis in helping students acquire 'a better understanding and appreciation of literature' (1989:31).

As a group, the stylistically-based works discussed thus far have been essential in setting out a foundation for stylistics within ELT. Through them key principles, general guidelines, and various techniques for stylistic analysis have been articulated, hence demonstrating how such analysis can benefit ELT students, as well as establishing theoretical grounds for looking to such approaches within an ELT context.

2. Comparative Stylistic Stream

Having reviewed papers which contributed to the development of what has been labelled the general stylistic stream, we can turn now to papers which have advocated and described the more specific, and much discussed, comparative stylistic stream. Here the fundamental interest is in, as the label suggests, comparisons of language used in different types of texts, or of different language varieties.

The interest in a comparative approach begins with Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory (1964) cited earlier, in particular Enkvist's monograph within the work. Enkvist's proposal was to expose learners to a variety of texts,

including literary texts. This combined exposure to and analysis of varieties of English usage 'will provide a short-cut to the extensive experience of linguistic items in context that native speakers acquire by direct exposure' (1964:4).

Enkvist's approach was reinforced by Wright (1968), who discussed ways of looking at the language in literature as a specific register of English in comparison with the language seen in other texts. In this way, he felt, a place could be found for 'the study of literature in the second-language context' (1968:105), provided that 'anyone handling literature in the second-language context should be aware of linguistic principles and their relation to the analysis of style' (1968:106).

Crystal took up the comparative theme in a paper in 1970 which discussed how language teachers would benefit from a knowledge of the techniques of stylistic analysis as a means of acquiring useful classroom materials. The idea was that they would draw from different types of texts and, through analysis, would produce data on the stylistic norms within the different varieties of language found within the texts. Literature's role would be that of supplying samples of deviations from the various norms, thus highlighting for students the communicative norms of the target language. The literary deviations would also demonstrate for learners the flexibility inherent in the target language.

Nist (1971) offered a different angle on the comparative approach. His proposal arose from the idea that 'Poetry is

primarily the language of formation rather than the language of information' (1971:21). As a result, there is value for students in penetrating, through stylistic analysis, into the linguistic foundations of poetry rather than deciphering the meanings of poems. He then advocated an approach in which linguistic features of English poetry would be foregrounded through analysis and then compared with the same features in the learners' native language. In this way learners would become more sensitive to the functioning of those features in English.

Benson and Greaves' The Language People Really Use (1973) develops the comparative format in considerable detail. Divided into four sections, the book devotes the first three to illustrating features of everyday varieties of English, drawing from a wide range of everyday texts as well as from literary texts where everyday language is foregrounded for stylistic and thematic effect by the respective authors. The fourth section is devoted strictly to literary texts, with detailed comparisons made between the stylistic features discussed in the first three sections and those occurring in parallel communicative situations in the literary texts. This 'varieties framework' of comparison allows the authors to draw students' attention to the communicative properties of both everyday and literary language contexts.

In 1975 Widdowson's afore-mentioned Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature not only provided an incisive account of how stylistic analysis could help students learn about 'communicative value'; it also advocated a principally

comparative approach toward that purpose. As Widdowson explains:

Pupils and students are engaged in learning the English language: this involves in part a learning of the language system—the structures and vocabulary of English—but it must involve also the learning of how this system is used in the actual business of communication. This being so, the manner in which the resources of the language system are used in the fashioning of unique literary messages can be compared with other uses of the language so as to make clear by contrast how the system is used in conventional forms of communication. At the same time, of course, a comparison with other kinds of discourse will reveal what it is that is peculiar to literary uses of English. (1975:80)

Here we see the crux of the comparative approach: contrasts made between uses in different situations draw learners' attention to how the target language functions. And here, from the language teaching point of view, literature's primary value is in providing an alternative to conventional language use so as to foreground the conventional uses. Through this process learners' awareness of such uses is increased, and this added awareness can contribute to greater proficiency in the language.

Brumfit's Literature Teaching Overseas: Language-Based Approaches (1983) offers further contributions to the comparative stylistic approach in several papers within the collection. Widdowson (1983b) further develops his view that students can study the 'deviant' language of literature against the background of everyday uses of the language, thus heightening their awareness of the operation of the language in both contexts. A paper by Rodger (1983) makes the same essential point: that exposure, through stylistic analysis, to varieties of a language increases learners'

'language sensitivity'. He emphasizes the need for learners to acquire 'communication awareness' and 'language consciousness', both of which will be enhanced by this focus on the analysis of language varieties. Short's (1983) paper works along the same lines. He encourages this stylistic comparison approach by explaining that:

such analysis, as it depends upon the explication of norms via grammatical analysis etc., will...serve to teach the student about the structural characteristics of English or some variety of English from which a particular text deviates or to which it aspires. In other words, by teaching him how meanings arise in specific instances, the English teacher has a powerful, double-edged tool. By showing how meanings come about he increases enjoyment of and sensitivity to good literature; at the same time he increases the student's explicit awareness of the general norms and conventions governing English usage. (1983:73)

The comparative approach is discussed in considerable detail in Brumfit and Carter's Literature and Language Teaching (1986), a book of particular importance in the linking of literature and ELT. Brumfit and Carter initiate this comparative focus by stating that 'there is no such thing as literary language. When we say this, we mean that we find it impossible to isolate any single or special property of language which is exclusive to a literary work' (1986:6). Instead, they urge a focus on the Formalist notion of 'literariness', and explain that 'it is productive to talk about literariness in language where some uses of language are more or less "literary" than others. A natural concomitant of this would be an approach to the teaching of literature in which language study and literary study are more closely integrated and harmonized than is commonly the case at present' (1986:10). This approach occurs in two

stages in their model. The first follows the activities-based approach and prepares students for the second, comparative stylistic stage. Here students study literature through stylistic analysis 'in regular conjunction with other discourse types' (1986:13); such an approach will 'assist students in identifying and understanding the operation of language for different communicative functions' (1986:13).

A separate paper by Carter (1986) also comments on this approach. Drawing upon the same two stage model described in his paper with Brumfit earlier in the collection, Carter says of the comparative stage that through such stylistic analysis students learn more about 'language organization in related discourse types in the target language' (1986:110). A paper by Trengove (1986) likewise advocates the comparative approach focusing on the language organization through the stylistic analysis of varieties of English in both literary and non-literary texts.

Carter (1988) offers another look at the comparative approach in a paper published in a collection by Holden, Literature and Language (1988). In this approach Carter focuses on the use of narratives, explaining that 'One of the advantages of narratives is that they are pervasive, surrounding us and embedded in our many daily discourses. All users of a language have therefore a narrative competence, a resource to be tapped by the teacher in the development of literary competence' (1988:4). Within this context, he sees particular usefulness in a comparative approach in which students are asked to analyse unusual narrative texts as a

means of drawing their attention to the conventions of standard forms of narration. Carter says that 'The aim here is to provoke students by texts which make strange or defamiliarize standard narrative processes, and which thereby need explaining or accounting for, not least in terms of the relationship between deviant narrative organization and the communication of particular aesthetic effects or particular meanings to the reader' (1988:5).

Another paper in the collection, by Jennings (1988), is notable for two reasons. First, he challenges the 'analysis by contrast' approach to stylistic analysis discussed thus far, asserting that 'literature should be taught as discourse: an exemplification of the language system, not a source of information' (1988:17). Second, he proposes to replace the contrastive approach with one he calls 'analysis by analogy'. He offers this approach on the basis of the assumption that literature is not deviant as discourse; therefore, its greatest value to learners rests in its similarities with other forms of discourse, and the analysis by analogy method will thus highlight those similarities. Here the same root stylistic goal of language awareness and sensitivity on the part of learners is served through a more positive approach.

The comparative approach is also discussed in three recent papers appearing in Short's (1989) collection cited earlier. Here Trengove (1989) looks again at the 'varieties of English' approach to comparative stylistic analysis. This approach is reinforced in a paper by Hutchinson (1989), who focuses on various kinds of speech presentations in a

work of fiction. His belief is that by drawing contrasts between these different types of speech, students are sensitised to the subtleties and the full range of communicative possibilities in the target language. Meanwhile, Adamson (1989) discusses a comparative approach which, like Hutchinson's, takes place strictly within a literary text, but focuses on varieties within such a text, and as such supports the general notion of a varieties-based comparative format. Her focus is on lexical diglossia as one variation within the English language. Her belief is that

literary diglossia models the fundamental contrasts which the student must learn how to manage—such as the contrast between formal and intimate levels, ideational and expressive functions—and literary examples can be found to provide the learner with a process of gradual approximation to the complexities of actual discourse. (1989:237)

Two other recent papers dealing with the comparative approach must also be cited briefly. These are by Davies (1985) and McKay (1989). In Davies' view, merely exposing students to different varieties of usage is an insufficient means toward real language awareness; 'what is needed is explicit discussion of the styles of various texts, leading students to recognize and appreciate the significance of the variations observed' (1985:16). Students thus learn how to use English for a variety of purposes by acquiring greater awareness of the linguistic choices available to them. McKay expresses the same view through a focus on the informal varieties available in the dialogue of literary texts; here, again, the idea is to equip students with a knowledge of linguistic choices through stylistic comparisons of different

usages within the dialogues.

Summing up the comparative stylistic approach, we can see that its fundamental intention is to do what Davies and McKay, just cited, have explained: to enable learners to make effective choices in their use of the target language by helping them see, through such analysis, the kinds of choices available to them. With proper coordination between literary and non-literary texts, or between passages within literary texts, such an approach can provide meaningful, concrete examples of various features and usages of the target language in action in different communicative circumstances. Exposure to such circumstances will then sensitise learners to the modes of operation of the language, thereby supplying them with a greater store of linguistic tools to work with in their own experience of the language.

At this point, though, it is worth noting a paper by Gower (1986) which puts both the general and comparative approaches in a different light through a criticism of stylistics as a language teaching tool. Gower's basic point is that stylistic analysis provides methods which 'get in the way of reading' (1986:127); that is, they interfere with learners' experience of a literary text as readers. After explaining the more traditional approach of reading a literary text 'intact', Gower goes on to say that

The other way-the stylisticians' way-is to charge in, white coats on, and perform a linguistic analysis. At the end of it, if the stylisticians are also teachers, the students can still get away without having understood it, without having any notion of things like the tone. Ask yourself: isn't it the experience of every teacher in the EFL class who's tried to get students to read anything complex that,

the more you focus on the language as language form, the less the students understand what is going on? (1986:127)

This does not mean that he opposes discussions of the language usage within a literary text. He believes, instead, that discussion of language features can arise naturally while reviewing the meaning of the text. The stylistic approach, he asserts, 'is unlikely to leave the text and the experience of reading intact' (1986:129). On the other hand, the long-standing approach of focusing on reading for the meaning of the text 'encourages the reader to reflect on the experience of reading, and helps to illuminate it. It leaves the passage there' (1986:129).

In conclusion, he says:

In practice, in the classroom, attempts to mix activities—a bit of 'stylistic analysis', a bit of reading—make life very difficult for both teacher and student, because one works against the other. 'Analysis' can help only if it is totally subservient to reading—in which case it is no longer really analysis at all, but a gesture towards greater understanding, towards better reading... 'Stylisticians' seem to be seeing themselves less and less as subservient to anything at all. (1986:130)

Gower's concerns about stylistic approaches to literature and ELT provide a helpful perspective on such approaches by shedding valuable light on the limitations of a heavy reliance on those approaches. Indirectly they also lead to consideration of the approach by Brumfit and Carter (1986) discussed earlier, in which stylistic analysis serves as part of a larger model of literature-related language teaching. As previously discussed, their model calls for activities-based language/literature work in the first stage,

thereby ensuring that learners are properly prepared for stylistic work in the second stage. This is a key component in their model: stylistic analysis should not proceed until learners possess a required level of competence in the target language. Stylistics cannot teach language; its function is to heighten students' awareness of the language once a solid foundation has been established. Once that foundation exists, and has been solidified by the activities-based work in the first stage, stylistic analysis in the second stage can supply learners with the knowledge of more subtle aspects of English they will need in order to develop more sophisticated proficiency, or capacity as Widdowson sees things, later in the learning process. Thus the Brumfit-Carter model represents a reasonable way of bringing stylistics into the language classroom, whether through a comparative or general methodology. It should be added that they, like many writers on stylistics, want stylistics to assist students as readers of literature. Indeed, they feel that stylistic analysis builds literary as well as communicative competence. The language sensitivity fostered by stylistic analysis is seen to prepare learners to read and interpret literary texts more perceptively, rather than interfering in the process, as Gower maintains.

It would seem, then, that a crucial issue is when stylistic analysis should enter the learning process. If learners are expected to conduct such analysis too soon, the problems described by Gower are likely to occur. On the other hand, a more prudent approach like that outlined by

Brumfit and Carter, with stylistic analysis taking place during the second stage, would enable such analysis to serve as a valuable tool in the work of increasing students' language awareness and sensitivity.

Another important question concerning stylistics is that of the place of stylistic analysis in the other major area in which the literature and ELT/CLT link has been pursued: within the activities-based approach. As we have already seen, Gower questions a role for stylistics within that approach; on the other hand, Brumfit and Carter's model envisions such a place, mainly as a complement to activities-based work, rather than as a part of it, though such an integrative role is not ruled out in their approach. Used judiciously, stylistics can play a role in the activities-based approach, particularly in a modified context.

What must be noted now is that scholarship on stylistic analysis has been an integral part of efforts to bring literature into the contemporary language classroom. Such scholarship has stressed the idea of a language-based approach to literary texts, whether for literary study or for language study through literature. It has done so through a fundamentally linguistic concentration on literary texts. Whatever the merits of that linguistic focus, the core belief in studying literature through its language has opened important new doors for the use of literature in ELT. Without that crucial interest in the language found in literature, the prospects for a meaningful role for literature within ELT would in all likelihood be weak.

Communicative Approaches to Literature

A second major category under which scholarship pertaining to literature and ELT can be classified is communicative approaches to literature. Such scholarship should not be seen as being in opposition to, or a reaction against, the work falling under the heading of the linguistic approaches. Indeed, to some degree the two categories overlap. In both, for example, there is an interest in the language of literary texts, and both wish to sensitise learners to that language.

Where the two categories separate is in the domain of response. That is, the linguistic approaches attempt to draw learners' attention to the linguistic features of literature so as to increase learners' knowledge of the ways in which the target language operates. Learners can then build upon that knowledge, or enhanced language awareness, as a way of improving their communicative (or literary) competence. In contrast, communicative approaches draw learners attention to the language, or to the content, of texts so as to initiate responses on the part of the learners. These responses then become avenues for practice, and subsequent increased proficiency, in the target language. The root idea here is that learners encounter language in use, in real-life kinds of contexts, in literature, and in responding to what they have read, must likewise use the target language in order to express their responses. In this way they are generating discourse which gives voice to their own, personal responses as readers. As such, they

encounter opportunities for personal expression-and possible personal growth and development-as well as meaningful use of the target language. Thus the emphasis is fundamentally on communication through the starting point of responses to texts.

As will be seen in the pages to follow, the communicative approaches concentrate on the activities-based methodology discussed in Chapter Two. Here students are given tasks to perform and problems to solve, and it is through such activities that their responses are initiated. For the most part these responses are intended to enhance learners' language ability, but the development of literature-related abilities is also, increasingly, seen as a part of the communicative approaches. Whichever purposes obtain, the basic idea, says Abbott (1986:20), is 'to turn our students into good detectives'. In this detective role they may hunt for the meanings of a literary text or for an understanding of the linguistic/communicative functions at work in the text-functions which helped produce the text's meaning.

Most of the scholarship concerning communicative approaches to literature has appeared quite recently and, given its communicative orientation, has been of crucial importance in the linking of literature and CLT. It is also important to note that this scholarship can be viewed within two separate, though related, streams. One is the interactive stream; the other is the reader-based stream. Both focus on the response element as the key factor in the learners' contact with literature, and both have communicative aims

underlying them, but they differ to some degree in their view of the learner. Interactive approaches look more strictly at the learner as someone responding to literature, while reader-based approaches are concerned in part with the learner as a reader of literature. To provide a more systematic view of communicative approaches to literature, these two streams will be discussed independently of each other.

a) Interactive approaches

The roots of the communicative approaches to literature, as well as the interactive stream within such approaches, trace back to the early 1960s. Billows (1961), for example, discussed the use of literature within the Situational approach to ELT. Learners would not respond to the texts as they do at present, but the texts would provide examples of the kinds of real-life situations students might later encounter, and in a limited context within the structural orientation of that time period they would interact with the situations at hand in the texts.

Cowling (1962) wrote in reaction against traditional approaches to literature teaching, asserting that 'We must try, as far as possible, to turn the traffic the other way round, from the class to the teacher rather than from the teacher to the class' (1962:27), thus advocating a modified form of the learner-centred principle at the heart of communicative approaches to language teaching. This call for a reversal in the centring of the class, from teacher to students, was important in the cause of interactive, and

communicative, uses of literature, because a response-based methodology could not be developed without a view of the learners at the centre of the language teaching situation.

A very useful early contribution to the development of an interactive, response-based use of literature came in a paper by Pattison in 1968. In both the 1950s and earlier in the 1960s, Pattison had written vigorously in support of the notion that literature could not be used to teach language. His 1968 paper did not retreat from that stance, but he did remark of literature that 'A text provides something to talk about and so practices language. It can also suggest other exercises in using language, and the exploitation of its possibilities is one of the skills to be learned in preparing to teach' (1968:158). Here Pattison articulated the essence of the communicative, and interactive, use of literature: 'a text provides something to talk about and so practices language'. It is from this simple assertion that communicative approaches spring, particularly within the interactive stream, where language practice arises from learners' interaction with texts.

Barry (1977) and McConochie (1979) also supplied fairly early papers envisioning interactive, response-based uses of literature, in both cases involving 'light humorous verse' as the source of the responses. Like Billows, cited earlier, they attempted to fit literature into the framework of language drills and pattern practice, but they felt that literature holds a unique appeal to learners which will encourage them to respond more enthusiastically than in the

case of the standard materials used in pattern work. It was for this reason that both supported the use of the aforementioned light humorous verse.

In the early 1980s, as the move towards communicative approaches to language teaching gained momentum, interest in communicative uses of literature likewise increased, as reflected in papers by Bouman (1983), Maher (1982), and Zyngier (1982). Brumfit's influential Teaching Literature Overseas: Language-Based Approaches (1983), cited earlier in the discussion of stylistics, also played a role in stimulating interest in literature vis-a-vis CLT. This is reflected immediately in Gilroy-Scott's introduction to the collection, where it is stated that 'In the long term the problem is the rehabilitation and reintegration of literature as an integral part of communicative language programmes' (1983:1).

Of particular importance early in the 1980s was an interview with Widdowson in the ELT Journal. Here Widdowson looks at the role of literature in ELT by discussing differences in reading ordinary and literary discourse, with the focus on the latter type.

Widdowson begins by noting that, unlike in the reading of ordinary discourse, in literature 'there are no established schemata' (1983c:30), i.e. there are no clearly established frames of reference for the reader to work with. This, in his opinion, is one of the great advantages of literature. Literature, he says, creates a new reality for the reader to explore, thus causing the student 'to find the

evidence, as it were, which is representative of some new reality' (1983c:31). This, in turn, requires him to develop new 'procedural abilities', that is, strategies for the interpretation of this new reality. Literature, he says, 'sets up conditions for a crucial part of language learning- the ability to infer meaning by procedural activity' (1983c:33). He goes on to explain that 'Literature of its nature can provide a resource for developing in learners an important ability to use a knowledge of language for the interpretation of discourse' (1983c:34).

The value of such perspectives with respect to the development of communicative approaches to literature is reflected in the following citation:

The writer of literature is really in the problem-setting business, and the reader of literature is in the problem-solving business par excellence. And because there is no right solution, such activities can provide plenty of scope for discussion, certainly as much as problem-solving activities that don't involve literature. (1983c:32-33)

In this citation we see the essence of interactive, communicative uses of literature, in which learners respond to literary texts via problems set for them within the activities-based approach. Such problems are normally dealt with in pair or group work-hence the reference to "plenty of scope for discussion"-and in this sense learners interact both with the text and with each other. While doing so, they are using the target language, as well as talking about its use in their discussions of the text. Here, too, the idea that there is "plenty of scope for discussion" is important, because by their nature literary texts are open to

interpretation, thereby providing learners with more to discuss.

In these remarks, then, Widdowson lays out the foundation of the interactive approach to literature, a foundation which was quickly built upon in other scholarship on the subject. This was seen, for example, in McRae and Boardman's Reading Between the Lines (1984), a book focusing on 'integrating language and literature activities'. Its purpose is stated in these terms by the authors: 'This book does exactly what its title and sub-title suggest: it helps you to see below the surface (between the lines) of what you read in English, and to improve your ability in the language...by offering many wide-ranging opportunities to practise' (1984:vii). They also explain that 'You will find that the literary texts deepen and enrich your thinking and feeling and result in more effective personal expression' (1984:vii). Their approach thus entails learner interaction with the texts so as to develop personal responses. Interaction also takes place through the pair and group-work tasks contained in the activities-based approach used in the development of each of the book's ten, theme-based units (concentrating on topics such as family, women, war, and so on).

Povey's Literature for Discussion (1984) also builds upon the foundation expressed earlier by Widdowson. Like McRae and Boardman, Povey follows a theme-based scheme in which pair and group work formats are utilised as students discuss their responses to the texts studied in the course

of working through the book. Learner interaction based upon responses to texts is consistently emphasized.

Poem into Poem (1985) by Maley and Moulding continues the development of a communicatively oriented, activities-based approach to the use of literature. The response/interaction focus remains central to the learning experiences shaped by the exercises contained in the book. The activities are designed to enhance students' feel for English, and to create maximum opportunities for practice in the language. Adding to the communicative focus of the book is the emphasis on learners' ability to generate discourse through poetry writing assignments.

Added impetus to the communicative/interactive use of literature occurs in Gower and Pearson's Reading Literature (1986). Though also aimed at developing learners' literary competence, the book's reliance on pair and group work activities is designed to sharpen learners' language skills, and learners' interaction with the literary texts at hand provides the basis for such activities.

Using Literature in Language Teaching (1986), by Hill, places literature directly within the domain of CLT. Starting from the position that literature provides 'examples of language "in use" ' (1986:11), Hill goes on to say that

The communicative approach to language teaching stresses that students should not only have a thorough grasp of the language system itself, but also be able to use it appropriately according to the situation. Teachers have always had the problem of how to introduce 'real life' into the classroom, how to make the students aware of all the potential situations in which language may vary. Literature can provide those communicative situations for them,

always providing that texts in good, modern English are chosen. (1986:11)

In this spirit, Hill encourages course organisation on the basis of the analysis of learners' communicative needs. She also provides insight into the use of pair and group formats which focus on student responses to texts. She sees student ability to respond to literature as especially important, as she notes when she says that 'it is necessary for the students eventually to develop a feel for the text themselves and to be able to express what they think' (1986:31). Thus, she aims at an interactive approach, with the interaction serving as the foundation from which learners' practice in, and ability to use, English, arises.

Brumfit and Carter's already cited Literature and Language Teaching (1986) also advocates an interactive, activities-based use of literature in line with the development of CLT. As noted earlier, Brumfit and Carter propose a two stage model in which activities-based work constitutes the first stage. Here literary texts work in the same way envisioned by other writers previously cited: as sources for learner responses. This theme is taken up in more detail in another paper in the collection by Long (1986), who states that 'Teaching of literature to non-native speakers should seek to develop responses' (1986:42). He then discusses ways in which teachers can elicit student responses and points out the benefits of such a communicative learning situation:

Literature is by definition authentic text, and both verbal response and activity response are genuine language activities, not ones contrived around a fabricated text. Moreover, current methodology-for 'communicative' language teaching-favours group

activities and learner-learner interaction. Prediction, creating a scenario, debating topics on or around a text all seem to develop naturally out of a literary text, while they are either difficult or impossible with the type of text favoured by 'English for Specific Purposes'...From this it would seem to follow that a literature course which incorporates activities is of value in a language-learning course. (1986:58)

Through the kinds of language teaching activities cited above, learner response to literature becomes a teaching-learning device which 'encourages the learner to test the dimensions of words. In short, it creates a feeling for language' (1986:59). And this "feeling for language" is immediately acted upon and expressed by learners through the communicative orientation at the heart of the course.

Nash's (1986) contribution to the collection works on the same principles described by Long, but with a specific focus on the use of paraphrases of literary texts. Here the activities-based approach is used through asking learners to respond to the paraphrases in various ways, and to write their own paraphrases.

A prominent and particularly helpful text within the communicative/interactive framework is Collie and Slater's Literature in the Language Classroom (1987). Aimed at increased proficiency in all four language skills areas, this work makes a particularly strong case for the inclusion of literature in the language classroom, as well as illustrating a wide range of communicatively-based applications of literature. Here the idea of learners' engagement with literature through response-based activities is emphasized as a means both of increasing learners' communicative

competence and of encouraging them to read more literature in English. The authors explain their approach in the following citation:

Our activities try to help students to acquire the confidence to develop, express and value their own response. Through this process, we hope that they will become less dependent on received opinion and therefore more interested in and more able to assess other perspectives...Students who have had to accomplish a range of tasks and activities centred on a literary text, often as a shared activity in groups, may come to be more personally familiar with that text. The effort they have brought to it and the personal investment they have made in it will sharpen their own response, making it more likely that they will want to extend their understanding of it by personal reading at home. (1987:9)

They also remark that 'The overall aim, then, of our approach to the teaching of literature is to let the student derive the benefits of communicative and other activities for language improvement within the context of suitable works of literature' (1987:10). Thus literature is seen as amenable to CLT, with students' interaction with texts through CLT-type learning activities creating a basis from which communicative competence is extended, while interest in literature is also built.

The desire to integrate literature specifically into a communicative framework is also at work in Boardman and Holden's Teaching Literature (1987), a collection of papers focusing primarily on the interactive, activities-based approach to literature. As Boardman says in the book's introduction, the central issue being explored 'is the extent to which the inclusion of literary texts in language courses can contribute to the attainment in the aim...of communicative competence' (1987:77). And at the heart of

this endeavour, says Holden in her paper (1987), is the teacher's ability to effectively facilitate the interaction between the text and the student reader. This requires approaches which sufficiently inspire student responses to texts, and here is where communicatively oriented activities are seen to best serve that purpose. Francis' paper works with this idea by discussing how pair and group activities will supply learners with what he calls 'the three "C"s': competence, cooperation, and confidence (1987:58). Several other papers in the collection provide practical demonstrations of literature in the communicative classroom.

Another 1987 publication, Mackay's Poems, aims at integrating English poetry into the communicative classroom. Mackay focuses on ways of encouraging meaningful student reactions to and interaction with poems carefully selected not only for their suitability in terms of level of language difficulty, but also in terms of their ability to connect to students' own lives, concerns, and experiences. Mackay works on the assumption that the degree to which students will respond to, and therefore be helped by, poetry depends on how well they like and connect themselves to the poems selected for them. Communicative ability will likewise benefit from their sense of connectedness to the poems.

Holden's Literature and Language (1988) retains the idea of literature within the larger framework of communicative methodology and aims seen in Boardman and Holden (1987), with a particular focus in most of the papers comprising the collection on how tasks should be used

within such a framework. In addition, McRae's (1988) paper defines the nature of student responses to literature by drawing an initial distinction between learning by exercise (the traditional method) and learning by experience (the interactive approach). The latter approach is seen as more valuable within the communicative context. Villone's (1988) paper, meanwhile, looks at the interaction between the author and the reader of a text so as to gain insight into how learners can be helped to interact more meaningfully with literary texts.

Carter, Walker and Brumfit's Literature and the Learner: Methodological Approaches (1989) contains an important paper by Maley which articulates the view of literature in CLT which had taken shape by late in the decade. As he explains:

Literature becomes one source among others for promoting language learning. We can capitalize on the motivation arising from the intrinsic interest of literary texts, and can tailor activities to the level of our students. Our primary concern will be to ensure that students interact with the text and with each other in ways which promote language learning. We shall not be burdened by the necessity to study texts in exhaustive detail according to some established literary procedure. Instead, we shall be free to use them in many ways which suit our purposes: to experiment, dismember, transform and discard them when we are done. (1989:11)

This statement could be taken as a manifesto for the interactive, communicative use of literature where increased language proficiency arising from student responses to literary texts is the main aim in the classroom. It derives from the core belief, expressed by Maley in this paper and reflected consistently in the scholarship focusing on the

interactive, response-based approach to literature, that learners must experience 'interactive engagement' with the literary text at hand. Activities-based methodologies involving tasks and problems set in pair and group formats make possible this interactive engagement which then creates chances for language practice in conditions requiring learners to generate their own discourse.

On the whole, says Maley, 'students of EFL/ESL are, with rare exceptions, better employed when engaging with literary texts through a series of activities, than they are when studying the elaborate and internally self-defining code of literary criticism' (1989b:23). That is, the communicative approach is better suited to drawing the language learning benefits out of literary texts by enabling learners to interact meaningfully with the texts. As Maley also observes, 'the pay-offs in language learning terms come in part from the texts themselves, and partly from interaction between and among learners' (1989b:13). In various ways, then, literature is ideal for language learning provided learners are allowed to interact with literary texts in ways which allow them to have, and to express and share, their own experiences of the texts.

Maley and Duff's The Inward Ear (1989) is a comprehensive illustration of the principles just cited. Their approach is grounded in the following introductory remark:

The Inward Ear is not a book about poetry, or about the teaching of poetry. It is, simply, a book in which poetry is used as a resource-like any other material-for language practice. In this sense, the poem serves much the same purpose as, say, a scientific text, a newspaper article, a recorded

interview, or any of the other varieties of language commonly found in text-books. (1989:2)

The particular importance of this statement with regards to literature's integration into CLT is that it presents literature in the non-threatening way necessary to break down the fears and doubts of teachers who feel ill-equipped to deal with literature. Literature, in this view, will not dominate a CLT course, nor will teachers need a literary background in order to work with such texts. At the same time, to refer back to the principles of literature in CLT described in Maley (1989), the statement creates an opening for literature to be employed within the same activities-based approach used with the other kinds of teaching materials mentioned in the citation. That is, by placing literature on the same footing with those materials, Maley and Duff are signalling that literature can contribute to language practice through the same kinds of methodologies. This point is reinforced in comments which follow the above citation. In addition to encouraging the use of pair and group work formats with the literary texts selected, Maley and Duff place an emphasis on the writing of poems by students. Here, they say, 'The writing is, in fact, an anchor for the discussion' (1989:3), that is, the writing creates opportunities for the use of both spoken and written discourse. in language practice situations. They elaborate on this by explaining of the students that

When they come to make their poem, they are actually reshaping, condensing, their own prose. And also, reformulating their ideas. This is something every language learner needs to be able to do. Writing, as we understand it here, is not writing Poetry

(with a capital P), but writing down thoughts in the form of a summary, an essay, or a letter... And, finally, writing is not seen here as an isolated skill-it is linked to all the others. (1989:4)

Their use of literature, then, provides additional chances for learners to generate discourse, a key element in the communicative classroom. At the same time, learners are not being asked to perform a task foreign to them; instead, literature requires use of the same kinds of communicative skills demanded in other types of discourse. Furthermore, the written dimension of the course makes possible another means of learner interaction by asking of them that they interact with their own responses and experiences so as to create meaningful descriptions of them.

The Inward Ear is thus a full-scale illustration of the interactive, communicative approach to literature in language teaching. Through the tasks set forth in this book, learners interact with texts through reading and discussion of their reading, with classmates through the same discussion of their responses to what they have read, and to themselves in creating their own literary texts. And in each respect the focus is on the development of their language ability rather than their literary competence.

Duff and Maley's Literature (1990) is a particularly effective demonstration of the perspectives developed in their previously cited works. Here, again, the activities-based approach is employed from the point of view of language development. As Maley explains in his foreword to the book:

This book is an attempt to explore further the use of literary texts as a language teaching resource rather than as an object of literary study as such... The twin aims of the activities proposed in the book are to encourage the student to give close and repeated attention to the text, and at the same time, to interact with others about it. (1990:3)

The book itself consists of 'a set of interactive language materials based on literary texts' (1990:5) because, according to the authors, in this kind of approach 'students are obliged to pay careful attention to the text itself and to generate language in the process of completing the task' (1990:5). In this way their communicative competence is enhanced. Through the use of various tasks set within pair and group work formats, 'The student is an active agent not a passive recipient' because 'the activities provoke a genuine interaction between the text and the reader...and between the readers themselves-including the teacher' (1990:5). As such, student interaction with the texts and with each other springing from an emphasis on learner response ties the use of literature in the language classroom to the fundamental aims of CLT.

This is the essence of the integration of literature and CLT. Here literature's main appeal lies in the fact that, through its essentially narrative character in which stories are told in interesting and challenging ways, it can elicit a wide range of responses from its readers. These responses are crucial within a communicative context because, as we have seen, such responses serve as the base from which language practice takes place through carefully coordinated activities which require learners to generate discourse in

the process of completing the tasks at hand. Learners are thus continually using the target language as they read and respond to the texts and share their responses with their classmates. Furthermore, they are using the language in a creative way which leads to increased communicative competence because the interactive nature of their experiences with the literary texts requires the production of discourse. Hence, communicative purposes obtain steadily throughout this interactive use of literature. This can be seen not only in the texts cited thus far, but in other recent papers promoting the use of the interactive, communicative application of literature, such as Abbott (1986), Basturkmen (1990), Decure (1991), Gulotta et al (1989-90), Gwin (1990), Hess (1989), and Tomlinson (1986).

In summary, then, we have seen how, particularly during the past decade, there has been a growing interest in the use of literature in an interactive way which, through its basis in learners' responses to literary texts, connects literature to communicative approaches to language teaching. This interactive focus is ideally suited for the task and problem-solving activities which, as was explained in Chapter Two, are the primary means through which communicative teaching takes place. By its narrative nature, literature invites, indeed encourages, responses, and through these responses learners acquire the meaningful practice in the target language which is at the heart of CLT.

As explained earlier, this interactive approach to literature should not be viewed as a reaction against the

stylistically-based approaches discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Indeed, on a modified basis, stylistic analysis can play a role within the interactive approach, provided such analysis has as part of its intentions encouraging student responses to the language that is being analysed, rather than a sole emphasis on gaining increased knowledge of the language being studied.

Among the texts cited in this review of interactive approaches to literature, four seem to be especially useful in terms of both making a case for such an approach and illustrating that approach. These are: Collie and Slater (1987), Duff and Maley (1990), Hill (1986), and Maley and Duff (1989).

b) Reader-based approaches

In looking now at the second major category in which what can, in broad terms, be called communicative approaches to literature, it must be remembered that the primary distinction between interactive and reader-based approaches rests in the view of the learner, as briefly noted on page 237. Interactive approaches look at the learner in terms of his or her responses to literature as a means toward the achievement of language teaching goals. Reader-based approaches also serve language teaching goals, but at the same time are interested in the learner as a reader of literature. That is, the development of literary competence is a focus of instruction which accompanies the aim of enhancing learners' communicative competence.

From this description we can see that there is a certain

amount of overlap between interactive and reader-based approaches. Indeed, the texts cited in the review of interactive approaches could be said to be reader-based to some extent, in that the interaction at the heart of such approaches revolves around the learner as a reader of literature. That is, the learner's reading experience is central to all the work in the classroom which follows that experience. Furthermore, both interactive and reader-based approaches rely on the activities-oriented classroom mode. Thus, there is not a clear separation between interactive and reader-based approaches, and the texts already discussed should be considered as related to the reader-based approaches.

On the other hand, some scholarship puts a particular focus on the learner as reader, and in the following pages this scholarship will be discussed briefly. Before this occurs, however, it must once again be noted that this scholarship also falls within the general communicative area of literature in language teaching, in that communicative approaches and goals continue to dominate.

Special interest in the language student as a reader of literature can be seen in three papers in the 1970s: Hester (1972), Ragland (1978), and Spencer (1979). Each of these papers has a primary focus on the use of literature in language teaching, but an interest in reading processes is also expressed. That is, how learners read literature in the process of language improvement work is also seen as a dimension to be considered in the application of

literature in the language classroom. A slightly later paper by Power (1981) continues that interest. Power also looks at ways of stimulating the learner as reader. The approach advocated is one which uses provocative questions to take students into 'the human experience embedded in literature' (1981:10), thereby creating a deeper relationship between the reader and the text. This theme is also dealt with in McKay (1982), who discusses methods of promoting 'an aesthetic interaction between the reader and the text' (1982:529). This kind of interaction will enrich the reader's experience of literature as well as contributing to improved language proficiency.

Changing this focus slightly, Stachniak and Chrzanowska-Karpinska (1982) discuss the need to take into account the dimension of emotion in learners as readers. Through such a focus literature can serve a 'therapeutic function' in the language classroom, as well as building 'both an emotional and creative attitude towards language' (1982:42). Here we see that the learner's experience of literature is a dimension beyond a response to literature; that is, a real experience of literature has a deeper affect on the learner, and brings into play elements of reading not required in responses, which can be superficial and still serve language teaching purposes provided the responses involve language use on the part of the learner.

This theme of the 'emotional involvement' of learners as readers of literature is also discussed in Cook (1983), who says that to move students beyond the level of surface

reading of literature, activities used in the classroom should attempt to take learners more deeply into the texts. Such a process will, if the texts are selected carefully, eventually create such emotional involvement in the learner, and will thus intensify the reading of the text. This, in turn, impacts on the learner as a reader, since such involvement entails more active engagement on the part of the learner.

McConochie has written several papers in the reader-based context. All concern the use of poetry. In one (1982), she focuses on an idea discussed previously in Widdowson's work: that of using literature in a problem-solving mode which, among other objectives, activates student responses and enables them to engage in their own interpretive experience of the poem in question. In another (1985), she discusses strategies for moving students from the comprehension of facts to the interpretations of poems, in the process focusing on deeper levels of the reading of literature. A paper with Sage (1985) explores the emotive nature of poetry and how to make learners more sensitive readers of poems.

Reader sensitivity is a theme dealt with in Sharer (1985), where it is asserted that the use of literature in the classroom should tap into the 'underlying emotions and needs' (1985:12) of learners as a way of sharpening their reading of literature through the increased interest such texts would provoke. The deeper reading of the texts which ensues will also impact on their language learning experience.

Kramersch (1985) offers an incisive paper focusing on 'a discourse perspective on the teaching of literary texts' in which students are put into the role of 'a community of autonomous and responsible readers' (1985:364). In such circumstances, 'the discourse between a literary text and its readers and among readers of the same text can serve as the link between communicative language teaching and the teaching of literature' (1985:364). This link is a crucial one in the reader-based approach, because it ensures that communicative language goals are central to whatever methodologies are used with the literary texts, while at the same time taking into account the development of the learner's literary competence. That is, Kramersch's approach aims to create more proficient language learners as well as more effective readers of literature. The key is in creating learning situations in which students have to interpret, and not simply respond to, texts. In this way their reading skills are developed while their communicative competence is increased.

A text cited earlier, Gower and Pearson's Reading Literature (1986), works on language skills through the activities-based approach, but also focuses on reading skills through a simultaneous interest in literary competence. Their view is that developing learners' abilities as readers of literature will in turn build their language abilities.

A paper by Yorke (1986) expresses essentially the same view discussed in Gower and Pearson. Yorke comments on uses of narrative literature to counteract superficial situations

in which, through the usual interactive activities, students 'tend to react only to the "story" ' (1986:313), rather than experiencing deeper level engagement with the 'attitudes and emotions embedded further in the text. Helping students, as readers, to engage these attitudes and emotions will enable them to fully appreciate 'the pleasure that literature can give' (1986:313) while also assisting language development. Like Gower and Pearson, then, Yorke believes that communicative competence is enhanced by literary competence.

Di Pietro (1987), in discussing the methodology of 'strategic interaction', encourages an approach in which the teacher tries to 'turn the text into a discourse that involves the reader' (1987:-15), thus activating a more substantial response-based learning/reading environment within the classroom. In this way, 'If we do our job properly in the classroom, these texts will be re-created once again as discourse, and our students will respond in a way analagous to the community of readers, listeners, or spectators who were willing to make them part of their literary heritage' (1987:115). That is, in this approach learners will be required to do more than respond to a text; in "re-creating" the text, they are reshaping it in a way which requires the use of reading strategies so as to form interpretations which are their own. Responses are not necessarily interpretations, and so do not require a learner's interaction as a reader employing interpretive skills. On the other hand, this discourse-based approach builds reading skills, and these skills heighten learner

responses, with a corresponding impact on the development of language skills as the more sophisticated responses are communicated during the course of the activities assigned to the learners.

A very significant text in the development of a focus on the language learner in the additional role of reader is Carter and Long's The Web of Words (1987). This book works roughly within the two stage model by Brumfit and Carter discussed earlier. Subtitled 'Exploring literature through language', the book is designed as a means of helping students make the transition from general language skills courses of a communicative nature to the reading of literature in English. Emphasizing the use of group and pair work within an activities-based format, the book's main purpose, say the authors, is 'to help students use response to language as a basis for reading and appreciating authentic literary sources' (1987:1). The Brumfit-Carter type model is employed in the distinction between 'preliminary and pre-literary' orientations or stages. Through this approach language learning goals are achieved in the preliminary stage, while learners are prepared to become more informed readers of literature in the second, or pre-literary, stage. In this way a primary focus on communicative competence through the acquisition of increased language sensitivity or awareness is supplemented by the development of rudimentary elements of literary competence.

Carter and Long's very recent Teaching Literature (1991) is another essential text in the integrated

communicative competence/literary competence approach which is the focus of this reader-based sub-section of Chapter Three. As in their 1987 text just examined, Carter and Long in this work discuss at length ways of strengthening learners' communicative competence through an arsenal of language teaching techniques which can be applied to literature within an activities-based format. Having established and illustrated this communicative orientation, they then look at the more purely literary dimension and explore ways in which literary texts and communicative teaching devices can serve as a bridge between communicative and literary competence. In both this and the 1987 text, their ultimate aim is to equip learners to be effective readers of literature as a result of their belief that the reading of a literary text should be a literary as well as a language experience.

Other work to be cited in this additional focus on the learner as reader includes Harper (1988), who provides an overview of developments in this area of scholarship, and Hurst (1989-90), who looks at ways of utilising the activities-based approach for the purpose of 'involving and engaging the learners' creative and imaginative resources' (1989-90:68) so that the reading of literature is not a superficial experience for students.

One other paper to be discussed is by Ibsen (1990), who offers the following basis from which to pursue communicative and literary purposes within the same classroom:

The active role of the learners should be encouraged. Literature, when published, is the 'property' of the reader. We, as readers, should become involved as co-writers of the texts in our imagination, in speech, and on paper. The many ways of interpreting multi-levelled literature will create a meeting place in class for views and opinions to be exchanged.
(1990:3)

With this perspective as her foundation, she advocates an innovative approach in which class activities are arranged around three different texts in the earlier stages of the process. One is the original text which all participants have read. Then there is the 'teacher text', i.e. the set of interpretations of the original text generated by the teacher. There are also the 'student texts', i.e. the various interpretations provided by the students. Through class discussion and interaction, a 'class text' which is the sum of the teacher and student texts combined and refined is produced. This class text, she says, is 'a common and richer experience for all, including the teacher' (1990:4). What is important here is that, in such a scenario, 'all participants will emerge with a broader repertoire for appreciating literature and also with a more personal and autonomous "voice" in the target language' (1990:4). At the same time, continued deliberation over the class text will produce a 'new teacher text' and a 'new student text' through further synthesis of the various interpretations of the original text. Throughout this process learners develop their communicative abilities by having to share their own interpretations and helping to construct the class text. At the same time, their abilities as readers

are improved through the continual emphasis on interpretation and the creation and sharing of their own and other interpretations.

By way of a general review of these reader-based approaches, we can see how they consistently strive to assist in the language learning process, but seek to develop some degree of literary competence as well by focusing on the learner's ability to read literature as well as respond to it. In this way learners experience literary texts as literature, as well as sources for responses. This, in turn, places increased emphasis on the literature side of the literature-CLT relationship. Such an emphasis is laudable in terms of preserving something 'literary' in the use of literature, but at the same time there is a considerable risk of overextending the presence of literature in the language classroom, leading to renewed hostility toward literature among many language teachers.

Here it is worth recalling Gower's opposition, cited earlier, to the use of stylistic analysis in the language classroom. Gower worries that too much emphasis on the analysis of the language of literature creates situations in which learners might well successfully analyse the language without ever having to understand the text at hand. That concern is relevant to communicative uses of literature as well. That is, the emphasis on response in the interactive approaches is valuable in creating language practice opportunities, but it, too, leaves open the possibility that learners might never really understand what they have read.

As noted earlier, responses can be superficial, since they do not require interpretation, so that the text itself can essentially be left untouched while students are responding to it. At lower levels of the learning process, this may be an acceptable and even necessary condition. At higher levels, however, it is disquieting to think that texts are still not being experienced to some degree as literature-not for the sake of literature as an entity of its own, but because it reflects a weakness in the learners' overall language proficiency.

In this regard, then, the reader-based approaches add a sense of balance in the overall communicative use of literature. Through their emphasis on the interpretation of literature, in which a learner must act as a reader of literature as well as a user of the target language, the reader-based approaches address the concern expressed earlier about the interactive approaches involving too superficial a level of interaction with literature. Hence the kind of reservation expressed by Gower with respect to the superficiality of stylistic approaches, and applicable to interactive approaches as well, is dealt with in the reader-based approaches. And yet, as noted earlier, the reader-based approaches run the risk of placing too heavy an emphasis on the reading, or interpretation, of literature.

As in the case of the discussion of stylistics, then, it seems that a two stage model is appropriate. With stylistics this involved Brumfit and Carter's model; with

reference to reader-based approaches, Carter and Long's model looks attractive. This model, as we have seen, accounts for both communicative and literary competence, with the two interrelated rather than separate. That is, Carter and Long see that each type of competence benefits the other, and so communicative activities conducted in the classroom are designed mainly to build language skills, with an accompanying eye toward developing in learners the ability to read literature more effectively. This can be achieved by a careful selection of activities, so that some focus more on responses so as to stimulate discussion and language practice, and others focus on interpretations so as to develop the kinds of interpretive skills which constitute literary competence.

The integration and overlapping of these two different sets of activities, as envisioned in Carter and Long's work, would seem to represent the most prudent, and most effective, means of retaining a fundamentally communicative orientation in the use of literature while also preparing learners to be more skilled readers of literature. Even if they later choose never to read literature in the target language again, the interpretive abilities learners have gained through the integrated approach would be useful in other kinds of reading situations. Hence, Carter and Long's approach represents the most important work to date in the reader-based domain of communicative approaches to literature. Additional value is found in the fact that their approach makes possible a focus on literature which will

ensure that literature's existence as literature-as something to be interpreted through a reading experience of texts-is preserved, while at the same time avoiding the kind of over-emphasis on literature which would be unsettling to many CLT practitioners. In their balanced approach featuring two stages of literature-related activities, both communicative and literary competence receive the attention they require and deserve.

Criteria for Selection of Texts

One point which emerges very clearly in this chapter is that literature is now used in ways very different than in the past. The major changes in how literature is used are reflected not only in what takes place in the contemporary language classroom, but in the kinds of texts selected for use as well. As such, in gaining a clearer picture of the present situation regarding literature, it is necessary to look briefly at how texts are currently selected.

Prior to this half of the 20th century, there was little need to discuss selection criteria, since it was assumed that texts would be drawn from the English literary canon. Here both the culture and the language to be studied would be best represented in the masterpieces of English literary history. That assumption no longer holds true, and there are two primary factors underlying the dismantling of that assumption. These are: a) changing attitudes toward the role of culture in language teaching, and b) the communicative revolution in ELT.

Turning first to cultural factors and their impact on

selection criteria, it should first be pointed out that the relationship between culture and literature is one which has received considerable attention since literature's place within ELT began to weaken in the 1950s. No-one questions the fact that, as Scott (1964:490) states, literary texts 'are artefacts of our culture', and that in reading literature, learners are exposed to the culture that literature comes from. What has come under scrutiny are the questions of a) whether literature should be used to teach the culture of the target language, and b) whether the cultural dimension in literature renders literature too difficult for non-native speakers to understand fully, and if so, does this make it unsuitable for the language classroom? These questions are of considerable importance in the matter of selection criteria for texts.

In the early 1960s, Edwards and Carroll (1963) and Wallwork (1965) raised concerns about their students' ability to work through cultural impediments in the English literary canon, with the former discussing students in South America and the latter commenting on students in Africa. Povey (1967) noted that 'It has been my experience that the whole area of cultural comprehension is more likely than language problems to cause difficulty' (1967:44) in the use of literature. Marquardt (1968) also remarked on culturally related problems. Gathbonton and Tucker (1971) developed the phrase 'cultural filtering' to summarize the problem referred to in the other papers, a problem in which students from one culture read literature from the target

culture through the filter of their own cultural perspectives. This problem continued to be explored in papers by Adeyanju (1978), Baird (1976), Charlesworth (1978), Cherrier (1976), Dubois (1978), Fowler (1971), and Marshall (1979).

Quirk and Widdowson's English in the World (1985) has played a major role in recent discussion on the cultural dimensions of literature, with papers by Banjo (1985), McCabe (1985), and Thumboo (1985) looking at the role of English literature in a global context. But here there has been a significant shift in focus, from the 'cultural comprehension' problem cited earlier by Povey to the issue of 'cultural imperialism'. That is, to what degree does a reliance on British and/or American literature in places where English is not the native language have in the sense of simultaneously imposing the values of the society from which that literature has come upon the students where it is taught? Furthermore, will a dependence on such literature communicate the impression that only literature written in those places where English is the first language can be considered 'real' or 'true' English literature?

Brumfit and Carter's Literature and Language Teaching (1986) also confronts the issue of cultural imperialism in papers by Ngugi (1986) and Brumfit (1986). Ngugi's paper provides a succinct description of the problem seen in its worst light. Noting that 'Literature...contains people's images of themselves in history and of their place in the universe' (1986:224), he continues on to say:

What images are presented to a Kenyan child through the literature he reads in Kenyan national schools? Let us be frank. Being a student of literature in today's Kenya means being an English student. Our children are taught the history of English literature and language from the unknown author of Beowulf to T.S. Eliot. They are made to recite, with ethereal faces and angelic voices, poems in praise or censure of the retiring unreachable haughtily coy mistress, a remnant of the courtly love games of the idle European feudal classes...(1986:224)

What this results in, he says, is the following situation:

Thus the teaching of only European literature, and mostly British imperialist literature, in our schools means that our students are daily being confronted with the European reflection of itself, the European image, in history. Our children are made to look, analyse, and evaluate the world as made and seen by Europeans. Worse still, these children are confronted with a distorted image of themselves and of their history as reflected and interpreted in European imperialist literature. (1986:225)

The problem is not only one of the values of the English-speaking countries being forced upon learners in other countries through exposure to literature from the English-speaking countries. There is also the matter of a certain view of the English language being imposed upon non-native students. That is, a steady diet of texts from, say, Britain, may subtly communicate the notion that only the English from Britain is legitimate English. In places like Africa and India, where English is a deeply rooted language and where strong local varieties have developed, the question of which English is valid English takes on great importance.

The consequence of debates on these issues with respect to selection criteria has been an increasingly strong call for the use of 'localized literatures' written

in English by non-native speakers of the language. A paper of considerable initial influence in this regard is by Kachru (1980), who makes a strong case for the use of such literature. He also points out some of the difficulties involved in the use of localized literature, including the observation that

An attitude still seems to persist that the non-native English literature is 'substandard'. I have heard teachers of English say, in their unmistakable Indian, Singapore, or Kenyan English, that if we must keep English then we should teach real English literature. In their view, real refers only to British English literature. (1980:8)

Despite difficulties in the endeavour, many writers are now urging that localized literatures play at least some role in classrooms where literature in English is used (for example, Brock, 1990; Brooks, 1989; Harrison, 1990; Hyland, 1986; James, 1986; Marckwardt, 1978; and Pugh, 1989, as well as writers cited earlier in Quirk and Widdowson, 1985, and Brumfit and Carter, 1986). A particularly helpful book in this respect is James' English Literature from the Third World (1986), a detailed description of texts and writers in the Caribbean, Africa, the Indian sub-continent, Malaysia and Singapore, the Philippines, and Oceania.

What this represents is a movement towards what Hyland (1986) calls 'discharging the canon', that is, replacing the traditional English literary canon with appropriate texts by writers of the localized literatures, or at least supplementing the canon with these other literatures. Indeed, concerning supplementing the canon, the consensus at present calls for a mixture of canonical and localized texts,

with little sentiment for complete abandonment of the canon.

With respect to cultural factors, then, the emerging emphasis within the context of selection criteria is to look to some degree in the direction of localized literatures. As for the impact of the communicative revolution in ELT, there is likewise a movement in favour of 'discharging the canon', or, again, using other texts in conjunction with it.

Much of the scholarship which deals with literature in ELT and CLT comments on selection criteria, and the remarks which follow represent a synthesis of the points expressed in that scholarship. It should also be pointed out that the selection criteria to be presented refer to language teaching situations where literature serves language teaching goals, rather than being the end, or object, of study, as in the case of students studying for a qualification in English literature.

Given the nature of CLT and its emphasis on communicative competence, wherein learners are assisted in developing the ability to use language creatively and flexibly so as to communicate effectively in real-life circumstances, linguistic concerns are central to decisions on selection criteria. Here, says Schulz (1981:44), it is essential to 'avoid "frustrational" reading in a foreign language'. That is, the language of the texts must be accessible to the learners. This generally means ignoring texts containing archaic language, or language too complex to be fairly readily understood by the students. Given such restraints,

the general situation which has emerged is one described as follows by Marckwardt:

Certainly, at the initial stages of reading literature and for some time thereafter, the literature that is read should be contemporary, written in the modern idiom. There is little or nothing to be gained from subjecting the student to archaic forms of the language, obsolescent meanings of words, and subject matter that requires historical interpretation. Given the heavy current output of literature, the busy literary activity in all English-speaking countries, and the situation of having so much to choose from and so little that can be taught, it would seem to be self-defeating to include anything but contemporary literature—contemporary being understood as that literature which poses no linguistic difficulties for the pupil because of the time lag. (1978:65)

Marckwardt's overview of the selection situation illustrates the general parameters usually worked within as regards communicative uses of literature. Sage (1987), reporting on a survey of published materials concerning selection criteria, lists several criteria, and these reflect the kinds of boundaries identified by Marckwardt. Summarising Sage (1987:76), the following selection criteria are seen as essential:

Contemporaneity: texts should be of recent vintage.

Inclusiveness: texts should be drawn from the whole pool of literature written in English, i.e. both native English speaking and localized literatures.

Brevity: texts should be short (poems or short stories).

Accessibility of Style: texts should be within the learners' range both in terms of language and content, organization, etc.

Completeness: texts should be presented in their entirety, rather than in fragments or selections from larger works.

Cultural Significance: texts should, as much as possible, express themes or ideas of universal significance.

Tomlinson (1986:35-36) offers another useful list of selection criteria which reflect general attitudes on the subject. Some of them, i.e. 'universal appeal' and 'brevity', have already been defined in Sage's overview. Others include:

Surface simplicity: texts should be linguistically accessible.

Potential depth: texts contain deeper levels of meaning which can be explored, depending on the nature of the class and the proficiency of the students.

Affective potential: texts should be able to evoke an emotional reaction among learners so as to stimulate response-based work in the activities format.

Contemporary language: texts should contain the same kinds of language the learners are expected to learn and use.

Potential for illustration: texts lend themselves to other media which can be used to supplement the written text.

A few other points to be considered include Collie and Slater's belief that a 'personal involvement' factor is essential, especially in communicative teaching. Texts, they say, should be capable of 'arousing the learners' interest and provoking strong, positive reactions from them' (1987:6). They add that texts should be 'relevant to the life experiences, emotions, or dreams of the learner' (1987:6). They go on to assert that

If the language of the literary work is quite straightforward and simple, this may be helpful but it is not in itself the most crucial yardstick. Interest, appeal and relevance are all more important. In order for us to justify the additional time and effort which will undoubtedly be needed for learners to come to grips with a work in a language not their own, there must be some special incentive involved. Enjoyment; suspense; a fresh insight into issues which are felt to be close to the heart of people's concerns; the delight of encountering one's own thoughts or situations encapsulated vividly in a work of art; the other, equal delight of finding those same thoughts or situations illuminated by a totally new, unexpected light or perspective: all these are incentives which can lead learners to overcome enthusiastically the linguistic obstacles that might be considered too great in less involving material. (1987:6-7)

In other words, says Hill (1986:15), texts chosen 'should be a "good read" '. By way of summary, this means, as we have seen, that texts should attract readers' interest through the content and/or theme(s) so as to build the kind of learner/reader involvement which will stimulate the appropriate amount of response for activities-based work which creates maximum opportunities for language practice. Normally, this will mean the use of modern or contemporary texts, generally short and accessible linguistically and in terms of content. Rather than canonical texts, these may be what Elizabeth Gaskell called 'mild literature', that is, light or popular literary texts, and they may well be drawn from both localized literatures and the literature written in the native-speaking English countries.

Advantages of Literature

The underlying assumption throughout this chapter, and this study as a whole, is that literature belongs in the language classroom, and that there are particular reasons

why this is so. To some degree those reasons should have emerged in the natural course of the discussions on the use of literature which have taken place thus far. At this point, however, in leading to a conclusion of the chapter, it would be worthwhile to briefly review some of the advantages to the use of literature in ELT and, especially, CLT. In essence, this is a response to a key question posed by Carter and Walker (1989:6), who ask: 'Is there anything which literary texts can offer in the second or foreign language classroom which other texts cannot offer?'

The advantages of literature in language teaching, and particularly in CLT, with its response and activities-based foundation, are rooted in the narrative character of literary texts, whichever genre of literature they come from. Here it is worth noting an observation by Abbs and Richardson (1990:9):

We are all narrative makers. We spend much of our lives telling our own stories and listening to the stories of others. Events happen to us, we put words around them and depending on what we can remember, how we feel and who is listening-narrate them in different ways. These stories are our own personal stories, our own narratives. They come out of the incidents, accidents and encounters of our own lives. Often, at night, before falling asleep, we go through the story of our day's experiences and when we see our friends we exchange these stories, constantly adding to them as we grow older.

In other words, explains Chambers, 'Story is the fundamental grammar of all thought and communication' (1984:59). As a result, literature, given its narrative nature, has as its starting point links to a kind of experience not only common to, but special within, the lives of students, whatever their cultural background. This is not the case

with many other kinds of language learning materials, hence literature begins on a strong note in terms of establishing a unique appeal within the ELT framework.

Even if, as is sometimes true, other learning materials are also narrative in nature—for example, certain kinds of newspaper or magazine stories—literature retains a special kind of appeal because, as Arthur (1968:206-207) observes, 'stories received as literary experience are repeatable', plus 'the language of literature is memorable'. Here, again, the same points could be raised with respect to non-literary materials, but the incidence of such advantages in literature is likely to be much higher. This has to do with a subject discussed earlier in this chapter: literariness, i.e. those qualities which make a text literary, which give it a special something not generally found in other kinds of texts. Carter and Walker (1989:6) demonstrate this when they explain that

literary texts provide authentic, unsimplified material (though this is not to say that simplified texts may not have a place in certain contexts). Such materials construct experiences or 'content' in a non-trivial way which gives voice to complexities and subtleties not always present in other types of text. A further feature of the literariness of texts is that ambiguities and indeterminacies in experience are preserved thus providing many natural opportunities for discussion and for resolution of differing interpretations. Literary texts generate many questions about what means what and how things come to mean what they mean.

A key point which emerges from these comments by Carter and Walker is that, generally, learners cannot respond to literary texts in quite the same ways they do to non-literary texts. The "ambiguities and indeterminacies" cited

by Carter and Walker necessitate different sorts of responses, responses which match perfectly with the aims and methodologies central to CLT by requiring learners to interact with the texts in such a way that they must use, in creative ways, the target language they are seeking to master. Thus, literature, especially when linked with CLT, places learners in a unique role which maximizes chances for communicative use of the target language.

Many literature-related texts comment on the advantages of literature, and to supplement the comments made thus far, a few of these texts will be cited. Hill (1986:7), for example, lists the following advantages:

- *the possibility of internalising the language and reinforcing points previously learned
- *a genuine language context and a focal point for the students in their own efforts to communicate.
- *motivation

She adds that 'Literature study can also provide a range of texts and an introduction to the many different varieties of English' (1986:7).

Collie and Slater (1987:3-6) identify four major advantages. They say that literature provides: valuable authentic material; cultural enrichment; language enrichment; and personal involvement.

McKay (1982:531) offers this statement of literature's advantages:

In summary, literature offers several benefits to ESL classes. It can be useful in developing linguistic knowledge both on a usage and use level. Secondly, to the extent that students enjoy reading literature, it may increase their motivation to interact with a text and thus, ultimately increase

their reading proficiency. Finally, an examination of a foreign culture through literature may increase their understanding of that culture and perhaps spur their own creation of imaginative works.

Taking into account the points made thus far, and bearing in mind the aims and requirements of learning within CLT, literature has particular advantages regarding classroom atmosphere and what takes place within the classroom which facilitate its use in CLT. This can be seen in the following remark by Ibsen (1990:2):

Literary texts...represent a valuable source of civilizations knowledge, and the very nature of literature with its ambiguity can easily provide a stimulus for expressing different opinions. Open-ended, multilevel literary texts will trigger the readers' responses and function as 'disagreement exercises'. In literature there is no 'correct' solution to how you experience a text, and a class discussion will be genuine communication.

Indeed, says Basturkmen (1990:18),

Literature can be fun, a change of activity, and a different way of involving and motivating the students. It provides a chance for the learner to deal with the authentic in quite a natural way. If the piece is well-chosen and if the exploitation of it is well-planned, if it involves themes, characters, or events that the students can relate to, the use of literature in the classroom can break down the psychological barriers that stand between the learners themselves and also between the learners and the teacher.

A final point to be made concerns the fact that literature contains, and displays so as to create various desired effects, both content and language in a combination not easily found in non-literary teaching materials. As a result, a major advantage of literature is that, through its rich combination of content and language presented in unique and interesting ways, literature brings into the communicative classroom a greater range of appropriate learning

possibilities than other materials can offer. This is made clear in a statement by Brumfit and Carter which places literature's dual content/language benefits in a very useful light:

First, a literary text is authentic text, real language in context, to which we can respond directly. It offers a context in which exploration and discussion of content...leads on naturally to examination of language. What is said is bound up very closely with how it is said, and students come to understand and appreciate this. Literary texts provide examples of language resources being used to the full, and the reader is placed in an active interactional role in working with and making sense of this language. Thus, literature lessons make for genuine opportunities in group work and/or open-ended exploration by the individual student.
(1986:15)

In this observation we see the grounds on which literature is uniquely equipped to serve the various kinds of approaches to literature-related language teaching discussed in this chapter, from the close reading to the stylistic to the interactive to the reader-based methodologies. This is a direct result of its literariness, and of the special combination of content and language just discussed. And, referring back now to Carter and Walker's question as to whether literature offers something other teaching materials cannot offer, we can see from the comments above that no other source of classroom materials could serve equally well the teaching approaches reviewed in this chapter. Some may serve one or two, but only literature, through the unique set of advantages it possesses, could be so well placed to work effectively in each of the four streams of approaches.

Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, its purpose has been to provide a literary framework for this study. In Section 3A this was achieved by reviewing disciplines of literary theory deemed relevant to the use of literature in CLT. In particular, the intention was to show ways in which those disciplines could, in a modified context, contribute to the development of the integration of literature and CLT. The main point here is that literary theory provides grounds upon which literature can be viewed which present it in a light which addresses both the concerns and needs of communicative language teachers. In Section 3B this was achieved by reviewing the two major categories of approaches to literature and language teaching which have emerged in the second half of this century, with a specific focus on four particular streams or sets of approaches within those two major categories. In identifying and discussing each of these streams, the researcher has intended to demonstrate and analyse the particular ways in which literature is mainly being used in ELT and CLT at present.

Here it should be noted that, in focusing on the four streams of approaches discussed in the chapter, scholarship on literature which does not quite fit within those streams has not been cited. At this point, then, a few words about other interesting work related to literature should be added. For instance, there is research on using literature to construct theme-based approaches to teaching.

as reflected in papers by Burnside (1986), Greco (1986-87), Julius and Marketos (1983), and Steiner (1972). Meanwhile, Kumar (1978) and Vincent (1986) have written on uses of simplified literary texts. The use of literature in combined literature-composition classes has also received some attention, e.g. Adelson (1988), Costello (1990), and Spack (1985). Mention should also be made of efforts to investigate ways of linking, on a deeper level than was discussed previously in the chapter, literature and the student writing of poetry, as seen in Hussein (1986) and Preston (1982).

A point which has been made throughout this study up to this point is that literature has in essence been reborn with respect to language teaching after a period running from the 1950s through the 1970s in which it essentially was banished from ELT. It has already been shown how this was the result of changes in ideas about language and language learning which, as they impacted on language teaching methodology, cast literature in an irrelevant and even counterproductive light. What we have seen in this chapter is how various efforts have been made to reverse that situation, and what the nature of those efforts has been.

What must also be noted, however, is that the struggle has not simply been between those who oppose and those who favour literature in ELT and CLT. There is also emerging, between literature specialists, a debate which is likely to intensify as literature's rehabilitation within ELT

continues to gain strength. This debate revolves around the key question of the extent to which an experience with literature should be, or must be, a literary experience.

The roots of this struggle can be seen in the earliest days of literature's fall from grace within ELT. It was at that point, in the 1950s and 1960s, when some scholars were steadfastly attempting to draw a line between literature and language teaching. This was especially seen in the work of Pattison (1954, 1963, 1964, 1968), who insisted that literature was not 'a means of learning a language' (1954:75). Pattison also asserted that, with respect to literature, 'The attention should be on the artistic and imaginative qualities of the literature, of which the language is only a medium, and we should be so occupied with those qualities as to be unconscious of the medium' (1954:75). He also claimed that 'To hack a work into linguistic details is to destroy it' (1954:75).

Scott, too, supports a traditional view of literature, commenting that 'The teaching of literature must strive to present literary selections in such a way that the students will be led to realize, as fully as possible, the literary experience which the author holds out to them for their contemplation' (1959:60).

As such, a statement like the following from Smith was not only a challenge to ELT practitioners who opposed literature, but to many literary purists as well. Smith maintained that 'This separation of language from literature, or of practical English from English literature,

involves no rigid dichotomy...there is no reason why literature cannot have a role to play in practical English' (1972:275). Such a statement, which reflects a feeling more commonly held today, represents a kind of heresy to scholars wishing to preserve the sanctity of the literary experience.

As we have already seen, scholarship dealing with literature and communicative approaches to ELT places little or no emphasis on learners having a literary experience while using literature in the CLT classroom. Indeed, as has already been remarked, the interactively based scholarship, with its focus on learner response to literature rather than interpretation, essentially prevents any real, deeper contact with literature-the kind which could constitute, or at least lead to, a literary experience. On the other hand, the reader-based approaches, with their interest in literary competence, account to some degree for a literary experience. Meanwhile, the linguistic approaches, as Gower maintains, allow for analysis without any stress on understanding or interpretation.

A recent publication, Carter, Walker and Brumfit's Literature and the Learner: Methodological Approaches (1989), is thus significant not only for its contributions cited earlier, but for the way it has raised the issue of the importance of the literary experience. As Carter and Walker note in their introduction to the volume: 'Contributors generally agree that teaching literary texts should result in literary experiences and the work undertaken on the

language of the texts should not be an end in itself but should service literary goals' (1989:6)

This point of view receives particular support in Louw's (1989) paper in the collection. Louw asserts that 'In proposing the integration of language and literary study it has been far too readily assumed that language and literature are to be equal partners in the new union. Nothing could be further from the truth' (1989:47). Further, 'Above all else, the literature lesson must succeed for the teacher and all members of the class as a literary experience' (1989:47). Meanwhile, 'The language teaching goals must be kept covert. The lesson, from the pupils' point of view, must always be a literature lesson. Any language taught will be taught, as it were, by stealth' (1989:48).

These remarks have the ring of Pattison's views in the 1950s and 60s, and from that point of view seem damaging to hopes for further integration of literature and CLT. The belief expressed in Carter and Walker's introduction concerning the necessity of the literary experience likewise could work against literature in CLT in the sense of intimidating teachers who lack a literature background and/or are lukewarm, at best, toward literature.

On the other hand, there is something wanting in learner contact with literature which creates no room for a literary experience, particularly since it is maintained that literature possesses various advantages over the other sources of language learning materials. Those advantages, as has

already been discussed, arise from literature's literariness. That being the case, something of that literariness would seem to be required as part of the learners' contact with literature in order to make any special claims for the use of literature in CLT.

There is, then, great value and importance in the raising of the issue of the literary experience involved in the use of literature. In addition, given the increasing amount, and the quality, of scholarship concerning literature and CLT, a basic relationship between literature and CLT seems to have been established. That being the case, consideration of the degree to which contact with literature must entail a literary experience would be a timely next stage in continuing research into the literature-CLT link. This will involve, in part, defining precisely what constitutes a 'literary' experience, particularly in the ELT context, where learners are encountering literature in a language they are endeavouring to learn.

This chapter has described the progress made thus far in forging a connection between literature and CLT, and in so doing it has outlined the grounds on which the 'literary experience' debate is being developed. It may well be the case that the most fruitful scholarship concerning literature and language teaching in coming years will centre on the 'literary experience' issue, particularly since the 'interactive' and 'reader-based', as well as the linguistically-based, approaches to literature seem to move in very different directions concerning the literary experience which is possible within them.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LITERATURE AND ELT/CLT

Introduction

Chapter Four shifts the focus of the study from the review and discussion of scholarship concerning ELT, CLT, and literature to the exploration of the place of these disciplines in specific teaching-related contexts. We thus gain some empirical insights in ELT/CLT and literature, particularly the latter. These insights will be especially valuable as background to the chapters which follow this one. The intention, then, is to narrow the scope of the study from the wider perspectives described in the previous chapters.

In Chapter Three we saw how, on paper, literature has been integrated into CLT through the activities-based approach. The qualifying phrase 'on paper' is used here because scholarship on a subject does not necessarily equate with what actually takes place in the field. That is, in language teaching terms, there is not automatically a correlation between what scholarship urges concerning literature and ELT/CLT and what language teachers are actually doing in their classes. It is therefore necessary to try to gain a sense of the degree to which literature has actually penetrated into ELT and CLT at the grassroots level, as opposed to scholarly publications. It is in this context that the study narrows the focus of its investigation of literature and CLT.

Chapter Four is divided into three sections. Section 4A looks at how literature and two components of ELT-ESP and CLT-relevant to the concerns of this study are approached in programmes where individuals are trained to teach English in the non-native context. Section 4B provides a brief overview of how literature and ELT/CLT are represented within a particular language teaching situation, that in Hong Kong. Section 4C continues from Section 4B in the form of an analysis of results gathered from a survey of students in Hong Kong who were asked to comment on ELT and literature.

Section 4A: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TEFL/TESL PROGRAMMES

Overview

This section of Chapter Four places literature and CLT/ESP within a more specific context by examining course offerings at institutions providing qualifications in teaching English as a second language. Institutions in the United States and Great Britain are the subjects of the analysis. The objective is to determine the degree to which prospective ELT practitioners are being prepared to work with literature, CLT, and ESP by the institutions offering such teacher training programmes and courses. This objective is especially relevant in light of the recent development of CLT and ESP, as well as the re-emergence of literature in language teaching described in Chapter Three. That is, it is important to be aware of the extent to which training in these areas is available, since such training will play a key role in their further development. The belief

underlying this content analysis is that the integration of literature and CLT, as well as ESP, depends in large measure on the degree to which such integration is supported in teacher training programmes.

Before examining the results of the content analysis, it must be noted that a completely comprehensive exploration of the training programmes would involve the impossible task of seeing what each individual teacher at the institutions reviewed actually does in his/her courses. What has been done, instead, is the following: the course offerings supplied by each institution have been carefully reviewed so as to gain an overall sense of the extent to which literature, CLT, and ESP are dealt with in the programmes concerned. Since extensive course offerings are available for all the institutions in both America and Britain, the content analysis provides a reasonably comprehensive picture of the subjects at hand. Samples of the ways in which the course offerings are presented by the various institutions are contained in Appendix A.

Content Analysis of American Programmes

American teacher training programmes use the acronym TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages), and are described in the Directory of Professional Preparation Programs in TESOL in the United States. This directory is prepared every three years by the prestigious TESOL organization. The source for the content analysis is the 1989 edition, which includes listings covering the 1989 through 1991 academic years.

The course and programme listings were first examined to determine the extent to which literature figures within training programmes. The tables which follow over the next several pages represent the results of the content analysis within various categories related to literature.

Table 4:1

General Results Related to Literature

Number of institutions surveyed	158
Number of TESOL programmes available	245
Number of institutions/programmes offering qualifications viz-a-viz literature and TESOL	0
Number of institutions offering literature courses/components within programmes	39
Number of programmes offering literature courses	44
% of institutions offering literature courses	24.6%
% of programmes offering literature courses	18.0%

Table 4:1 provides an instructive look at the general picture regarding literature. First there is the fact that no American institutions provide an opportunity to receive a qualification at any level in the use of literature in TESOL. Second, there are the percentages of institutions and programmes offering students courses dealing with literature. Here we see that only about 1/4 of American institutions provide an opportunity to study literature at all within a TESOL framework, and that just less than 1/5 of the programmes within these institutions (i.e. many institutions offer more than one programme supplying a TESOL qualification of some kind) have such courses. These figures

would seem to suggest that at present literature does not play a significant role in the preparation of what might be termed Tesologists (i.e. those preparing to teach and/or do research in the area of TESOL).

Table 4:2 looks at how literature is offered within the various TESOL institutions and programmes.

Table 4:2

Breakdown of How Literature Courses are Offered

Institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course within a qualification	15
Programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course within a qualification	18
Institutions offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	24
Programmes offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	26
% of institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course	9.3%
% of programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course	7.3%
% of institutions offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	15.2%
% of programmes offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	10.6%

In Table 4:2 we see, once again, that literature plays a very small role, at best, in TESOL training institutions and programmes. The fact that fewer than 10% of such institutions require a literature course in the preparation of teachers is especially significant, as is the related fact that just 7.3% of the TESOL programmes carry such a requirement. A mitigating factor in this situation may be an expectation on the part of many institutions that participants in the programmes, especially at post-graduate level, have come from, say, English department backgrounds, in

which case literature would likely have been studied to at least some degree. However, such a background would have meant the study of literature within a literature for literature's sake context, that is, without a view to the teaching of literature, especially in a second language situation. Thus, a standard literature background in previous programmes of study, while providing exposure to literature, would not establish a link between literature and TESOL. Against that background, the low institutional and programme percentages would seem to suggest that literature is not being connected with TESOL. The same interpretation would seem to apply with respect to the figures for elective course offerings in literature, where once again the percentages are rather low. It would therefore seem that few TESOL trainees are being encouraged, or given the opportunity, to work with literature within their preparatory work, leaving them ill-equipped to handle it later.

Turning now to Table 4:3, we find another set of figures which sheds light on the role of literature within TESOL programmes.

Table 4:3

Breakdown of the Nature of Literature Course Offerings

Programmes offering "Literature as Subject" courses	27
Programmes offering "Teaching of Literature" courses	6
Programmes where course offerings are not defined as such.	8

Table 4:3 attempts to put the place of literature in TESOL programmes into a clearer focus by examining how literature is approached within such programmes. Here

'Literature as Subject' means literature is studied from a 'literature as literature' approach, as expressed regarding Table 4:2, that is, the aim is the acquisition of knowledge about literature so as to better understand it. Literature is thus an end in itself. On the other hand, 'Teaching of Literature' refers to courses where the aims are more practical: learning methods for teaching literature, and perhaps seeing literature as a tool or means rather than as an end of learning.

What the table suggests is that the general view of literature in American TESOL programmes is the traditional one in ELT described in Chapter Three. Here literature is seen as the reason for studying a foreign language in the sense that understanding and appreciating the literature of a society is considered the finest achievement in the learning of the language. The assumption within these programmes may well be that graduates will teach literature courses as part of a conventional English department type curriculum where the students are not native speakers of the language. Conversely, the fact that so few programmes are providing instruction in the teaching of literature suggests that there is little sense of the new view of literature discussed in Chapter Three, where literature serves the purpose of language learning. Even if the eight programmes where course nature is undefined are looking at literature within this more utilitarian light, the total number of American programmes preparing teachers to use literature as a tool in language teaching would remain small.

This does not necessarily mean that such a view of literature is frowned upon. However, it seems clear that few opportunities exist in American TESOL programmes to be trained in the use of literature within its newly defined communicative, activities-based framework.

It should also be pointed out, however, that specific literature courses offered within TESOL programmes do display some variety of interests. Here a review of the course offerings is instructive. About 50 courses are listed by title, and among these about 30 would fall under the category of conventional, 'Literature as Subject' courses. These would include titles such as Shakespeare, Major British/American Authors, Literature Survey, Modern British/American Drama, 20th Century Poetry, Fundamentals of Literature, and the like. Courses which deviate from these standard offerings are Ethnic Literature, Chicano Literature, Asian Literature, Children's Literature, Literature for Adolescents, and Language, Literature and Society among others. Courses where the focus is on the teaching of literature include English Through Drama, Teaching Culture Through Literature, Literature in ESL, Language and Literature, Models for Teaching Literature, Methods in the Teaching of Contemporary English Literature, and so forth. An interest in linguistics and literature is also evident, as reflected in titles such as Linguistics and Literary Analysis, Theories and Practices of Stylistic Analysis, and so on.

On the whole, interest in literature within American TESOL programmes does not appear to be widespread, nor does

that which is reflected in course offerings focus significantly on literature within a TESOL context. What is not clear from other course titles, such as Teaching ESL, ESL Methodology, and so on is the degree to which literature may be dealt with as part of larger course aims. Thus, it cannot be said absolutely that literature plays a minor role, at best, in TESOL preparation programmes. However, the results of the content analysis certainly strongly suggest that literature figures only intermittently in such programmes. From this it seems likely that relatively few American trained TESOL teachers are prepared to use, or perhaps even disposed to ever consider using, literature in their own TESOL work upon graduation from their programmes of study. Within the American context, then, this casts doubt on the extent to which literature can be integrated into CLT.

Turning now to ESP, we will see the same overall situation as obtains for literature, starting with Table 4:4.

Table 4:4

<u>Overview of ESP Course Offerings</u>	
Number of institutions surveyed	158
Number of TESOL programmes offered	245
Number of institutions/programmes offering ESP qualification	0
Number of institutions offering ESP courses/components	9
Number of programmes offering ESP courses/components	11
% of institutions offering ESP courses	5.7%
% of programmes offering ESP courses	4.5%

Table 4:4 shows that, as with literature, ESP does not have a strong identity of its own within TESOL programmes. We can see that there are no ESP-based qualifications at any level available in the TESOL institutions, and that only a tiny portion of institutions and programmes offer courses specifically in ESP. However, ESP may still play a role within TESOL programmes as part of courses which introduce TESOL and its different approaches. Such courses are a part of virtually all TESOL programmes, and given the prominence ESP has achieved, it seems likely that attention is paid to it within those programmes. Still, as the figures show, few institutions perceive a need to focus specifically on ESP.

We can also look into how ESP courses, where offered, fit into the programmes which offer them. This can be seen in Table 4:5.

Table 4:5

Breakdown of How ESP Courses are Offered

Institutions/programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	1
Institutions offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	8
Programmes offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	10
% of institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	.063%
% of programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	.049%
% of institutions offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	5.1%
% of programmes offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	4.9%

These figures show just as graphically as those in Table 4:4 the extent to which ESP courses are not integrated into TESOL programmes and institutions. Though, again, it may well be the case that ESP is dealt with in other courses within TESOL programmes, the fact remains that only one institution/programme requires an ESP course, and this must be seen as a striking figure. The paucity of elective ESP courses is likewise noteworthy. As with the case of literature-related courses, the absence of ESP-based courses in TESOL programmes leads to speculation as to how thoroughly prepared graduates of these programmes are to work in depth with ESP-or with literature. It might also be said that the lack of courses specifically focusing on ESP could lead to some doubts in participants' minds as to the larger scale validity of ESP. Here, again, the same point might be made regarding literature. With only an occasionally established identity of their own, ESP and literature may well lack, within the American context, the opportunity to be viewed by those studying in TESOL programmes as significant elements within TESOL.

The comments made above would seem to apply as well to CLT. A content analysis of the course offerings at the same institutions and programmes reviewed concerning literature and ESP reveals that only one institution provides, on an elective basis, courses (two) dealing specifically with CLT. (i.e. one other institution offers a course called Developing Communicative Competence which might also be said to be a course in CLT). Once again it is important to remember that

CLT might well be discussed in various other courses dealing with ELT methodology, principles, and the like, as with the case of ESP. Indeed, it seems virtually certain that this does occur. Here again, though, the complete lack of a separate identity for CLT within TESOL institutions and programmes is significant, particularly in light of the extent to which CLT has played a role in ELT since the late 1970s.

In conclusion, the exact degree to which literature, ESP, and CLT are made part of the training of American Tesologists cannot be determined by the type of content analysis conducted, but there seems little doubt that with respect to each of these areas, relatively few American TESOL practitioners enter the field with a sense of these areas of ELT as strongly developed, let alone integrated, components in the language teaching process. This, as suggested earlier, bodes ill for the integration of literature and CLT.

Content Analysis of British Programmes

British teacher training programmes use the acronyms TEFL (Teaching of English as a Foreign Language) and TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language), and are described in Academic Courses in the U.K. TEFL/TESL, published by the foremost organisation in the world for the teaching of English as a non-native language: the British Council. The source for the content analysis is the 1991 edition, which covers the 1992-93 academic years.

Before exploring the results of the content analysis,

it must once again be noted that, as in the case of the American programmes and institutions, a truly comprehensive review of the British programmes would require detailed knowledge of every course offering. What is being relied upon is a listing of course titles, some of which are too vague to make truly authoritative decisions about (e.g. a common title like Introduction to ELT is too general to be fully analysed in terms of whether it is a course dealing with ESP and/or CLT). The content analysis is therefore intended to give an indication of trends in the training of ELT practitioners. However, most of the course titles are explicit enough to give, on the whole, a representative picture of the teacher training situation in Britain.

Table 4:6 provides an overview of the first situation to be reviewed, that pertaining to literature.

Table 4:6

General Results Related to Literature

Number of institutions surveyed	44
Number of programmes reviewed	154
Number of institutions offering literature-based qualifications	6
Number of programmes offering literature-based qualifications	12
Number of institutions offering literature courses/components	23
Number of programmes offering literature courses/components	48
% of institutions offering literature courses	52.3%
% of programmes offering literature courses	31.2%

Table 4:6 provides a number of interesting insights, especially when compared with the results in Table 4:1 (general results vis-a-vis literature in American programmes). First, we see a great disparity between the number of British institutions (6) and programmes of study within those institutions (12) offering literature-based qualifications and the number in America (0). Here we have the first indication of the more prominent place literature has in Britain compared to America. The percentage of institutions offering literature classes is also far higher in Britain (52.3% compared to 24.6% in American), with the fact that just over half the institutions in Britain make some provision for literature likewise significant. Another point worth noting is the higher percentage of programmes offering literature courses in Britain: 31.2% compared to 18% in America. Here, again, we see that literature is factored into TEFL programmes far more than in America. On the whole, it can be said that, while literature courses seldom dominate British programmes, they are frequently considered to play a role in TEFL training.

Table 4:7 provides another useful look at literature within British institutions and programmes.

Table 4:7

<u>Breakdown of How Literature Courses are Offered</u>	
Institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course within a qualification	9
Programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course within a qualification	18
Institutions offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	17
Programmes offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	30
% of institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course	20.5%
% of programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one literature course	11.7%
% of institutions offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	38.6%
% of programmes offering <u>elective</u> literature courses	19.5%

Table 4:7 shows, as does Table 4:2 in the review of American programmes, that British institutions and programmes opt for elective courses in literature far more than required courses. Looking further, the percentages for British institutions and programmes are consistently higher than those in America with respect to the portion of institutions and programmes offering literature courses. The most telling figure by way of comparison is that for institutions offering elective courses: 38.6% in Britain as opposed to 15.2% in America. Far more important than the comparison, though, is the fact that nearly 40% of British institutions include a literature option among their course offerings. This is an encouraging figure in light of the move away from literature in ELT reported in Chapter Three, and it is indicative of a modest yet hopeful trend toward some type of literary component in British institutions.

Moving now to Table 4:8, we see how literature courses are categorized in terms of their nature.

Table 4:8

Breakdown of the Nature of Literature Course Offerings

Programmes offering "Literature as Subject" courses	30
Programmes offering "Teaching of Literature" courses	18
Programmes where course offerings are not defined as such (N.B. Some of the programmes above offer more than one course, but in some cases the nature of the course is not made clear.)	4

Looking at these figures in comparison with the same categories for American programmes, we note that, while in both Britain and America "Literature as Subject" courses (as defined in the discussion of Table 4:3) are more common than "Teaching of Literature" courses, the difference between the two categories is much smaller in Britain. That is, there is a greater emphasis on instruction in how to teach literature within the British programmes, thus reflecting the more pragmatic, teaching oriented view of literature necessary to its integration into ELT and CLT.

A comparison of specific literature course offerings in the two countries reflects both some overlap and some interesting differences. For the most part, the teaching methods courses are the same, with British titles such as Teaching Literature in an ELT Context, Teaching Literature, and Theory and Practice in Literature and Language Teaching quite similar to American counterparts. There is, however, some encouraging variety as well in the British 'methods' courses, with a greater range of ELT-related courses, as seen in titles such as Literature in the Classroom, Teaching

Language Through Literature, Literature in Language Teaching, Problems and Processes in Language and Literature Teaching, and Literature and Learning. There also appears to be a stronger emphasis on literary stylistics in British programmes than in those in America.

Where there is perhaps some degree of difference between the two countries is in the area of "Literature as Subject." American courses, as previously discussed, rely fairly heavily on what may be considered standard or traditional literature courses. The same cannot really be said of British courses. As noted earlier, some course listings are too vague to determine their full or exact nature, but among those clearly labelled, relatively few fall within the usual boundaries. It is interesting to note, for example, that no British institution offers a course in Shakespeare (though such a course may in fact be available, depending on the nature of the undefined courses). Nor are there many titles such as Major British Authors and the like. A few courses focus on modern British literature, but for the most part the range extends somewhat beyond the canonical type offerings. Titles here include Literary English (as a variety of English), History of Literary English, the Sounds of Literature, the 'Broken English' of Modern Literature, and Ways of Reading.

In summarizing the British approach to literature in TEFL preparation programmes and institutions, it would seem to be the case that literature is a fairly regular, though not integral, part of such programmes and institutions

(except where the qualifications focus on literature). That it is possible to receive literature-based qualifications is noteworthy. Furthermore, there is a greater emphasis on teaching literature in the ELT context in Britain than is true in America. It therefore seems safe to say that in British TEFL there is a modest effort to draw trainees' attention to literature, and to provide at least some minimal preparation in the use of literature. This, in one sense, is not surprising, because most of the impetus for the integration of literature into ELT and CLT has come from British scholars and researchers. Indeed, of the literature-related scholarship reported in Section 3B of the previous chapter, the bulk was supplied by British researchers.

At present, then, in Britain there is a sense that literature is being given a place within ELT; this leaves hope that current and future trainees emerging from British programmes will be aware of literature as a language teaching aid, and this in turn could solidify literature's role in ELT and CLT. The same cannot be said with respect to American programmes and their present approach to literature.

We can now shift the focus of attention to the presence of ESP in British institutions and programmes, and here, again, we will see significantly more interest than is true in America. The analysis begins with Table 4:9.

Table 4:9Overview of ESP Course Offerings

Number of institutions surveyed	44
Number of TEFL programmes offered	154
Number of institutions offering ESP qualifications	6
Number of programmes offering ESP qualifications	8
Number of institutions offering ESP courses/components	25
Number of programmes offering ESP courses/components	46
% of institutions offering ESP courses	56.8%
% of programmes offering ESP courses	29.9%

In the discussion of ESP in American programmes stemming from Table 4:4, the comment was made that 'ESP does not have a strong identity of its own within TESOL programmes'. The same could not be said of ESP in Britain. First, by way of comparison with America, there are in Britain 6 institutions offering a total of 8 qualifications (through various programmes) in ESP, while American institutions offer none. We also note that, while American institutions offering ESP courses represent just 5.7% of the institutions surveyed, British institutions total the very high figure of 56.8%. This suggests that ESP carries a fair amount of weight in British TEFL. The figure of 29.9% of British programmes offering ESP courses, compared to just 4.5% of American programmes, is likewise indicative not only of greater interest in ESP in Britain, but of a sense that, as noted earlier, ESP is regarded seriously in the British context. Given that ESP is essentially a product of British ELT, its visibility in British TEFL programmes is not surprising.

More light is shed on ESP in Britain in Table 4:10.

Table 4:10

Breakdown of How ESP Courses are Offered

Institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	11
Programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	23
Institutions offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	14
Programmes offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u> (N.B. Some programmes have both an ESP requirement and an elective)	27
% of institutions <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	25.0%
% of programmes <u>requiring</u> at least one ESP course	14.9%
% of institutions offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	31.8%
% of programmes offering ESP courses as an <u>elective</u>	17.5%

Here we see a significant difference between British and American institutions regarding the prevalence of both elective and required courses. As indicated in Table 4:5, less than 1% of American institutions require an ESP course, while the figure is a far higher 25% in Britain. The same is true regarding the percentage of programmes requiring ESP courses: less than 1% of American programmes carry such a requirement, while British programmes with this requirement stand at 14.9% of the total number of TEFL programmes. The greater presence of ESP in Britain is also seen with respect to elective courses at both institutional and programme levels.

Clearly, then, in Britain a higher premium is placed on teacher trainees acquiring at least some knowledge of ESP. And this is only reflected here in terms of courses

explicitly labelled as ESP courses. Here it is important to remember a point made earlier: that ESP may also receive attention in courses with more generalized titles such as Materials and Methods in ELT and Principles of ELT. Such courses are a staple within both British and American programmes, and it seems reasonable to assume that ESP often receives some degree of coverage in those courses, particularly in Britain.

As for CLT, the situation is difficult to measure. Certainly CLT is dealt with more in Britain than in America, but its actual presence in British institutions and programmes is a matter of interpretation and assumption for the most part. Only 14 British programmes, at 8 institutions, list courses in CLT (while 7 programmes list courses dealing in one way or another with communicative competence). However, CLT's presence in ELT is so prevalent that courses concerned with ELT are virtually certain to include some coverage of CLT. Indeed, ELT may in many cases mean CLT, hence suggesting that CLT's presence in training programmes is probably pervasive.

In conclusion, the content analysis shows that, on the whole, British institutions and programmes place greater stress on literature, ESP, and CLT than do those in America. The availability of literature and ESP based qualifications in Britain is an area where Britain is particularly ahead of America at this point; this also applies to the kinds of courses available to trainees within their preparation programmes.

The degree to which direct links between literature and ESP and CLT are being established in training programmes- both British and American-is unclear from the nature of the listings available; therefore, it is difficult to comment on the most central point of all: the transfer of the often excellent and exciting scholarship on literature in ELT and CLT to the field, where language teaching actually takes place. As was expressed earlier, this transfer is vital if literature is to really be integrated into ELT and CLT, and it is believed in this study that teacher training programmes are the ideal place for this transfer to take place. If we look at British training programmes alone, there is some reason to believe, based on the figures produced in the content analysis those programmes, that the transfer is occurring, albeit not on an extensive scale. On the other hand, if we combine the British and American programmes, the picture is not very encouraging.

Given the momentum literature has gained in recent years, and its current presence in British training programmes, there is reason to believe that graduates of these programmes will, in future years, be not only prepared for, but disposed towards, some use of literature in their teaching. That is, British programmes give the appearance of joining in on the movement toward literature, and this is a development to be commended. On the other hand, the insignificant presence of literature, ESP, and CLT in America is discouraging, as well as a sign that those programmes are lagging behind in this realm of ELT. The content analysis

thus casts the American programmes in a somewhat negative light, while the British programmes are cast in a favourable light. This is not to say that even in the British programmes literature, particularly with respect to CLT, is receiving the kind of attention necessary to fully develop the integration of literature and CLT this study favours. It is, however, encouraging to see British programmes moving in that direction, and therefore along the desired track.

Section 4B: PERSPECTIVES ON ELT AND LITERATURE IN HONG KONG

This section will continue to provide a narrower focus on literature, ELT, and CLT by looking at the place of literature within a specific context of ELT: the teaching of English in Hong Kong. Because Hong Kong has joined the movement to CLT, some insight into the actual integration of literature and CLT will be gained by looking at how that movement has dealt with literature. This does not mean that Hong Kong is being held up as a precise indicator of the integration of literature and CLT; the intention is, rather, to see where literature stands in one communicative situation so as to study one example of what is taking place in the field, as opposed to in scholarship (as was the case in Chapter Three). This will first entail a brief overview of language education in Hong Kong so as to establish an effective context from which to view literature's role in this particular language teaching situation. Discussion of literature's status in Hong Kong will follow from that overview.

Overview of Current Hong Kong Language Education Situation

Hong Kong has a long history, dating back to 1841, as a British colony, and as a result English has always played the dominant role in official life, being the all important language of government and law. Because of Hong Kong's international financial status, English is also the predominant language of business. Likewise, it remains an important factor in students' eligibility for university study, which in turn impacts heavily on material prospects in life. And, while only about 2% of the colony's population speaks it as a native language, English is the language of the ruling elite. Hence, proficiency in English is a key determinant of one's success in the colony.

Meanwhile, Cantonese is the language of daily life among the vast majority of the colony's 98% Chinese population. This, as will be seen momentarily, contributes to a very complicated language situation. Furthermore, the Cantonese speaking people are noted for their ethnocentricity. As Wilson (1990) notes, Cantonese people take as much pride in being Cantonese as in being Chinese. Tsim (1989:1) offers a more detailed description of this phenomenon:

While English is used in the upper reaches of government, in many of the boardrooms, in the professions and among multi-national companies, Cantonese people prefer to use the Cantonese language when talking among themselves outside the work place. This leads to the curious anomaly that while the English proficiency of quite a lot of Chinese executives may be adequate for their professional needs, these same people may be quite uncomfortable when

they have to conduct a purely social conversation in the English language.

T'sou comments further on this when he explains that 'While the English language has been perceived as a vehicle for economic mobility it was rarely studied for the sake of its culture...The Chinese language and the culture it stands for remains a strong countervailing force for ethnicity' (1985:16).

T'sou goes on to say that what Hong Kong produces, especially through its educational system, is 'cultural eunuchs', i.e. people who learn enough of another language to perform instrumental tasks or to serve pragmatic purposes without meaningfully contacting or learning about the culture behind that language. He feels this is particularly true with respect to Hong Kong students learning English (1985).

Unlike places such as Singapore and India, then, Hong Kong features sharply delineated roles and places for English and the local Cantonese dialect of Chinese. In this situation the English and Cantonese speaking populations tend to remain separate except where practical or professional purposes require interaction. As Pierson (1989:1) states, these two groups are 'juxtaposed but not involved'. A recent report by the Working Group on Language Improvement Measures echoes that observation:

In many respects, the two languages and the two communities who speak each language live parallel but but unconnected lives, meeting within certain social, academic and vocational contexts...It is still extremely rare to find members...of the English-speaking communities who have effective communicative skills in Chinese, and it is evident that many

Chinese speakers make little or no use of English.
(1989:4-5)

Outside of certain pragmatic contexts, then, 'for the majority of the population, little knowledge of the other's language is required' (Yau, 1988:221). And where there is such a requirement, it is English which dominates. Hence, in a place where nearly everyone is Chinese, English has a status far out of proportion to the number of its native speakers. This gives rise to a situation which Gibbons (1987:8) describes in these terms: 'English native speakers in Hong Kong mostly comprise an elite group. They tend to be skilled professionals with good incomes...Turning to the Chinese population, one should remember that proficiency in English correlates with educational level, prestige employment, and (not least) with income'. In other words, in Hong Kong, success is equated with English among both the local and foreign populations.

Putting this situation into focus, then, Fu (1987:28) says that 'We can most easily conceptualise the language situation in Hong Kong perhaps as a triangle, with the Chinese language and all its varieties at one point, a pragmatic need for the English language at another point, and ambivalent considerations regarding both languages at the third point'.

Some of the complexities of a situation such as this as they relate to education are suggested in the following citation from Lord and Cheng (1987:vii):

Here the "language situation", as it is blandly called, is a close reflection of the rest of Hong Kong in its chaotic outgrowth and undergrowth. The

classical measures of ancient poetry jostle with the language of pop songs; the saws of village superstition with the brash sophistication of a newly emerged beau monde; the most ancient methods of rote learning with the most innovative of approaches to teaching and the taught; the confusion caused by the sometimes heroic attempts to teach Hong Kong children in a highly foreign language-English-combined with the corresponding inability of the Hong Kong school, even university, product to write acceptable Chinese or to communicate in the common language of China.

As the latter part of this citation suggests, language education in Hong Kong takes place under extremely complex circumstances, with two different languages being taught against a background which includes both a third language and competing ideas about teaching and learning. And, as noted earlier, there are complicated conditions concerning the status and value of the two featured languages of Cantonese and English.

This situation is expanded upon in a report by the Working Group on Language Improvement Measures:

The cultural and pedagogical traditions that lie behind the teaching of Chinese and English are fundamentally different, and this has made it difficult for those engaged in work with one language to coordinate their planning and their efforts with those engaged in work with the other. (1989:13)

In Hong Kong, language education must take place within the overall environment just described by the Working Group. T'sou fleshes out the complex inner workings of that environment when he focuses on one of the key features at work within it. This, he says, is 'the emergence of the three language problem in a two-language system' (1985:19). The three languages are English, Cantonese, and Mandarin, or Standard Chinese, with all three competing for space

in a system not designed to handle a trio of languages. Thus there is the "three language problem", and it takes three forms.

First there is a problem connected with Hong Kong's future. On July 1, 1997, sovereignty over Hong Kong will be passed from Britain to the People's Republic of China, where Mandarin is the national language. As a result, some provision must be made for ensuring that Hong Kong's students acquire some facility in that language. But just where should Mandarin fit within a system already dominated by English and Cantonese, and struggling to find a proper balance between the two? This concerns not only the teaching of Mandarin itself, but the degree to which it should be the teaching medium within the system. Furthermore, can the language be taught properly when the supply of effective Mandarin speakers is limited?

Second, there are significant differences between Cantonese and Mandarin which interfere with students' performance in Chinese. The two differ not only in terms of pronunciation, but syntactically and semantically as well (though the semantic differences do not prevent comprehension; rather, as will be explained later, they produce usages which seem odd when viewed from the perspective of the opposite language). Problems occur when students learn to write in Chinese. They are taught the syntax of Mandarin, i.e. the long-established standardized form of Chinese. Meanwhile, while growing up, they have learned the syntax of Cantonese. Thus, as students enter the educational

system and begin to write in Chinese, they are doing so with a different set of syntactic structures and practices already embedded in their notions of Chinese as speakers of Cantonese. They are in essence translating from Cantonese into Mandarin. What complicates this situation is the fact that some of what the students wish to express cannot be written in standard Chinese because Cantonese is merely a spoken dialect of Chinese. Therefore, in some cases no Chinese characters exist for the Cantonese usages; in other cases, rendering Cantonese expressions into written Chinese may produce what reads as nonsense or gibberish in standardised form, though it is acceptable from the Cantonese point of view.

This situation itself is not new, but it has become increasingly complex since the late 1970s as a result of a strong pro Cantonese movement in Hong Kong. That is, Hong Kong residents have become more ethnocentric about the Cantonese dialect, so that it is increasingly being used in written as well as spoken form. As this has occurred, students' ability in written Chinese has declined considerably, in that they tend more and more to write in a Cantonese style which is syntactically and semantically unacceptable from a formal point of view.

Complicating the situation even further is the presence of English in the system. Students in Hong Kong begin to study English at the same time that they are learning to read and write Chinese. Thus, they are simultaneously learning two languages, and two grammatical systems, which

not only are different from each other, but are different from their vernacular speech, i.e. Cantonese. In secondary school, where English takes on the role of greatest importance, this produces a situation in which students mix Cantonese and Mandarin grammar with English grammar in their use of both English (written and spoken forms) and Chinese (written form). This results in what is generally called 'Chinglish'.

According to T'sou, the net effect of this three language problem is a syndrome he calls 'prevalent semi-lingualism' (1985:19), in which Hong Kong's students develop only a partial ability in the different languages they contend with as they make their way through the educational system.

Bearing in mind the points made thus far, it is possible to take a closer look at the situation which prevails at present with respect to language education. Here it must be noted that, as Lord (1985:5) explains, 'education in Hong Kong is no longer for an elite, but for the mass'. That is, prior to World War II, the Government's primary concern in education was to prepare a core of reasonably well educated, English speaking local Chinese who could carry out the expanding responsibilities of the civil service. The quadrupling of the population over the past 40 years as masses of people streamed into Hong Kong from China during periods of chaos in the People's Republic has led to a major change in focus which entails providing an adequate education for the population at large.

At present the Hong Kong educational system functions on the basis of six years at primary school level, five at secondary level, and up to two years at matriculation level. At tertiary level there are three universities, two polytechnics, one degree granting college, various private colleges, and a recently developed open college modelled along the lines of the British Open University.

Education at primary and secondary school levels takes place in government, government aided, and private schools (in which the government purchases a certain number of places). At primary level, instruction is in Cantonese, with English a subject, and an important one, throughout the six years at that level. Many primary schools also offer Mandarin classes. At secondary level, where there were, in 1991, 442 schools, the medium of instruction and provision of language education is a complex and contentious matter. Among the secondary schools, about 75% are described as Anglo-Chinese, meaning that most subjects, especially after Form Three, are expected to be taught in English (it is generally assumed that such is not, in fact, the case). About 25% of the schools are considered to be Chinese medium schools where English is a subject rather than the medium of instruction. Cantonese is the medium of instruction in these schools, with Mandarin being offered in an increasing number of schools. Several secondary schools which regard themselves as 'patriotic' schools use Mandarin as the medium of instruction.

As the above comments suggest, the question of the

medium of instruction in Hong Kong's secondary schools is an important and difficult one. Indeed, over the past 20 years or so, and especially in more recent years, it has received far more attention than any other educational issue. No issue is more central to the subject of language education in Hong Kong.

Concern over the role of languages, i.e. Chinese and English, in schools has existed since the beginning of Hong Kong's history as a British colony. For various reasons, however, the medium of instruction question has taken on particular urgency since the 1970s, when mass education began. When only a small, elite group was being catered to, the medium of instruction question was not of major importance generally, as the select body of students could be taught both English and Chinese quite effectively. Now that there is a system of compulsory education through the age of 15 (since 1978), broader needs, and problems, must be accounted for. For one thing, with Hong Kong about to become a part of China in 1997, proficiency in Chinese is considered to be more important than it was in the past. Then, too, with about 450,000 secondary school students now in the system each year, the range of ability in Chinese and English is much wider than in the past, and the system must be equipped to deal with each ability level, especially where English is concerned. Finding an appropriate medium of instruction under these circumstances is a complex and controversial matter.

In general terms, the current situation is one described

as follows by Kennedy (1989:124):

English has high status and the main motivation to learn it is economic and social advancement. The government, concerned that English-medium education places too great a learning burden on pupils, has tried to promote the use of Chinese as the medium of instruction in schools. This policy appears to have succeeded at primary level, but plans to extend Chinese-medium instruction to the first three years of secondary school have met with resistance from parents who believe that such a move would adversely affect their children's career prospects. The government has been forced, therefore, to leave the decision to individual schools, in effect to market forces. The result has been an increase in the number of English-medium schools and a corresponding decrease in Chinese-medium schools.

The White Paper on education in 1974 represented the first serious contemporary effort to move secondary schools to a greater stress on Chinese as the medium of instruction. However, it wasn't until 1986 that the Government policy officially became one of a) encouraging schools to switch to Chinese medium instruction, and b) allowing individual school authorities to decide for themselves which medium of instruction they would use, rather than having a decision imposed by the Education Department. However, this policy has failed to take hold for reasons alluded to in part by Kennedy above.

As Kennedy notes, parents generally insist on an English medium education for their children. This problem is addressed in the recent, and highly influential, Education Commission Report Number Four (hereafter referred to as ECR4), which explains that

At present...many parents in Hong Kong believe that English medium instruction is better for their children, in that it will open the door to better tertiary education and employment opportunities. They perceive a Chinese medium education as a

potential handicap to their children's future. They are therefore reluctant, for the present at least, to accept that their children might be educationally disadvantaged by learning through English or mixed-code. (1990:102)

This situation is complicated by the fact that, as Kennedy points out, 'market forces' now prevail. This is a reference to a new school allocation scheme under which parental preferences play a greater role in the assignment of children to secondary schools. With most parents preferring English medium education for the practical reasons already cited, school authorities are reluctant to switch to Chinese medium instruction. This situation was graphically illustrated recently when one of Hong Kong's better schools, the Carmel Secondary School, abandoned a highly publicized move to Chinese medium instruction. Despite the preferences of teachers, school authorities, and students to retain the Chinese medium system, the school has now returned to English medium instruction in light of a significant drop in applications for study at the school. The problem was that noted earlier: parents had no confidence in their children's prospects with a Chinese medium education. Thus, English dominated market forces held sway, and it is felt that the general movement in favour of Chinese medium education has been set back.

A major factor impacting on the medium of instruction issue is the ever-present spectre of 1997 and the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong to China. One effect of 1997, according to Cheng (1991:287), is that 'Debates about the language medium of instruction, which could otherwise be a purely pedagogical issue, sometimes assume strong

ideological overtones and become highly political'. Here colonialism and Chinese patriotism become variables in the discussions. Furthermore, many parents are even more eager to have their children educated in English so as to increase their chances of emigrating to English-speaking countries before 1997, thus increasing the pressure on schools to teach in English. This situation arises from widespread fears concerning Hong Kong's economic prosperity and political climate once China assumes sovereignty over Hong Kong. Conversely, many teachers and education officials feel that the impending Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong necessitates a strong Chinese language education so that school leavers will more easily blend into post-1997 Hong Kong.

The role of English in the tertiary institutions, and the continued importance of a tertiary level qualification in the job market, also complicates the medium of instruction issue. Two of the territory's universities are officially English medium institutions, and English is generally regarded as the medium of instruction at both polytechnics. Then, too, the Government is now pursuing a massive increase in the number of tertiary level places available to school leavers. Where in the 1970s only 3% of school leavers found places at tertiary level (when there were two universities and one polytechnic), in 1991 the figure had risen to about 10%. By 1994/95 it is expected to be 18%. The net result, says Liu (1989:200), is that

although it has been advocated that primary and secondary schools should switch to mother tongue

teaching and learning, the language policy of the tertiary institutions has defeated such a proposal... Such a language policy has imposed an enormous pressure upon secondary school education, resulting in the English language being preferred as the superior language in order to meet the language requirements of these tertiary institutions, as compared with Chinese.

Another problem concerning the medium of instruction issue is the question of students' language standards and the frequent use of mixed code teaching featuring a combination of English and Cantonese in classes (and in schools) purporting to be English medium. While there is as yet no conclusive linguistic evidence supporting the idea that language standards (in both English and Chinese) are falling, it is commonly believed that they are, particularly by teachers. This widespread belief impacts heavily on what actually transpires in the Anglo-Chinese schools, where not only English but all other subjects except those directly related to the Chinese language and culture are supposed to be taught in English. ECR4 maintains that mixed code teaching is what usually occurs in the light of such a belief.

Meanwhile, there is a widely held perception in the business community-where English is essential-that, whether standards have or have not fallen, the proficiency of school leavers' English is inadequate. As one prominent businessman stated at a recent and much discussed symposium on English in the commercial sector: 'The plain fact is, ladies and gentlemen, that we employers are not getting school leavers whose English is of an acceptable standard' (Renwick, 1990:2).

Luk (1989:155) provides an overview of the situation when he points out that

In practice...it has been found impossible to teach the majority of the children through English, even though an ever-increasing proportion of parents opted to send their children to Anglo-Chinese schools. Most of the teachers in these schools are also more confident delivering their lessons in Cantonese rather than in English. So, while they teach from textbooks printed in English, and also give tests in that language, the spoken language in the classroom is mostly Cantonese. This has become the case even in some of the "prestige" Anglo-Chinese schools.

It should be noted that the shift towards mixed code teaching is not only a reaction to increased difficulties students experience while being taught in English. Recent Education Department statistics reveal that 46% of secondary school English teachers are not subject trained, i.e. they have not been trained to teach English. At the same time, instruction in other subjects expected to be taught in English is likewise often conducted by teachers with minimal or no training in the subject itself, let alone in teaching the subject in English. These teachers are thus forced to either teach in a mixed code mode or to inflict sub-standard English upon their students, who may not be equipped to understand it to begin with.

The shift to mixed code teaching, which has coincided with the move to mass education noted earlier, has come under sharp criticism as educationally unsound. Indeed, ECR4, which contains a set of principles which will guide Hong Kong language education as the 1990s proceed, attacks the mixed code mode which has emerged and has offered a new system which is designed to remove such an approach to teaching.

The ECR4 guidelines are based heavily on the belief that only about 30% of Hong Kong's secondary school students are able to study in English between the Form One and Form Three levels. What ECR4 proposes, then, is a system which follows these objectives: 'to encourage Chinese-medium instruction, to minimise mixed-code teaching and to give schools the choice as to which medium of instruction they use' (ECR4, 1990:103).

What will happen in the coming years as these objectives are pursued is that, at the end of Primary Six, pupils will be assessed in English, Chinese, and Mathematics through a series of criterion referenced texts. The results of these tests, combined with a number of other variables comprising a complicated school allocation formula, will determine which type of school students will be streamed into for secondary school study. This streaming concept is central to the operation designed by ECR4. Under this system about 70% of Hong Kong's secondary schools are expected to be Chinese medium. In order to provide students in those schools with enough English to qualify for entry into tertiary level study, bridging courses supplying intensive study in English between various forms will be offered. In this way students should be prepared for more advanced study of English in the upper forms, when they are preparing to sit the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE), Hong Kong's equivalent of the 'O' level examination. Meanwhile, the other 30% of secondary students will be studying in English medium schools where, ideally, mixed code teaching will not occur.

In essence, then, the roles of English and Chinese are being reversed below tertiary level, with English medium schools once again (as was traditionally the case) targeted at a smaller proportion of the population. At the same time, with 70% of the students learning through the medium of Chinese, Hong Kong's two most important public examinations will place greater emphasis on Chinese. At both 'O' and 'A' levels, students now have the option of writing all papers (with the exception of English language and literature) in Chinese. There is, however, the curious fact that textbooks continue to be mainly in English at both secondary and tertiary levels, and are likely to remain in English at least until 1997. Furthermore, as noted earlier, English is the dominant medium of instruction at tertiary level, thereby creating in students a self-imposed limitation on their use of Chinese in examinations. As such, while Chinese is on paper being accorded a much more extensive role in education, English continues to exert the heaviest influence. The importance of English in obtaining quality jobs likewise reinforces the predominant role of the language in Hong Kong.

ELT, CLT and Literature in Hong Kong

As described by Bickley (1987), the modern historical development of ELT in Hong Kong has moved through a steady progression from the grammar-translation and natural methods in the early post-World War II years to a heavy reliance on the oral-structural approach in the 1950s through the 1970s. In the late 1970s, the first steps toward a shift to the communicative approach occurred. These steps were initiated

by Ray Tongue, a British Council Teacher who was appointed Language Advisor to the Education Department. A strong believer in CLT, Tongue in the late 1970s and early 80s wrote a series of locally published papers which criticized the prevailing approach of the time and promoted the shift to CLT. The CLT system he outlined later in these papers was adopted in 1984.

While Hong Kong has followed suit with many other places in the world in its shift to a communicative approach to language teaching, it has not embraced the notion of a place for literature within that approach. Presentations at local seminars and conferences indicate that some individual teachers advocate, and experiment with, the use of literature in CLT, but the system itself has not moved in this direction.

Literature has never played a major role in ELT in Hong Kong as far as the teaching of the mainstream of the territory's students is concerned. Traditionally, however, it has been used in the handful of 'elite' Anglo-Chinese secondary schools which, under the former system of allocating school places, allowed the 'best' schools to continually draw the 'best' students. These schools, as Sweeting (1990) shows, generally catered to the children of Hong Kong's middle and upper class Chinese families. Parents in these families wanted their children to receive solid English educations, including a knowledge of English literature so as to ensure an appropriate degree of knowledge of British culture-appropriate, that is, to success within

Hong Kong's British colonial system, where such knowledge could be an advantage. Thus, a small number of government and private, usually religious secondary schools have traditionally had literature syllabuses in their upper forms. And in the 1960s and early 1970s, when huge numbers of students were passing through the educational system, it was common for many non-elite but fairly good to good schools to provide students with some exposure to literature as a part of their language teaching programmes or syllabuses. Interestingly, this took place during the oral-structural era, which in many other places was a time when literature disappeared from the system. In Hong Kong that system could not be said to have encouraged literature on the whole, but it did tolerate it, and created ample room for its study among those students who wished to sit the 'O' level literature examination. On the other hand, the communicative era in Hong Kong has seen literature diminish dramatically in terms of its presence in secondary schools and the numbers of students sitting literature examinations. Nor are there signs that the situation will improve favourably toward literature. The prevailing attitude at present seems to be that literature is too inaccessible linguistically and culturally for Hong Kong's secondary students, other than those at the commonly recognized 'better' or 'elite' schools.

There are two primary local examinations for English language and literature in Hong Kong. These are the aforementioned HKCEE at secondary level, and the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE) at matriculation level,

i.e. following Form Seven. The HKCEE includes a compulsory English Language examination consisting of reading, writing, listening, and oral papers. It also offers an English Literature examination on an optional basis. The HKALE includes a Use of English language examination which likewise focuses on different language skills. There is also an optional English Literature examination. Here it should be noted that the HKCEE is required of all students upon completion of Form Five, with the results generally an important factor in applications for employment, especially results in the English language papers. On the other hand the HKALE serves as the admissions examination for all tertiary institutions (though one university also accepts students through a separate examination scheme after Form Six; in 1993, however, this scheme will be terminated). Both the HKCEE and HKALE are prepared and marked by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority, with setters of both examinations coming from the secondary and tertiary segments of the educational system.

Each year the Examinations Authority releases a report on both the HKCEE and HKALE results of the previous year's examinations. An analysis of these reports by the researcher produces some interesting, and telling, figures and insights with respect to the place of English literature in Hong Kong. The tables which appear in the following pages will be used to reflect that place.

Before examining these tables, it is important to note, once again, how Hong Kong has itself changed in the post-

World War II years. As explained earlier, the population has quadrupled since the late 1940s. This increase was especially felt in the 1960s and 1970s, by which time younger immigrants from the earlier waves of people escaping from China had established their own families. Also, in 1971 education through Primary Six became compulsory. As a result, the number of candidates sitting the the mandatory HKCEE rose sharply in the 1970s. Significantly, while the total number of language candidates increased dramatically, the number of candidates choosing to sit the optional literature examination dropped steadily, for the most part, and considerably beginning in the late 1970s. Prior to that time, the number of candidates sitting the literature examination was generally around 3,000 in the 1960s, and a bit less in the early to mid 1970s. In 1975, for example, 2,714 candidates sat the literature examination out of a total of 44,214 language candidates, that is, 6.1% of the candidature in English that year. By 1978 the percentage of literature candidates was down to 3.8%; in 1979 it was 3.5%. The following table outlines the situation since then.

Table 4:11Students sitting HKCEE English Language and Literature Exams

<u>year</u>	<u>total # of Language candidates</u>	<u>total # of Literature candidates</u>	<u>% of total # of candidates sitting Literature exam</u>
1980	77,676	2,779	3.5
1981	84,615	2,782	3.3
1982	92,677	2,203	2.4
1983	102,187	2,215	2.2
1984	99,929	1,877	1.9
1985	95,824	1,536	1.6
1986	93,273	1,513	1.6
1987	92,193	1,536	1.7
1988	89,693	1,327	1.5
1989	87,619	1,186	1.4
1990	86,431	975	1.1
1991	89,200	1,010	1.1

Here we see that there were nearly three times as many candidates sitting the literature examination in 1980 than in 1991; in 1975 the figure was about six times higher, with a total number of candidates in language half the size of the 1991 group. Possible reasons for this change will be discussed shortly; before that discussion, it will be helpful to look at another table, this one showing the number of male and female students sitting the literature exam since 1980.

Table 4:12Comparison of numbers of males and females sitting the HKCEE Literature examination

<u>year</u>	<u># of male candidates</u>	<u># of female candidates</u>	<u>% of males relative to total for Lit.</u>
1980	302	2,477	11.8
1981	348	2,434	12.5
1982	371	1,832	16.8
1983	246	1,969	11.1
1984	200	1,677	10.7
1985	114	1,422	7.4
1986	86	1,427	5.7
1987	73	1,463	4.8
1988	74	1,253	6.0
1989	74	1,112	6.2
1990	51	924	5.2
1991	52	958	5.1

As Table 4:12 indicates, the percentage of males sitting the literature examination since 1980 has been more than halved. Far more striking, though, is the actual number of males sitting the examination: less than one hundred each year since 1986, with the total number of candidates sitting the language exam hovering around 90,000 annually. This is why such a comparison has been included in the study. The percentage of females choosing the literature exam is also low relative to the total number of language candidates, and the number of female literature candidates has dropped significantly since 1980. However, at least a small number of female secondary students opt for literature, while interest is almost non-existent among males. As such, English literature has become almost the exclusive domain of female candidates, and this should be considered an unfortunate development.

The figures in these two tables make clear that literature has not, in recent years, been a favourite subject among Hong Kong's secondary students. Still, the decline in the number of literature candidates to miniscule overall totals and totals of male candidates signals a distressing situation at 'O' level. This decline can be accounted for by several likely factors. One is that Hong Kong's economic prosperity has increased greatly during the past decade, with a concomitant rise in salaries in the commercial sector. In comparison, the kinds of employment a background in literature would entail have lost their appeal. That is, in the 1960s and 70s, students hoping to enter teaching careers,

either in English or a related subject like history, where a literary background would be helpful, tended to choose the literature option at school and in the HKCEE. In recent years, with far more materially attractive careers available outside education, fewer students look toward teaching, which has become a relatively low paid career in contemporary Hong Kong. This may be especially true for male students, who, anticipating the heavy financial demands accruing from being future heads of households (in both the immediate and extended family senses), gravitate towards subjects which will lead to university study in areas which ultimately bring the greatest financial rewards.

Then, too, in a situation where, as described earlier, students are perceived as generally unable to learn English outside of a mixed code teaching context, literature is seen by students and teachers alike as beyond students' capabilities. And with, as noted earlier, 46% of the secondary school teachers of English lacking subject training in English, few are likely to feel capable of teaching literature.

It is also worth remembering a point made earlier by T'sou: that in Hong Kong 'cultural eunuchs' emerge from the educational system because, in the case of English, the language is taught and studied from an instrumental rather than an aesthetic point of view. Here the role of English in Hong Kong's international business environment is a crucial factor. The primary job of secondary schools with respect to English seems to be to prepare students to serve

the needs and interests of the business community by equipping students with the kind of English most helpful in that context. Under those circumstances, literature is seen to have no place in the scheme of things.

The comments made thus far point to another major factor in the change in numbers of candidates attempting the HKCEE literature examination. This is the decline in the number of secondary schools offering a literature syllabus. Here the situation has again changed considerably since the late 1960s and early 1970s. In those years, with upwards of 3,000 candidates sitting the literature examination, together with a now defunct General Reading paper which was mainly literature-based (featuring popular literature, as opposed to the mostly canonical texts of the literature syllabus and examination), over a third of Hong Kong's secondary schools had some form of literature syllabus or component beginning at Form Four level. By comparison, in 1991 just 54 of Hong Kong's 442 secondary schools offered a literature syllabus, according to the Examinations Authority. As a result, relatively few students have the opportunity to prepare to sit the literature examination. This impacts on the number of male candidates, too, because it is primarily girls' schools which include a literature syllabus.

The situation just described is repeated at 'A' level, where once again literature is generally eschewed by English language candidates. This is revealed in the following table, which shows the total number of HKALE

candidates and compares that number to the overall total sitting the compulsory Use of English language examination.

Table 4:13

Students sitting HKALE English Language and Literature Exams

<u>year</u>	<u>total # of Language candidates</u>	<u>total # of Literature candidates</u>	<u>% of total # of candidates sitting Literature exam</u>
1980	7,996	404	5.1
1981	9,813	466	4.8
1982	10,473	458	4.4
1983	11,110	474	4.3
1984	12,331	374	3.0
1985	14,941	366	2.5
1986	16,014	293	1.8
1987	16,122	286	1.8
1988	15,750	222	1.4
1989	15,131	237	1.6
1990	13,767	181	1.3
1991	12,691	201	1.6

Once again we see that the total number of literature candidates has dropped considerably since 1980, with just less than half the number of 1980 candidates sitting the 1991 examination. And, while in 1980 the percentage of language candidates sitting the literature examination was quite small, it was still more than three times higher than in 1991.

Here it should be pointed out that the HKALE literature examination serves a more specialised purpose than does the HKCEE literature examination, in that HKALE candidates are seeking admission not only to a university, but to a faculty of their choice as well. Thus, it would naturally make sense for those students wishing to study in an English department at tertiary level to undertake the rigours of preparing for and sitting a very challenging English literature

examination. On the other hand, this suggests that there is very little interest in studying literature at tertiary level. In this case, as at HKCEE level, the lure of jobs and careers in decidedly non-literary fields probably outweighs any aesthetic interest other potential literature candidates may feel. Indeed, the general perception among tertiary students in Hong Kong appears to be that a degree in English usually earmarks (or condemns, as many students would maintain) graduates to a secondary school teaching career. And in contemporary Hong Kong, as has already been seen, this would likely mean that the graduate would probably not have a chance to teach literature after three or four years of studying it, given the paucity of schools providing literature syllabuses.

Turning now to the number of male and female candidates sitting the HKALE literature examination, we see the following following figures in Table 4:14.

Table 4:14

Comparison of numbers of males and females sitting the HKALE Literature examination

<u>year</u>	<u># of male candidates</u>	<u># of female candidates</u>	<u>% of males relative to total for Lit.</u>
1980	32	372	7.9
1981	45	421	9.6
1982	26	432	5.7
1983	25	449	5.3
1984	22	352	5.9
1985	14	352	3.8
1986	12	281	4.1
1987	9	277	3.1
1988	4	218	1.8
1989	11	226	4.6
1990	7	174	3.9
1991	9	201	4.3

These figures, with respect to both male and female students, mirror those for the HKCEE literature examination. That is, we once again see that large numbers of students have not sat the examination since 1980, and that there are decreases among both male and female candidates. And once again the most disturbing figure is that for the number of male candidates, particularly in recent years, with less than 10 sitting the examination in all but one year since 1987. Meanwhile, the extremely low figures for males and females together have led to consideration on the part of the Examinations Authority to drop the 'A' level literature examination entirely (with another examination, to be discussed shortly, seen as an alternative).

All of the tables presented in this section of Chapter Four make clear that interest, at least at examination level, in English literature is declining to upsetting degrees in Hong Kong. And for the most part this would seem to be explained by factors noted earlier which derive from the intense pragmatism and materialism for which Hong Kong is well known. That is, material benefits accruing from the study of English literature are hard to come by in Hong Kong.

It may also be the case that the methods of examining literature are in effect frightening prospective candidates away. That is, on both the HKCEE and HKALE examinations, a very traditional approach is followed, one which looks at literature in a purely literary sense and as such tests students' knowledge of literature, rather than their reactions

to or feelings about texts. This approach is reinforced in the ways in which literature is taught. Here, again, the approach is a traditional, teacher-centred one in which students merely accumulate information about texts. The activities-based, response-oriented approach used in CLT does not play a role in Hong Kong's use of literature, and so students are in a sense kept away from the texts as far as personal interaction with them is concerned. As a result, there is little about the learning of literature which makes literature look attractive to students. English literature is simply one more subject to be examined in-and, from many students' point of view, a difficult one at that.

Selection of texts to be examined is another barrier to popularity for literature. As an analysis of the HKCEE and HKALE literature examinations by Wilcoxon (in press) explains, 'it is broadly true that...virtually all literature studied after Form Four is canonical English literature'. Though in recent years there has been a move towards modern texts to some degree, students are still generally faced with older and less accessible texts. And in a situation where the majority of students are apparently struggling with the language to begin with, the reliance on canonical texts may make literature look impossibly difficult to understand and therefore something to stay away from, especially when examination results which follow one around for life are at stake.

Another factor which militates against English literature concerns Chinese literature. Students in Hong Kong are required

in secondary school to study some of the rich and extensive body of Chinese literature, all of which is from the Chinese canon. For some students the power of that literature, which speaks from their own cultural and ethnic background, may be such that English literature is seen to pale by comparison, and hence is not worth bothering with. For others, the difficulty of the Chinese canonical texts, together with the means by which they are studied, where students are required to memorize and recite long portions of texts, may make the whole business of literature look distasteful and therefore something to be avoided.

One more point to be made concerns the position of literature outside literature syllabuses, that is, in English language courses. On the whole, literature has virtually no presence in the language classrooms, except in isolated cases where individual teachers bring literature into their own classes. In Hong Kong the communicative approach is used in conjunction with authentic texts outside the literary sphere, e.g. memos and letters from the business sector. Because, as noted earlier, English language instruction in Hong Kong is geared toward preparing students to work in the commercial sector, where business or vocational English is necessary, CLT as it exists in Hong Kong is used to service such ends. As such, literature is deemed irrelevant, and is at the same time considered beyond the comprehension of the majority of students.

As a result, students' only contact with literature comes through increasingly popular extensive reading schemes utilising simplified texts in the lower forms and light

literature-often locally produced-in higher forms.

As a result, students in Hong Kong seldom see literature linked directly or substantively with language and language learning. Literature is generally kept apart from the language classroom, and the communicative methods through which it is used in other places are not employed in Hong Kong for the exploitation of literary texts. Thus, literature is basically only seen as Literature, as a subject of its own, as something to be examined on the basis of a collection of set texts taught in traditional ways.

On the whole, then, it must be said that literature's present status is an unhealthy and discouraging one. There is, however, one encouraging sign that change may be on the way. This is reflected in the creation of an Advanced Supplementary (A-S) literature examination which would give students an alternative to the present 'A' level examination. This new examination, tentatively set to enter sixth form syllabuses in the fall of 1993, attempts to place literature into a larger context by integrating it with other elements of life occurring around students. This is seen in a currently unpublished draft of the syllabus which says of the exam that

it brings together the teaching/learning taking place in the classroom and issues of significance taking place in the outside world. In other words, the study of literature is no longer the study of a self-sufficient, internal and isolated discipline. Rather, the study of literature constantly involves students in relating what "happens" in literature to what happens in contemporary societies, in Hong Kong and in the wider context of the world at large. (1992:2)

The syllabus draft also proclaims that students 'are encouraged to be self-dependent and self-accountable which is

very different from the kind of transmissive and spoon-feeding style many students in Hong Kong have been used to' (1992:3).

This new examination will feature an integration of a wide range of prescribed texts with films and content from other media. It also will work within a theme-based approach with, in the initially proposed syllabus, texts falling within three categories: Political and Social Issues, Detective Fiction, and Science Fiction. During the course of the syllabus students will be encouraged to focus on personal responses to the set texts and films, with teachers serving as facilitators who help the students find ways to increase their ability to respond to texts. Later, students will concentrate on portfolio work in which, through a diary and other means of recording their responses, they will have to interact with texts of their own choice.

Such a new attempt at testing as well as presenting literature is being seen not only as a means of broadening studies at sixth form level (an ongoing concern in Hong Kong), but also as a means of drawing more attention to, and stimulating interest in, literature.

The A-S syllabus and examination should be regarded as a step in the right direction with regards to literature in Hong Kong, especially because of its stress on personal response and because it moves away from the literary canon. The use of detective and science fiction is a particularly good idea. However, this new approach, as already noted, will take place in the sixth form, leaving the lower forms still

cut off from literature. Ideally, literary texts could be used in similar ways in language classes, especially at Form Four and Form Five levels. The use of more popular types of literature, as seen in the A-S syllabus, would also be helpful. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that, as students become aware of this new approach to literature, they will feel encouraged in secondary school to pursue literature at that point so as to study the A-S syllabus later, even though that could mean sitting the more conventional HKCEE literature examination.

Conclusion

In Section 4B we have seen that the language teaching situation in Hong Kong is a highly complex one in which three languages are felt to be necessary, and each for different reasons which are not entirely compatible with the others. Making things particularly difficult is the ever-present reality of the change in Hong Kong's status in 1997, when it will move from a colonial situation to one in which it becomes part of the People's Republic of China. How this will impact on English is especially unclear at present, and as a result language planning concerning that language is a very contentious subject. Meanwhile, language standards in both English and Chinese are apparently falling.

Literature's place within the present system is a very weak one in which it basically is not at all linked to Hong Kong's shift to a communicative orientation in language teaching, and is a subject of steadily declining interest among secondary and matriculation students. Its prospects for the future, when language standards may well fall further,

appear to be bleak, unless the new A-S literature examination can, through its innovative approach to literature, stimulate interest in literature. However, that in itself will not be sufficient to rescue literature. Instead, there must be an effort to link literature with language learning by utilising the activities-based approach vital to communicative language teaching. Unfortunately, the chances of that happening do not appear to be good. To the contrary, there appears to be little hope that, in the pragmatic climate which prevails in Hong Kong, literature will be seen as a valuable aid in language study and language learning.

Section 4C: RESULTS OF A STUDENT SURVEY CONCERNING LITERATURE AND ELT

Introduction

This section continues the chapter's more concentrated focus on literature and ELT by examining the ideas and attitudes of a group of students in Hong Kong to those disciplines. In so doing, it attempts to look at literature, in particular, within a narrower context than the broad one discussed in Chapter Three. The assumption here is that valuable insight into literature and ELT can be gained by investigating how they are viewed within a concrete language teaching situation or locale, as opposed to only seeing how researchers would like them to be dealt with. At the same time, the survey results will provide a useful background for, and prelude to, the classroom experiment in the use of literature to be discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, this section will shed some interesting follow-up light

on issues raised in the previous section, in that we will now see how students coming from the kind of language education background discussed in Section 4B regard literature and ELT.

The students chosen for the survey were first year undergraduates at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. This particular group of students was selected because, in most cases, the students were old enough to have spent the earlier years of their school lives in the more structurally-based language teaching situation which prevailed in Hong Kong in the 1970s and early 1980s, and young enough to have been exposed to the first vestiges of CLT while in secondary school. Hence, they had experienced both approaches to ELT.

The survey was conducted in the fall of 1990. Twenty-two instructors who were teaching a general English course for newly admitted first year students were asked to distribute a questionnaire developed by the researcher to their students within the first few weeks of class. Twenty-one of the teachers did so. Thus, out of the 448 students enrolled in the first year English course, 418 received a questionnaire. Of that total, 395, or 95.5% of those given a questionnaire and 88.2% of the entire first year English group, completed the questionnaire.

This particular English class is a required course for first year students whose combined results in English in the HKCEE and the University's own entrance examination are such that they are considered in need of further study in English in order to meet the linguistic demands at university

level. There is also a required first year general Chinese course serving the same purpose. The first year English course is designed along ESP/EAP (English for Academic Purposes) lines, with students from the same faculties (such as Business, Arts, Science, etc.) assigned to sections of the course so that course materials and instruction can be geared to the language-related needs of their particular faculty.

The University itself is an interesting linguistic environment. Unlike the other two universities in Hong Kong, which are English medium institutions, Chinese University is a bilingual institution in which lecturers are free to use any language they like (within a group comprising English, Cantonese, and Mandarin, except in specific language departments such as French, Japanese, and so forth). University estimates are that about 25% of the lectures are delivered in English, about 60% in Cantonese, and the remaining 15% in Mandarin or other languages. Meanwhile, nearly all textbooks are in English, with many assignments and most examinations being completed in English; English dominates in these domains because most of the lecturers have received higher degrees in Western countries and so have learned to rely on English terms in their subjects. Indeed, lectures in Cantonese and Mandarin nearly always feature a significant amount of code-switching, with English terminology mixed in with explanations in one of the forms of Chinese. As a result, the students also learn important terms in English, and therefore find it easier to use English in assignments or on examinations. As such, proficiency in

English is essential at the University, and the first year English course therefore plays an important role in the students' preparation for their four years of study there.

A 26 question survey was designed by the researcher to serve the purposes described at the beginning of this section. The first section, comprising questions 1-16, consists of questions where, generally, the respondents were asked to generate information, as well as simple choice-type responses, to the questions. Several of the questions were intended to provide a general profile of the respondents for background purposes. The second section, comprising questions 17-26, consists of a standard Likert scale arrangement requiring respondents to indicate a degree of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements on the subjects dealt with in the questionnaire. The questions and statements from these two sections can also be broken down into five categories which will provide the framework for the discussion of the survey to follow. The categories are: background information about the respondents; their ideas about ELT; their ideas about literature in ELT; their attitudes toward ELT; and their attitudes toward literature in ELT.

One final preliminary point which must be made about the survey is that it was intended to serve descriptive purposes, i.e. to draw a useful and illustrative portrait of student feelings about literature and ELT within a specific ELT/CLT teaching context. This portrait serves as a complement to other discussions in the study.

The questionnaire itself can be found in Appendix B.

Background information about the respondents

As noted earlier, 395 first year undergraduate students at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) participated in the survey. 191 of the respondents were female; 204 were male. Hence, there was an essentially even distribution of the students on the basis of gender. In terms of their secondary school background (where students, upon entry into Form Four, select a concentration on science or arts, or in some cases commercial studies), 162 had studied in the arts stream, and 229 had studied in the science stream (four respondents did not answer the question). This, too, is a reasonably accurate distribution of students, as in Hong Kong the science stream tends to be more popular. As for the age of the respondents, 93% were 20 or younger. Concerning the faculties in which they were studying at the University, Table 4:15 provides the following breakdown:

Table 4:15

Distribution of Students by Faculty

<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Arts	102
Science	119
Social Science	80
Business	67
Pre-medical	16
	n=384

Here, again, we have a balanced distribution within the context of the student population at CUHK, where the arts and science faculties (which include several departments each) are more dominant in terms of student numbers.

Another useful source of background information is the respondents' performance on the HKCEE, that is, their

results on the local equivalent of the 'O' level examination at the end of Form Five with respect to the Chinese and English language examinations. Table 4:16 contains those results.

Table 4:16

Distribution of Students' HKCEE Language Results

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>English</u>
A	112	32
B	108	50
C	107	130
D	51	132
E	15	47
	n=393	n=391

These figures show us, not surprisingly, that the students performed better in Chinese than in English as they finished Form Five. As for their results in English, we find that 262 respondents, or 67% of the total, were bunched in the C/D grade range (grades A-E represent passes in the subject), hence suggesting that about 2/3 of the students were of moderate proficiency in English.

Moving now to Table 4:17, we will see both the frequency and the results for students sitting the optional Chinese and English literature papers at HKCEE level.

Table 4:17

Distribution of Students' HKCEE Literature Results

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>English</u>
A	53	1
B	53	1
C	47	0
D	56	1
E	9	2
F	2	0
	n=220	n= 5

In Table 4:17 there is, clearly, a huge disparity between the number of respondents who sat the Chinese and English literature examinations. The primary significance of the figures lies in the fact that just over half of the students (about 56%) had studied Chinese literature extensively enough to sit an important examination in the subject, thus showing that many of the respondents had a working knowledge of literature (albeit in Chinese) when they entered the University. Meanwhile, only 1.3% had chosen to sit the English literature examination. Given the figures vis-a-vis the English literature situation at secondary school level discussed in Section 4B, this is not a surprising percentage. That is, few were likely to have studied English literature at Form Four and Five levels. An interesting point to speculate on with respect to the figure for those sitting the Chinese literature examination is the degree to which their interest in Chinese literature militated against an interest in English literature, as well as how much that interest might bespeak a general interest in literature, including that in English.

The previous tables and discussion provided background information of an objective kind arising from responses to questions 1-5. Another question, number 16, supplies background information of a different kind. Here the question was:

'How important is English in the type of job or career you hope to enter after you complete your university studies?'

The respondents were asked to indicate the degree of

importance of English using a scale in which the number 1 represented 'not at all important' and 6 represented 'extremely important'. The results are seen in Table 4:18.

Table 4:18

Degree of Importance of English in Future Career

<u>Rank</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
1 (not at all important)	12	3.07
2	10	2.56
3	33	8.44
4	101	25.83
5	143	36.57
6 (extremely important)	92	23.53

n=391

Table 4:18 shows that the respondents perceived English to have what might be called a somewhat important role (4) to an extremely important role (6) in a large percentage of cases (85.9%). Such responses bear out comments made in Section 4B about the practical or vocational importance of English in Hong Kong, and the resultant instrumental view of the language arising from those circumstances. Attitudes toward English literature must be seen against the background of that view of English.

Questions 6, 7, and 8 provide background of another kind: a look at the students' use of English outside the academic context as a means of further profiling their connections with English. Condensed into one large question, the three read as follows:

'Usually, how many hours per week do you spend: reading English language newspapers and/or magazines for pleasure or language improvement; reading literature (short stories, novels, poems, plays) in English for pleasure or language improvement; listening to English language radio programmes and/or watching television and movies in English for pleasure or language improvement (i.e. not to

complete school assignments)?'

Their responses are recorded in Table 4:19.

Table 4:19

Amount of Exposure to English by Choice

<u>time spent (hours per week)</u>	<u># of students reading news- papers and/or magazines</u>	<u># of students reading literature</u>	<u># of students watching tv/ movies; listen- to radio</u>
0	60	183	17
<2	220	165	159
2-4	78	34	127
4-6	22	5	51
6-8	7	1	20
8-10	1	0	7
10+	2	0	10
	n=390	n=388	n=391

Some interesting insights emerge from Table 4:19. For instance, we see that only a handful of respondents spent more than 6 hours per week in any of the three categories. We can also see that in each category, about 3/4 of the respondents were clustered in the range from just above 0 hours to 4 hours of time spent per week, suggesting that the respondents took some initiative to expose themselves to English on their own, whether for pleasurable or instrumental purposes. More importantly from the point of view of this study, we note that 165 respondents, or 42.5%, indicated that they spent at least a small amount of time (less than two hours) reading some form of English literature, implying a small degree of interest in literature. On the other hand, 348 of the 388 respondents, or 90% of the group, were in the 0 to less than 2 hours category, leaving just 10% of the respondents spending more than a fraction of their time on English literature, a discouraging but not surprising figure.

To put the figures from Table 4:19 into a clearer context, we can look at mean scores for each category by using the common statistical technique of calculating a mid-point for each range measured, multiplying each frequency by its respective mid-point, and determining mean scores from the figures arrived at. However, true mean scores cannot be calculated, since there can be no mid-point for the last range, 10 hours plus. Still, since only 12 respondents from the three categories combined indicated that they spent more than 10 hours in a category, we can look at mean scores for virtually the entire set of respondents for each category by subtracting those few respondents from the totals. Table 4:20 provides these mean scores.

Table 4:20

Mean Scores for Exposure to English by Choice

<u>category</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>mean (hours/week)</u>
reading newspapers/ magazines	n=388	1.59
reading literature	n=388	.77
watching tv/movies; listening to radio	n=381	2.55

Looked at from the perspective of adjusted mean scores, we can see how much less interest there was in literature compared to the other two categories, with literature claiming less than half as much interest as other reading materials and more than three times less interest than electronic media. The mean for tv/movies/radio is somewhat encouraging, the newspapers/magazines mean less so, and the literature mean discouraging but not surprising. Given the background

discussed in Section 4B, whereby literature is not linked to language or language study/improvement, it is easy to see why the respondents may have felt that literature was not something to turn to in order to improve one's proficiency in English. Furthermore, because literature in secondary school is not utilised within the communicative activities-based approach which can create a sense of pleasure in literature if the right activities are selected, the respondents would not have been given a sense that English literature could be read to be enjoyed.

Looked at on the whole, the responses to the backgrounds questions indicate that the respondents had, generally, modest proficiency in English with virtually no significant exposure to literature in English but a fair amount in Chinese literature in secondary school (based upon the numbers who sat the HKCEE literature examinations). Nor was much interest shown in English literature for outside reading. Meanwhile, a very high percentage believed English to be important to at least a fairly strong degree in their future careers. This would suggest that most of the students' interest in English in terms of their voluntary exposure to the language may have been for strictly instrumental purposes. Here it is worth adding that students in Hong Kong are frequently urged to utilise the abundance of English media available to them (i.e. 4 radio channels, 3 television channels, 2 local newspapers, and many English journals in popular fields such as computers) as a means of reinforcing or further developing their proficiency in the language. It

is not likely that literature receives the same degree of encouragement. In that case, the much lower mean score for literature in Table 4:20 can be read to mean that there was not much of an instrumental view of literature compared to the other sources of English. It may also be the case that literature was perceived as too difficult to aid in the pursuit of instrumental purposes with respect to English. At any rate, literature figured far less prominently in the respondents' choice of a medium for further exposure to English.

Student ideas about ELT

The responses to three questions will be analysed in this sub-section as a means of determining some student reactions to ELT. First there is question 13, which reads:

'In your opinion, how should the following English language skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) be ranked in order of importance for teaching and learning at Chinese University?'

The respondents were asked to list their rankings for each skill on a scale from 1-4, with 1 representing first choice and 4 representing last choice. Table 4:21 lists their rankings on the basis of the frequency of each ranking by student numbers and the percent of the total each frequency represents.

Table 4:21

Rank Ordering of Preferences for Teaching Language Skills (by frequency and % of total)

<u>skills</u>	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Fourth</u>
Reading	102 (26.4)	57 (14.7)	93 (24.0)	135 (34.9)
Writing	90 (23.2)	89 (23.0)	111 (28.7)	97 (25.0)
Listening	65 (16.8)	133 (34.4)	112 (28.9)	77 (19.9)
Speaking	130 (33.6)	108 (27.9)	71 (18.4)	78 (20.2)

n=387

The responses contained in Table 4:21 create a mixed picture with respect to student ideas about ELT as regards the four skills areas. Speaking is clearly the top choice, and this is not surprising in view of the scarcity of opportunities for practicing it students have at secondary school level-despite the use of the communicative approach. In Hong Kong CLT is limited in its applications by the large class size (generally well over 30 students per class) and the reluctance of students to speak English. Thus, when the opportunity for practice occurs at university level, students recognize the value of that opportunity. In addition, job interviews in Hong Kong are usually conducted in English, and so students are eager to be proficient in this skill.

On the other hand, listening presents a less clear picture, having been ranked last among first choices, but fairly easily ranking highest among second choices. Hence, the students seemed to feel it is an important skill to work on, yet they were not prepared to select it ahead of others in the first rank.

While listening clusters in the middle, reading is skewed at the top and bottom of the choices, ranking second among first choices and first among the lowest ranking. Its high ranking (second among all the skills areas) in the first rank is surprising in view of the fact that so much of the students' work in secondary school is done through textbooks in English. Being admitted to university in a highly competitive system, as is the case in Hong Kong, would seem to mean that students can negotiate meanings in textbooks at least

reasonably well (otherwise they would not be admitted), hence the surprise at seeing so many students wishing to study it first at university. Perhaps here there was an expectation among the students that textbooks at the University would be more difficult to understand than in secondary school, thus causing reading problems which would in turn lower their marks. With 3/4 of their lectures delivered in some form of Chinese, the students may have felt greater urgency about reading, where they would not be able to rely on their proficiency in Chinese.

Meanwhile, writing is pretty evenly distributed across the four ranks, suggesting that the students were neither particularly secure or insecure about this skill. Then, too, it is the skill which receives the most attention in secondary school, so that the respondents may not have felt any sense of urgency about further work in that area.

Looked at collectively, these responses can be interpreted to reflect some lack of confidence in CLT as it is applied in Hong Kong. The strong preference for further work in speaking implies that the respondents felt CLT did not provide adequate assistance in this area, even though it is the skill generally thought to be helped most by CLT. The same line of thinking may apply to their ranking of listening. Previously, few would have been taught by a native speaker of English. Thus, upon entering the University and realizing that some of their lectures would be delivered by native speakers, they may have felt unprepared by the practice they received prior to university. Here it is worth pointing out

a commonly held belief in Hong Kong (and one that seems to be borne out by experience): that Hong Kong students tend to understand the often inaccurate or awkward pronunciation of local English teachers better than the accurate pronunciation of native speakers of the language. It is often asserted that there is a Hong Kong variety of English which features, among other characteristics, localized pronunciations-often incorrect-which have come to represent the standard for English. Students may well grow accustomed to this local variety, and then find themselves in difficulty when faced with native speaker pronunciation. As such, the respondents may have feared that they would be unable to adjust to native speaking lecturers, and thus felt a need to brush up on their listening. In this way they were seemingly criticizing the approach through which they had been taught, which left them at least somewhat unprepared for real communication in English.

In light of the comments just made, it is interesting to look ahead to responses to question 15. The question itself asks:

'If you have a Chinese (i.e. Cantonese) speaking teacher in your first year English course, would you prefer that at least some of the teaching be done in Chinese rather than in English?'

Here the respondents were given a simple yes-no choice, but the responses are nevertheless interesting, not only with respect to the comments above, but also to earlier comments about the heavy reliance on mixed code teaching in Hong Kong. Of the 390 responses to this question, 318 students (81.5% of the total) chose 'no'; that is, they preferred to have the

course taught entirely in English. This strong preference would seem to indicate a distinct unhappiness with the way in which they were taught in secondary school, even though the mixed code approach through which CLT was implemented for them may have been more comfortable at the time. That the respondents were so firm in wanting Cantonese speaking teachers to instruct them totally in English suggests that ELT really should be ELT, and that the ECR4 recommendations directed against mixed code instruction are appropriate.

Turning now to question 14, we find a set of responses which is quite interesting vis-a-vis CLT. First we will look at the question itself:

'In your opinion, what percentage of time spent in first year English at Chinese University should be devoted to studying English grammar?'

The respondents were asked to select a number from 0 to 100, and the following responses were made:

Table 4:22

% of Time Which Should be Devoted to Grammar in First Year English

<u>% of time</u>	<u># of students</u>
0	22
1-10	110
11-20	96
21-30	83
31-40	31
41-50	32
51-60	8
61-70	4
71-80	3
81-90	0
91-100	1

n=390
mean=19.5%

In this table the mean (once again determined by using the mid-point of each range) of 19.5% is especially worth

noting. A major complaint against CLT is that it fails to build sufficient grammatical knowledge and accuracy in learners, and this mean response can be looked at in the context of that complaint. The respondents, having experienced CLT in secondary school, felt a need for some grammatical instruction at university level, hence suggesting some lack of confidence on their part—a lack of confidence in their ability to use English grammar, and in the approach through which they had been taught: CLT. On the other hand, the mean of 19.5% is not an especially high one, indicating that their desire for more work in grammar was not a strong reaction against CLT. A more likely possibility is that they felt there were gaps in their grammatical competence as a result of their experience of CLT, rather than that the approach had failed. It should also be pointed out that Hong Kong—indeed, Asian—students are said to feel more secure in a classroom where grammar is taught, though they may find it terribly dull at the same time. In grammar there is a certainty, or a kind of objectivity, which students can latch on to through memorization of rules; the same cannot be said of the free flow of communication in a communicative classroom. This factor is cited as a way of showing that the mean score in Table 4:22 should not be read as a strong criticism of CLT. At the same time, some criticism of CLT is reflected in the mean response.

Looking further at Table 4:22, we can focus now on the fact that the students preferred to spend 80% of the class time on something other than grammar. This may have reflected favourable feelings about the communicative emphasis of CLT,

in that the respondents may have been signalling a strong desire for more of the kind of classroom environment CLT is expected to provide. Conversely, this 80% figure might have been a way of saying that the CLT they were exposed to in secondary school failed to create the greater range of communicative possibilities they wished for, and they then saw the first year English course as compensating for that by leaving open so much class time for non-grammatical work. That is, the first year course had to do what CLT had failed to do in secondary school. This interpretation could explain the firm preference expressed in Table 4:21 for a primary focus on speaking in the first year course. This seems to be a likely possibility, and so we can take the 80% figure as another negative reflection on CLT, as in the case of the 19.5% mean score. Once again, though, this is probably not indicative of a wholesale rejection of CLT.

Taken together, responses to the three questions discussed in this sub-section indicate that the students saw ELT, at least at first year university level, as a means of focusing more on speaking and listening skills than on reading and writing skills. This, in turn, suggests that they felt their CLT experience in secondary school was adequate with respect to reading and writing, and wanting with regards to speaking and listening. Their strong emphasis on further work in speaking during the first year course appears to mean that CLT, at least as it is practiced in Hong Kong, is not as effective as expected in the skill area thought to be most favourably shaped by that approach.

Meanwhile, the respondents made it abundantly clear that they were opposed to mixed code teaching and wanted ELT to work strictly in the context of English. This result seems particularly significant in view of the controversy over mixed code teaching in Hong Kong.

Student ideas about literature in ELT

We saw in the previous discussion how the respondents felt that about 80% of class time in the first year course should be devoted to something other than grammar. In this sub-section we will see the degree to which they felt there was a place for literature within the course, as well as in earlier stages of the language learning process. This, in turn, will reflect on their ideas about the integration of literature and ELT, as well as CLT, since that is the approach currently used in Hong Kong.

Responses to four questions will be discussed in this sub-section. Three of the questions deal with students' ideas about the place of literature at different levels of the educational system; the fourth looks at their preferences for genres of literature.

Questions 9, 10, and 11 each have two parts. First, respondents were asked, on a yes-no basis, whether literature should be used at different points in the process of learning English. Those answering yes were then asked to indicate the percentage of time which they felt should be devoted to literature. Collapsed into one question, they read as follows:

'In your opinion, can studying works of English literature help improve the English language skills of Form 1-3/Form 4-5/first year university students; if you answered 'yes', what percentage of time spent

should be devoted to studying English literature for language improvement purposes in Form 1-3/Form 4-5/ first year university English course?'

Table 4:23 lists the responses to the yes-no portion of the three questions, while Table 4:24 contains the follow-up percentages of time to be spent on literature.

Table 4:23

Can Studying English Literature Help Improve Language Skills?

<u>level of students</u>	<u># and % of 'yes' responses</u>	<u># and % of 'no' responses</u>
Form 1-3	281 (71.50)	112 (28.50)
Form 4-5	358 (91.09)	35 (8.91)
First year at CUHK	345 (87.79)	48 (12.21)

n=393

Regarding Table 4:23, it should first be explained that it was felt necessary to give the respondents a chance to accept or reject the notion of using literature for language improvement before soliciting a more meaningful response. As for the responses, the high percentage of 'yes' cases at Form 1-3 level is interesting and certainly encouraging in view of the virtual absence of literature in those forms (except for graded or simplified readers, which are commonly used at those points in the language learning process). The extremely high percentage of 'yes' responses at Form 4-5 level is even more encouraging, particularly given the data shown in Section 4B, where so few secondary school students choose to sit the HKCEE literature examination. That such a large number of respondents saw a place for literature at that level, where in reality literature barely exists in

the present scheme of things, must be considered significant. Here it must be remembered that the forms in question are those when students are slavishly working through a tightly packed and decidedly unliterary syllabus in preparation for the HKCEE language examination at the end of Form Five. The slightly lower but still very high percentage of 'yes' answers for the first year English course is likewise a very positive sign, particularly since none of the respondents were majoring in English and therefore had no established link to English literature. Such high percentages at each level also ensure that students who had studied in the science stream as well as those from the arts stream in secondary school supported the literary notion. Indeed, an examination of the questionnaires revealed the following percentages for science stream students selecting 'yes': 67.2% at Form 1-3 level; 88.2% at Form 4-5 level; and 83.8% at first year English level.

Table 4:24 puts the 'yes' responses into a fuller and more meaningful context by showing the percentages of time the respondents felt should be devoted to literature for language improvement purposes at each of the three levels of language learning.

Table 4:24% of Time Which Should be Devoted to English Literature for Language Improvement Purposes

<u>% of time spent</u>	<u># of responses (Form 1-3)</u>	<u># of responses (Form 4-5)</u>	<u># of responses (First Year)</u>
0	1	2	2
1-10	71	61	71
11-20	75	92	78
21-30	81	84	84
31-40	23	56	44
41-50	20	39	32
51-60	3	11	14
61-70	1	5	7
71-80	2	4	9
81-90	1	0	2
91-100	0	0	0
	n=278 mean=20.74	n=354 mean=24.66	n=343 mean=25.29

Looking at the mean scores for the three levels above, the overall attitude among the respondents can once again be considered encouraging, though at the same time there is not a wholehearted endorsement of literature. With means ranging from about 21% to 25% of time spent at the three levels in the use of literature, the respondents clearly envisioned a place for literature in language improvement work, but not a dominant one. When viewed within the context of Hong Kong's current approach to language education in English, however, and bearing in mind how little exposure to literature (in English) the respondents had had, the mean scores take on some significance. Here the situation concerning literature in secondary school discussed in Section 4B must be taken into consideration. We saw there how few students sit literature examinations, and how literature is not, on the whole, linked with language improvement work

or with CLT. Somehow, then, the respondents had come to view literature, in the context of language improvement, more positively than those who guide the educational system. To some degree this may have been a reaction against other kinds of language teaching materials the students had been exposed to-materials they had disliked, and saw literature as a positive alternative to. Perhaps, too, experiences with Chinese literature had given them a positive overall view of literature. At any rate, their modest endorsement of literature must be taken as a hopeful sign.

We have now seen how the respondents had shown some preference for literature as a language teaching aid. With that preference in mind, we can look at their feelings about different genres of literature. Here, in question 12, they were asked to rank different types of literature in terms of their preference for use if literature was included in the first year English course. The question itself was stated like this:

'If English literature was included in first year English at Chinese University, how would you rank the different types of literature in terms of your preference for studying them?'

Table 4:25 lists their ranking of each literary type as well as the % of the total for each ranking.

Table 4:25

Rank Ordering of Preferences for Literary Types in First Year English (by frequency and % of total)

<u>type</u>	<u>first</u>	<u>second</u>	<u>third</u>	<u>fourth</u>
-poetry	27 (7.2)	54 (14.4)	83 (22.1)	211 (56.3)
-short st.	251 (66.9)	87 (23.2)	26 (6.9)	11 (2.9)
-plays	36 (9.6)	85 (22.7)	158 (42.2)	96 (25.6)
-novels	61 (16.3)	149 (39.7)	108 (28.8)	57 (15.2)

n=375

Table 4:25 reveals two particularly striking, and perhaps not surprising, facts. One is the overwhelmingly strong preference for short stories in the first rank. The other is the almost equally strong reaction against poetry. Also worth noting is the interest in novels within the second rank. This preference, together with the very high degree of attraction to short stories, indicates an overall preference for fiction. This is consistent with the respondents' brief contact with literature in secondary school where, as previously discussed, they worked with readers and simplified texts set in fictional modes. On the other hand, they would have had little exposure to poetry in English; the same would be true of drama. As such, few students would have been likely to look to drama or poetry for language improvement work, while short stories would look more appealing in that vein. Possible carry-over effects from their experience with Chinese literature should also be considered. Chinese poetry is notoriously difficult, and this might have predisposed the respondents against all poetry. Furthermore, Chinese novels tend to be quite long, and this might indirectly have made short stories look especially attractive by comparison.

Summing up the responses to questions 9, 10, 11, and 12, we have seen that the respondents showed a moderate and encouraging degree of interest in literature as a language teaching tool at three different levels of the language learning process, and that their own preferences in terms of the study of literature lie with types of fiction, especially short stories. On the whole, the responses show

that literature has managed to establish a presence with the respondents despite their experiences in a language education system which, at least in terms of English, generally separates literature from language study. It should also be pointed out, however, that the opposite is true with respect to Chinese literature. While such literature is studied mainly for the rich ways in which it depicts and represents Chinese culture and history, it also is used to build up students' language ability. The most elegant uses of written Chinese are found in its literature, and so students are required to read it so as to help them enhance their own ability in the written language. Given that background, the respondents might have seen a similar value in English literature, even though it had not been presented to them in that vein. If that was the case, it is interesting to speculate on how students might respond if they were given a chance to work fairly extensively with literature in a language improvement mode.

Student attitudes toward ELT

Earlier we reviewed some of the respondents' ideas about ELT; this sub-section looks at their attitudes toward ELT. The focus thus shifts to the second section of the questionnaire featuring a Likert scale arrangement, one often used to measure attitudes. For this questionnaire, a scale of six choices was constructed, ranging from +3 (strong agreement) to -3 (strong disagreement). The other choices were: +2/-2 (moderate agreement/disagreement) and +1/-1 (slight agreement/disagreement). Respondents were then asked to

state their choice with respect to a series of statements relevant to the concerns of this study. Some of the statements were similar to questions asked in the first section of the questionnaire as a means of measuring the strength of the respondents' answers to the earlier set of questions.

Two of the statements, 19 and 21, were intended to further investigate the respondents' answers to questions 6 and 8 regarding their exposure to English outside academic requirements. Table 4:26 contains the responses to statement 20.

Table 4:26

Responses to 'I enjoy reading newspapers and magazines in English' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	25	6.3
+2	93	23.5
+1	144	36.5
-1	92	23.3
-2	30	7.6
-3	11	2.8

n=395

Here we see that about 60% of the respondents were clustered in the -1 to +1 range, with nearly a quarter of the respondents at +2. Bearing in mind the mean response of 1.59 hours per week spent in reading such materials (result from question 6), the responses in Table 4:26 suggest that instrumental purposes were a major factor in the students' reading of English language materials, but that enjoyment also played a role. Given the information-based content of such materials, as well as the type of language used (that which would be deemed helpful in careers

where a knowledge of current affairs type English would be useful), such reading could very well be seen by the respondents as an aid in their career prospects. And, as we have already seen, the respondents generally saw a strong role for English in their future occupations. Thus, the instrumental motivation, supplemented by some degree of personal interest, would seem to explain the results in this table. Further insight is gained by looking at the results in Table 4:27.

Table 4:27

Responses to 'I enjoy watching movies, videos, and television programmes in English' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	97	24.5
+2	161	40.8
+1	110	27.8
-1	20	5.1
-2	7	1.8
-3	0	0.0

n=395

In Table 4:27 we see something of a contrast to the previous table, in that there is a much stronger level of agreement, with about 65% of the respondents choosing +2 and +3. This suggests that visual media, while likely seen as having considerable instrumental value, especially in terms of listening comprehension and vocabulary building, hold more appeal from the point of view of enjoyment. It seems probable, then, that English in these media has a more aesthetic appeal than does print English. Of course, the students' steady diet of English language textbooks as well as the expectation that the same situation would hold true at university would have cast English in print media in an unfavourable light, so that

the students might have ruled out any strong possibility of aesthetic value or pleasure in print English. This would, however, depend on a variable not accounted for in the question at hand: the specific type of print media chosen for voluntary reading. It could be the case, for example, that fashion or music magazines held some appeal to the students, in which case there would be some non-instrumental attraction to English in print. This may well have been the case for the students selecting +2 (or +3) in Table 4:26. At any rate, given the type of English media specified in statement 22, the responses recorded in Table 4:27 indicate that the respondents did find some enjoyment in English. Here it is worth referring back to the mean for question 8, which indicated that the respondents spent an average of 2.55 hours per week utilising such English media. Hence, in looking at the results of the two tables combined, we see that the respondents apparently found both instrumental and aesthetic value in voluntary exposure to English. Such results can of course be useful in the planning and implementation of English courses.

Statements 17 and 25 look more at attitudes toward ELT than toward the language itself. These statements dovetail in the sense that one measures whether the respondents would voluntarily take an English course at the University (17), and the other explores whether the students felt an English course should be required of students, as was the case for them. The objective here was to gain insight into how wedded the students were to the idea of being taught

English after already having studied the language since kindergarten, i.e. for about 14 years. These statements were also seen as related to 20 and 22 discussed earlier, where students' own initiative in working with English independently was investigated. Table 4:28 displays the responses to statement 17.

Table 4:28

Responses to 'During my four years as a student at Chinese University, I would take an English course even if I was not required to do so' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	163	41.3
+2	157	39.7
+1	54	13.7
-1	16	4.0
-2	2	.5
-3	3	.8

n=395

Table 4:28 shows that a high percentage of students—about 80%—made a +2 or +3 choice, suggesting a genuine interest in English, whether for instrumental or aesthetic purposes. That is, the respondents clearly saw some real value in studying English. That such a significant number would choose to take an English course may also suggest insecurity on the part of the respondents with respect to their proficiency in the language, and the quality of the instruction they had received in secondary school, as discussed earlier. It may well be that each of these explanations played a role in their choices.

Table 4:29 adds a further dimension to these points by reporting on responses to statement 25.

Table 4:29

Responses to 'Students at Chinese University should not be required to take any English courses' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	12	3.05
+2	12	3.05
+1	25	6.3
-1	83	21.0
-2	114	28.9
-3	149	37.7

n=395

The responses in Table 4:29 reaffirm those in the previous table through the fact that about 2/3 of the respondents made choices in the -2 and -3 areas, and this is where their significance lies. That is, we see clearly that the respondents genuinely believed in the value of English courses at university level through their strong rejection of the statement. At the same time, the fact that so many of them believed there should be an English course requirement at the University seems to lend particular credence to the previously expressed idea that their secondary school experience of English was inadequate. In other words, a required English course would do what earlier English courses had not done. This might, in turn, be read as a criticism of CLT itself, or rather CLT as it is employed in Hong Kong. It was pointed out earlier that the respondents had already passed through 14 years of English lessons; here, in both Table 4:28 and 4:29, we see them expressing a strong desire for more English, and that must reflect some dissatisfaction with what had taken place during those 14 years. As a result, they saw a role for English at university level.

Student Attitudes toward literature in ELT

In this sub-section, as in the previous one, agreement/disagreement responses to a series of statements expressed within a Likert scale format will be analysed. Here the focus is on literature. Six statements examining attitudes toward literature from various perspectives will be reviewed through the tables that follow, beginning with Table 4:30.

Table 4:30

Responses to 'Studying English Literature is a useful way to improve a Chinese University student's ability in English' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	44	11.2
+2	145	36.8
+1	156	39.6
-1	31	7.9
-2	13	3.3
-3	5	1.2

n=394

In Table 4:30 we see what would appear to be a solid degree of support for the statement at hand, and hence an endorsement of the notion of literature as an aid in language teaching (as opposed to literature for literature's sake). About 87% of the respondents made a choice in the +1 to +3 range, with just under half of those in the +2 to +3 area. The statement itself does not indicate how useful literature might be in this context, so the responses cannot be said to be an expression of wholehearted support for literature in the language classroom (at least at Chinese University). But even if we assume that most of the respondents looked at the term 'useful' in a limited sense, we do see an encouraging view of literature. And here, once again, it is worth

recalling the students' lack of exposure to English literature in secondary school, in which case their somewhat strong tendency to support a role for literature in language teaching is significant. It is also worth remembering the results concerning questions 9, 10, and 11, and the respondents' feelings in each case that literature has a place in language teaching. In other words, the responses to statement 18 are consistent with results reported earlier.

Statement 20, like statement 18 just discussed, looks at students' enjoyment of English vis-a-vis literature. The responses to this statement are reported in Table 4:31.

Table 4:31

Responses to 'I enjoy reading English Literature' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	2	.5
+2	43	10.9
+1	123	31.1
-1	132	33.4
-2	58	14.7
-3	37	9.4

n=395

Table 4:31 shows a considerable amount of clustering within the -1 to +1 range, while, at the same time, there is a small tendency to disagree with the statement. It is also worth noting that only about 11% of the respondents reported enjoying reading literature more than a little, while nearly a quarter reported a fairly strong to strong reaction against the notion of enjoying English literature.

The clustering effect just noted suggests that feelings about the statement were generally not strong in one direction

or another. However, the tendency toward disagreeing with the statement is interesting when juxtaposed against the results reported in Table 4:30. There we saw the respondents somewhat strongly supporting the idea that literature is useful in improving language ability. At the same time it is important to remember the mean score reported for responses to question 7, where the respondents indicated that they spent an average of just .77 hours per week reading literature in English voluntarily. Taken as a whole, these results appear to indicate that the students looked at literature in a primarily instrumental vein, just as they apparently did newspapers and magazines, as noted earlier. Such a view of literature is encouraging from a language teaching point of view, but sobering from the perspective of the appreciation of the aesthetic value and pleasures of literature. An important factor at work here may have been a point discussed previously: that Chinese literature is used to help build students' ability in written Chinese, and that the respondents' experience of literature in this context might have carried over into their view of English literature. That is, the pragmatic application of Chinese literature may have been transferred to their perception of English literature, and this may have worked against the idea of appreciation or enjoyment of such literature. If this is true, it is a point to be exploited in building a case in Hong Kong for pragmatic use of literature in English lessons.

Table 4:32 provides another angle from which to view students' attitudes toward literature.

Table 4:32

Responses to 'In the First Year English Course at Chinese University, English Literature would be more suitable for students in the Arts and Social Science faculties than for students in the Science faculties' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	26	6.6
+2	67	17.0
+1	94	23.8
-1	101	25.6
+2	76	19.2
-3	31	7.8

n=395

Table 4:32 presents another case in which the responses are evenly distributed across the scale, with some clustering in the middle, between -1 and +1. There is, however, a slight tendency to disagree with the statement. This response is an encouraging one in the sense of suggesting that the respondents saw equal value in literature to all kinds of students. With 58% of the respondents having studied in the science stream in secondary school, this response is even more encouraging, since science stream students have chosen to move in a distinctly unliterary direction, yet literature apparently was seen by them as having some worth. This capacity for literature to cut across such boundaries as 'arts' and 'science' is a further reason to build upon its use in language teaching in Hong Kong, particularly in view of the common assumption that science stream students are not favourable towards literature.

With these results and comments in mind, it will be helpful to look now at the results contained in Table 4:33.

Table 4:33

Responses to 'Only students who have studied English Literature in secondary school can understand it well in First Year English at Chinese University' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	12	3.0
+2	59	15.0
+1	116	29.4
-1	120	30.5
-2	68	17.3
-3	19	4.8

n=394

Table 4:33 features a considerable amount of clustering within the -1 to +1 range. On the whole, no particular tendency is suggested in the table. This set of responses is generally consistent with the results in Table 4:32. It therefore seems safe to say that the respondents with a science background did not, in the main, feel any more anxiety than did the respondents with an arts background to the study of literature. Instead, the even distribution of responses, as in Table 4:32, indicates a wide variety of feelings among the respondents, none of which can be said to be representative of the group as a whole. As with the previous table, however, there is slight encouragement in the fact that the number of respondents registering fairly strong to strong agreement with each statement is small.

In Table 4:34 we can look at attitudes toward literature from a different direction.

Table 4:34

Responses to 'Detective stories, ghost stories, science fiction stories, and love stories can be considered part of English Literature' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	71	18.0
+2	158	40.1
+1	127	32.2
-1	29	7.4
-2	6	1.5
-3	3	.8
	n=394	

The statement above to which the students were responding was constructed so as to gain a deeper understanding of how the students conceptualized literature, as well as to draw inferences with regards to how literature might be used in Hong Kong language classrooms. It was also intended to shed light on the responses to other literature-related statements.

Table 4:34 shows a strongly favourable reaction to the statement, with just over 90% of the respondents having some degree of agreement with it, and just less than 10% expressing any degree of disagreement. This combination of responses offers hope, and a possible way in, for literature in the Hong Kong ELT/CLT context. The kinds of literature mentioned in the statement are what would generally be considered light or popular literature-the kinds often used in CLT. We know from the responses to statement 20 that the respondents did not, on the whole, attribute much enjoyment to the reading of English literature. It is quite possible, though, that the types of texts listed above were not taken into account when the respondents reacted to statement 20; that is, the students may well have been thinking in terms of the literary

canon, particularly since their experience of Chinese literature in secondary school was canonical in nature. They might therefore have assumed 'literature' meant the same sort of thing they had dealt with in Chinese courses. If, however, they can define literature to include the lighter types of texts, as the responses in Table 4:34 indicate they can, then literature itself might be seen in a more favourable light. This more positive perception of literature, coupled with the feelings expressed regarding questions 9, 10, and 11- where the respondents saw some place for literature in language teaching-might lead to even greater enthusiasm for the idea of literature in the language classroom.

The responses recorded in Table 4:34 do not state that, because the students saw those kinds of texts as literature, they felt more inclined to read and enjoy literature; we only know that they accepted the idea of such texts as literature. However, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that such kinds of texts would have some appeal to students. If so, their acceptance of those sorts of texts as literature could be seen as part of a foundation (combined with other responses already discussed) from which to bring literature into Hong Kong's type of CLT through such texts. At present, as we saw in Section 4B, literature in Hong Kong is looked at in terms of a subject, with traditional texts usually those employed in the syllabus. This conceptualization of literature is a major reason why it is kept apart from language-based, CLT oriented classroom work. What is necessary, then, is the kind of attitude expressed by the

students in Table 4:34.

A final look at student attitudes toward literature occurs in Table 4:35.

Table 4:35

Responses to 'It is usually more difficult to understand English Literature than English newspapers and magazines' (frequency and % of total)

<u>Order</u>	<u># of students</u>	<u>% of total</u>
+3	74	18.7
+2	160	40.5
+1	107	27.1
-1	37	9.4
-2	14	3.5
-3	3	.8

n=395

Table 4:30 argues for the statement, though the degree of difficulty the respondents had in mind is not measured or indicated. However, the fact that nearly 60% of the respondents registered firm agreement with the statement (at the +2 and +3 levels) could be read to mean the degree of difficulty was considered to be at least fairly high. Given the respondents' presumed lack of significant exposure to any literature in English beyond the readers and simplified texts they had worked with in secondary school, it is not unreasonable to wonder whether they were commenting on actual difficulties encountered, or anticipated difficulties if they were asked, for example, to read a text from the English literary canon. Indeed, it is possible the students reacted as they did out of a fear that disagreement with the statement would result in their being required to read canonical texts. At any rate, their firm agreement with the statement correlates with their earlier expressed feelings to the

effect that reading literature would not, on the whole, be enjoyable. On the other hand, literature as it was defined in statement 24 (Table 4:34) might not be regarded in the same way reflected in Table 4:35.

A curious thing about the figures in Table 4:35 is how they might relate to those for questions 9, 10, and 11, where the respondents felt there was a role for literature in Forms 1-5, as well as the first year English course. If literature is more difficult than the other English print media, why use it in language lessons? Perhaps the interpretation here should be that the respondents, while finding literature more difficult than the other media, did not necessarily see great difficulty in it. Perhaps, too, in responding to questions 9, 10, and 11, the students were thinking in terms of the sort of light literature mentioned in Table 4:34.

Summary of Section 4C

Some student attitudes toward ELT stand out, particularly their fundamentally instrumental view of English, and therefore English courses, and their strong degree of interest in working on speaking over the other language skills. Meanwhile, their desire for a small but not insignificant role for grammar in the first year English course at Chinese University implies certain insecurities on their part with regards to the linguistic competence they carried with them into the University. This, as noted earlier, seems to reflect at least some dissatisfaction with the teaching they had received earlier, perhaps especially the communicatively

based instruction they had been taught through in secondary school. Furthermore, some genuine non-academic interest in English was also reflected, particularly in the time they spent on their own with English language audio-visual media. At the same time, and consistently standing in the background, were the respondents' views regarding the role of English in their future careers. That they generally believed English would play the important, even vital, role they forecast for it is a significant backdrop to their responses to any of the ELT-related questions. On the whole, we see a group of respondents who, despite approximately 14 years of English lessons prior to university study, still wanted to take courses in the language. Once again, instrumental motives may have been at the bottom of this desire for more English, but there is evidence to suggest that genuine personal interest in the language existed as well.

As for literature, we find a curious and interesting blend of responses. Generally speaking, the respondents envisioned some role for literature at school and first year university level, despite having studied in an educational system where literature (in English) has only a meagre existence, and where only a handful appear to have studied it in secondary school. It is therefore difficult to determine where their moderately favourable responses to it came from, but it is believed that the way in which they had studied Chinese literature in order to bolster their Chinese language skills may have influenced their attitudes toward English literature. It was also hypothesized earlier that

their belief in some role for literature in language lessons reflected some discontent with other materials they had been forced to study English with.

The literature-based results have been interpreted, for the most part, to mean that the respondents looked at literature in ELT in an essentially instrumental light, particularly since the large majority did not report enjoying the reading of it. On the other hand, nearly 42% did report reading it, though the mean response was only .77 hours per week. This response is believed to mean that those who were turning to literature were doing so out of a belief that some reading of literature would be of practical benefit in the further development of their English language proficiency and hence their career prospects. This apparent emphasis on the pragmatic consequences of reading literature was also discussed earlier as being somewhat encouraging, in that it suggests an opening for a language-based role for literature in Hong Kong. That is, if the respondents, who had passed through a distinctly unliterary secondary school system, saw some value in literature at school and university levels, teachers and language planners might likewise be persuaded that literature deserves far more consideration within the context of a language teaching scheme than it receives at present. At the moment, as we saw in Section 4B, English literature is studied so as to prepare students to sit very traditional type literature examinations. This, clearly, is not a way of encouraging large numbers of students to study literature. The results of the survey suggest that students

would generally favour some working of literature into the language curriculum provided pragmatic purposes are being served. This would entail linking literature to CLT and the activities-based approach; such a development appears very unlikely, at best.

Summary of the Chapter

Chapter Four set out to put literature within ELT/CLT into a narrower focus than was seen in Chapter Three in order to gain some sense of the degree to which an integration of the three is actually taking place beyond the level of scholarship promoting such an integration. In that context we saw a somewhat discouraging situation, on the whole. Section 4A revealed that, in terms of teacher training programmes, literature is generally not cast within a language teaching mould, provided we combine American and British training programmes. British programmes seem to be moving in the direction advocated in this study, that is, showing teachers how to teach literature, and connecting it to language study. American programmes, on the other hand, show little evidence of adopting that direction. Without more movement along these lines, only relatively small numbers of teachers will emerge from training programmes prepared for, or disposed toward, the use of literature in the communicative language classroom. This, in turn, will prevent wider acceptance of literature as a communicative language teaching tool.

Sections 4B and 4C looked at one locale in which ELT is practiced within the communicative framework, and here

the picture was a rather discouraging one. Hong Kong, as we have seen, conceptualises literature as a subject onto itself, and therefore one separate from language learning and teaching. As such, it is not linked with CLT. The result is that steadily declining numbers of students are choosing to sit the colony's two public literature examinations. On the other hand, we saw that a new type of literature examination is being developed, one that makes broader use of literature. However, it is generally believed in Hong Kong that the examination is doomed to fail. This is because it does not conform rigidly to the traditional set books pattern, instead leaving teachers and students some leeway to choose their own texts. It is therefore expected that few teachers, and few students, will be willing to take the initiative to pursue a syllabus which is not neatly laid out for them.

The discussion in Section 4B, then, reflected rather negatively on the actual presence of literature within a language teaching context, the excellent scholarship in the field notwithstanding. Whether Hong Kong represents a typical communicative teaching situation is difficult to say, and so great significance cannot be attached to the points raised in Section 4B. Nevertheless, those points are worth bearing in mind as a possible indicator of where things actually stand in the integration of literature and ELT/CLT.

In contrast, Section 4C offered a little more hope, in that the student responses to a survey on literature and ELT showed some interest in literature despite the absence of English literature in most of the educational system the

respondents had passed through on their way to university study. On the whole, the survey results could be said to be moderately encouraging.

In summary, Chapter Four has showed, in empirical terms, that understandable enthusiasm about the integration of literature and ELT/CLT must be tempered by signs that, in the realm of actual classroom teaching and the preparation of language teachers, as opposed to the world of scholarship, the link between literature, ELT, and CLT is not progressing as quickly, or as extensively, as those promoting that link would prefer, if the situations reviewed in this chapter are at all representative of the world of ELT at large.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY: LITERATURE IN AN ESP CLASSROOM

Introduction

Chapter Five continues the narrower focus on the major research interests of the study initiated in Chapter Four by investigating the use of literature in a specific type of communicative teaching situation: an ESP classroom. This represents an exploration of literature in a domain of CLT not normally associated with literature. This exploration is presented through the following format.

First, there is a section which describes the development of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), with a particular stress on the work of ESP researchers whose insights have had the greatest effect on the design of the literature-based experiment discussed later in the chapter. This section is a necessary prelude to the sections which follow.

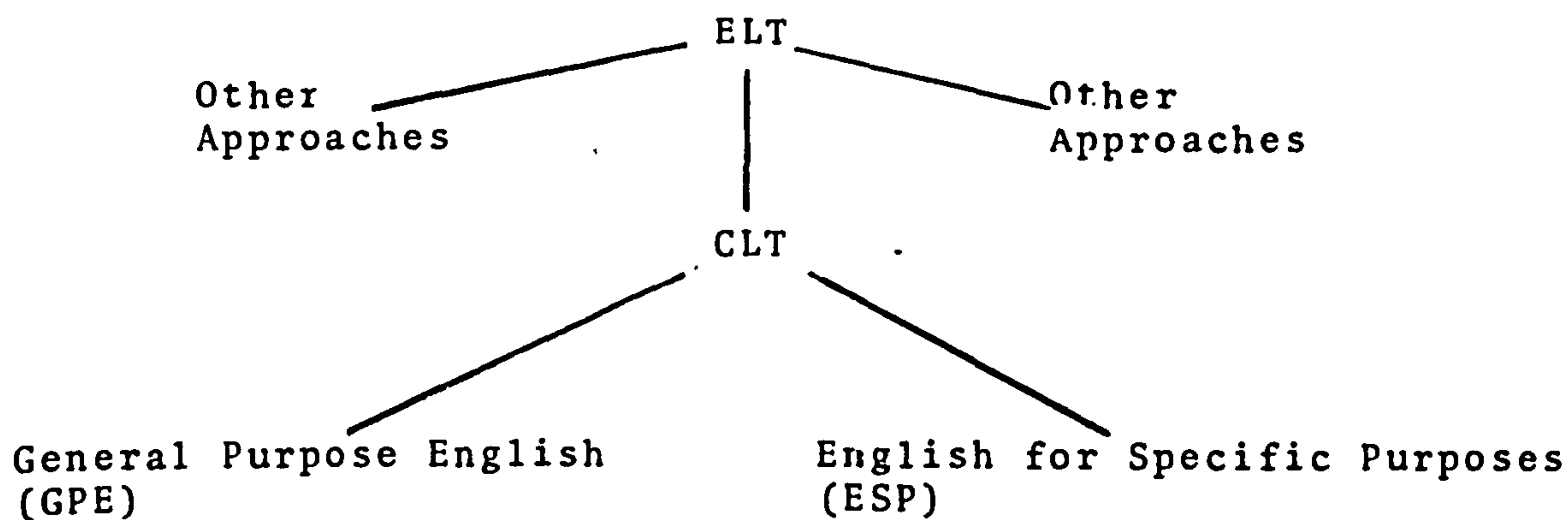
Second, there is a section which describes a theoretical framework which was developed by the researcher in order to examine how literature might be incorporated into ESP. This framework represents a synthesis of important points discussed in previous chapters and in the first section of this chapter, as well as the researcher's own perspectives.

Third, there is a section which describes a classroom experiment in which the framework outlined in the second section was implemented. Following a description of that experiment, there is a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the experiment and the insights gained from it.

Section 5A: DESCRIPTION OF ESP

Overview

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is an area of ELT which is usually considered to have begun, in the contemporary context, in the early 1960s. It is a branch of the communicative approach to language teaching, and has been the object of much of the scholarly scrutiny which CLT has received. Indeed, it may well be the most widely practiced form of CLT. The following model describes its relationship to ELT and CLT:



In one of the most important earlier works on ESP, Strevens (1977b:90) offers the following definition of ESP: 'Broadly defined, ESP courses are those in which the aims and the content are determined, principally or wholly, not by criteria of general education...but by functional and practical English language requirements of the learner'. Thus, as the diagram above indicates, ESP is juxtaposed against general purpose type teaching, where learners are taught overall proficiency in the target language without any regard to specific types of communicative circumstances which would dominate their communication in that language.

Instead, they are supplied with a general kind of communicative competence which leaves them prepared to meet a wide range of communicative contexts. ESP, on the other hand, targets particular types of communicative situations which learners will spend the bulk of their time operating within, and strives to prepare them for effective communication within such narrowly targeted conditions. Therefore, as Strevens goes on to explain, ESP is characterized by the following major features (1980:108-109):

- (i) devised to meet the learner's particular needs;
- (ii) related in themes and topics to designated occupations or areas of study;
- (iii) selective (i.e. 'not general') as to language content;
- (iv) when indicated, restricted as to the language "skills" included.

ESP, then, revolves around specifications of various kinds connected to the needs of the learners involved, as its name implies. Thus, says Robinson (1980:13), 'an ESP course is purposeful and is aimed at the successful performance of occupational or educational roles. It is based on a rigorous analysis of students' needs'. ESP is therefore what she calls a 'utilitarian' approach to ELT in which learners' needs are more specifically stated and pursued than in the case of other types of ELT. It is in this sense that it becomes 'purposeful', as a definition by Blackie (1979:266) also makes clear: 'ESP should normally refer to programmes designed for groups of learners who are homogeneous with respect to aims, and whose specific learning objectives have been quantified and stated in communicative terms'.

There is, then, a clear and specified purpose at work in the teaching/learning situation at hand. That purpose arises from a careful analysis of the needs of the learners, i.e. 'needs analysis'. As Hutchinson and Waters (1987:19) explain it,

Understood properly, it is an approach to language learning, which is based on learner need. The foundation of all ESP is the simple question: Why does this learner need to learn a foreign language?... ESP, then, is an approach to language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner's reason for learning.

Such an approach results in a situation which Kennedy and Bolitho (1984:3) describe as follows:

In short, ESP has its basis in an investigation of the purposes of the learner and the set of communicative needs arising from those purposes. These needs will then act as a guide to the design of course materials. The kind of English to be taught and the topics and themes through which it will be taught will be based on the interests and requirements of the learner.

There is thus some variety in ESP: as noted earlier by Robinson, ESP courses usually fall under either occupational or educational umbrellas. In the case of the former, that normally means courses aimed at adult learners who are preparing themselves to meet the linguistic needs of a particular 'target situation', such as the English necessary to be an automobile mechanic. In the case of the latter, the students are normally still in school, especially at tertiary level, and have acquired a fundamental knowledge of the target language which must now be channelled towards the specific needs of a particular area of study. This distinction leads to another, which Mountford (1988) describes as that between 'skills-specific' and 'subject-specific'

approaches and materials. Skills-specific refers to targeting of the particular kinds of language skill a specific situation requires; this would usually apply to the occupational or vocational type of ESP course. Subject-specific refers to providing learners in an educational setting with the knowledge of the language necessary to study and later perform in a particular field of study, such as engineering.

Given the points mentioned thus far, a standard ESP course will, says Widdowson (1981:1), operate on the basis of the following assumptions:

If a group of learners' needs for the language can be accurately specified, then this specification can be used to determine the content of a language program that will meet these needs. Thus, if, for example, we can specify what students of economics need to be able to do with English by analyzing their textbooks or what waiters need to be able to do with English by analyzing their interaction with patrons, we can devise custom-made courses of English that incorporate the results of the analysis.

The learner-centred nature of the definitions presented thus far, together with the emphasis on 'real-world' communication hinted at in those definitions, shows why ESP is linked with CLT. As Chapter Two demonstrated, CLT aims to supply learners with the ability to use the target language in real-life settings by emphasizing fluency over accuracy, thus enabling learners to cope successfully with the free flow of everyday communication. Hence the stress is on the learner and the learner's communicative needs, rather than on providing the learner with a supply of structural knowledge of the target language where the focus is on the language instead of the learner. Clearly, the same is true of ESP, where the learner's purposes with the language are the

central issue. In this sense, then, ESP and CLT are closely connected by their common focus on the learner. However, as we have already seen, CLT can be applied within both a general and a specific context on the basis of the degree of specification of learners' needs, so that ESP represents one branch of CLT, that servicing the specified needs of learners. As such, it differs greatly from GPE.

Ewer, one of the earlier developers of ESP, has written of the ESP-GPE contrast by comparing 'aimless, inchoate and teacher-centred "general" English to the totally different student centred system of ESP' (1983:10). A less vehement description of the contrast between ESP and GPE is provided by Robinson (1980:6), who says that

the general with which we are contrasting the specific of ESP is that of general, education-for-life, culture and literature orientated language courses in which the language itself is the subject matter and the purpose of the course. The student of ESP, however, is learning English en route to the acquisition of some quite different knowledge or set of skills.

Another way of looking at this difference is offered by Crocker (1981:8), who explains that in ESP the primary concern 'is in achieving something outside the language through the medium of language, as opposed to a primary interest in achieving an identified level of proficiency in the language itself, even though this may be described in terms of the things that level of proficiency will facilitate'.

Essentially, then, says McDonough (1984:5), ESP can be regarded as 'language as a service', i.e. language serving as a means to another end. This focus on the 'service' dimension of ESP, while pointing to its greatest virtue,

also casts ESP in an often unfavourable light within ELT. For one thing, 'service English' has developed a connotation inside the profession which rings of something less important than GPE. Furthermore, says Widdowson, 'There is a suspicion, even, in the minds of some people that ESP is a kind of vast confidence trick practised on the ESL profession, so that one begins to feel a little furtive about expressing an interest in it' (1984:201). That is, ESP, he notes, 'has over recent years achieved institutional status' (1984:201) while working within aims which are frequently seen as trivial in view of their unglamorous nature, a situation which leads to confusion and perhaps resentment over the success of ESP.

Still, ESP constitutes a prominent branch of CLT because it operates on the basis of the fundamental principles of CLT described in Chapter Two. At the same time, it features a wide range of sub-branches of its own where in each case a specific or special set of needs is central to the design and implementation of courses within the sub-branches. The most notable of these sub-branches are English for Science and Technology (EST), English for Academic Purposes (EAP), and English for Occupational Purposes (EOP).

The titles of these various sub-branches illustrate the important distinction between types of ESP cited earlier by Robinson, that between occupational and educational ESP, or what Strevens (1988:39) later refers to as 'the distinction... between English which is instructional and English which is operational'. As will be seen in the second section of the present chapter, the occupational-educational dichotomy is

a crucial one. It also represents the broad parameters in which ESP has developed. That development will be discussed in the next sub-section of this chapter.

Development of ESP

There are a number of valuable works which, through a review of important developments in ESP or through collections of important papers on the subject, have outlined the shifts in focus which have stimulated its growth. These include Coffey (1984), Howatt (1984), Mackay and Mountford (1978), McDonough (1984), Robinson (1980), Strevens (1977a), and Swales (1985b). These works, collectively, show how the development of ESP has overlapped the development of CLT, hence cementing the connection between them.

In terms of a general statement of ESP's development, Hutchinson and Waters (1987:158) point out that

In spite of its relatively brief existence, ESP has undergone a number of important shifts in orientation. These have come about largely because ESP has developed at a time when a fundamental revision of our view of language and learning has been taking place. Lacking a long tradition which might give it some stability, ESP has frequently been a hotbed of conflict-the Wild West of ELT. New settlers in this land must often have found it difficult to find their bearings with no agreed maps to guide them.

As Howatt (1984) explains, ESP's roots can be traced back as far as the late 16th century, when 'large numbers of French Huguenot refugees in the 1570s and 1580s' streamed into England and required quick, pragmatic instruction in English. This meant targeting, and servicing, their most specific and immediate linguistic needs. Service-type English teaching also became important as trade increased between England and its neighbouring countries and some form

of mercantile English was required. In contemporary terms, however, ESP began in the 1960s. According to Swales (1985b), the first ESP-based work was a paper by Barber in 1962 on the use of scientific English. Also important in the early 1960s was Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) cited in Chapter Two. Making reference to 'English for civil servants; for policemen; for officials of the law; for dispensers and nurses; for specialists in agriculture; for engineers and fitters', Halliday et al noted that

Every one of these specialized needs requires, before it can be met by appropriate teaching materials, detailed studies of restricted languages and special registers carried out on the basis of large samples of the language used by the particular persons concerned. It is possible to find out just what English is used in the operation of power stations in India: once this has been observed, recorded and analyzed, a teaching course to impart such language behaviour can at last be devised with confidence and certainty. (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, 1964:190)

Halliday et al did more than draw attention to the possibility of identifying and teaching specialized purposes of English; they also offered the first tool for use in that process: the analysis of language registers, with courses built around such analyses. Carrying out such analyses and building course materials around them became the first major endeavour in ESP; that register-based focus remains important today.

While register analysis took shape in the 1960s, other developments vital to the evolution of ESP were also occurring. Candlin (1978) notes two of them. One was the importance of learning specialized uses of English to assist in national development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Here the

language of science and technology became especially important; indeed, EST was the major focus of early work in ESP. The second, he says, was the growth of interest 'in the study of language in social contexts' (1978:vi) in the previously cited work of sociolinguists like Hymes. Brumfit and Roberts augment Candlin's observations when they explain that

The development of special-purpose language teaching is due to the combination of at least two major factors: the increasing pressure to teach languages quickly and efficiently, especially to busy adults who require a language for the expansion and enhancement of their careers, and the emergence, from research in linguistics, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, of potential ways of doing this. (1983:88)

Another significant factor in the shift towards ESP was, according to Strevens (1977b:89), a reaction against 'the earlier assumption of language teaching as a handmaiden of literary studies'. As McDonough (1984) explains, this reaction was occurring in many parts of the world. Much of that reaction was felt in the numerous British Council courses available globally (as also suggested in comments cited earlier in Rutter et al, 1985). This, in turn, meant that such a reaction was especially being noted by British applied linguists, as well as being carried back to Britain by Council teachers returning from their British Council experiences. As a result, the move to incorporate a 'special purposes' element into ELT took shape in Britain, including the early work in register analysis which shaped ESP in its pioneering stages.

This early register-based work was, as pointed out earlier, centred mainly on 'scientific English'. However, there was also increasing interest in the English of other,

particularly occupational, fields. In general, then, the focus of attention was on isolating and quantifying the important features of the language used in these fields. As Crofts (1981:146-147) describes the situation, 'At that time the important differences between the kinds of language used in different fields were seen mainly in terms of the lexical items that were peculiar to particular fields or especially common in them and grammatical items that were used in a special way or with special frequency'. In other words, says Waters (1982:xi), ESP was 'a predominantly linguistic concern'. Within this context, say Williams, Swain and Kirkman (1984:2-3), ESP featured an 'emphasis on linguistic competence, avoidance of error, a rigidly-graded approach to syntax and lexis, etc'.

However, as Coffey notes in describing those initial days of ESP, 'ESP began as a materials-production concern-typically, ad hoc materials to meet the highly localised needs of one group of students following one particular course of study, for whom the orthodox materials had proved inadequate, or to meet the manpower needs of a local expertise' (1984:9).

Basically, as the 1960s closed ESP was heavily influenced by the dominant structuralist orientation of ELT while at the same time emphasizing the needs of the learner and stressing the role of register analysis in the design of course materials. Meanwhile, the influence of work in sociolinguistics vital in the later development of CLT was likewise being felt in ESP, so that it in a sense straddled structuralist

ELT and anticipated the rise of CLT.

In the 1970s ESP underwent a number of important shifts. In general terms, according to Clarke (1989:73-74):

The development of ESP syllabuses during the 1970s focused attention very clearly upon the question of what 'communicative' input materials might actually consist of. It became immediately apparent that, in contrast to the usually vague objectives of English for general purposes, ESP demanded 'real life' language use as its model and as its goal. Materials input to such a syllabus would thus consist of such performance-based contexts as textbooks, lectures, laboratories or workshops.

Within the context just described, ESP, like CLT as a whole, was being influenced by Hymes' well known sociolinguistic stress on 'rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless'. There was thus a move to shift ESP away from its narrow structuralist orientation of the 1960s in order to serve more fully the learners' needs emphasis at the heart of ESP. As Kennedy and Bolitho (1984:3) point out, this resulted in 'a move towards a view of language as not only a set of grammatical structures but also a set of functions'. Hutchinson and Waters note that this was particularly true in learning contexts in which 'students had already done a structurally organised syllabus, probably at school' and whose greatest need was 'not to learn the basic grammar, but rather the learn how to use the knowledge' (1987:32) they had acquired. That is, as their study of the target language fell within more specific bounds, they needed to learn the particular functional uses of the language inside those bounds.

The interest in language functions coincided with an important shift in attention from register analysis to

discourse analysis, especially under the influence of work by Widdowson (to be discussed later in the chapter). Tarone and Yule (1989:48-49) say of this shift that 'rhetorical function' became more important than purely grammatical function, and that

researchers in the 'grammatical-rhetorical' tradition argued that this focus upon grammatical forms alone, while it provided a useful point at which to begin study, could not explain why speakers and writers had made the grammatical choices they had...Researchers, it was argued, had to establish the rhetorical structure of the text and its functions, and then relate grammatical choices to those functions.

In the 1970s, then, there was a shift to an emphasis on rhetorical function, especially in EST, though it should also be noted that register analysis was not abandoned. However, there was a feeling among discourse analysts that, in its focus on isolating particular words and phrases through a quantification of the most frequent uses of a language within specified fields or contexts, register analysis presented too limited a view of language. A stress on rhetorical function was therefore seen as a more comprehensive approach to language.

The shift to rhetorical function was initiated partly through the work of the so-called 'Washington School' headed by Selinker and Trimble. As Trimble (1985:2) explains, from their point of view 'discourse means a collection of connected language units-such as sentences and paragraphs-that together make up a coherent, cohesive text'. With this understanding in mind, he says, 'We began our work on the assumption that from the point of view of use, language must be studied beyond the level of the isolated sentence. We think, then,

in terms of units of text, with the paragraph being the most easily and usefully analyzable such unit' (1985:2). Such analysis produced insight into the rhetorical functions performed by language, specifically the language used in scientific discourse, rather than simply an identification of the linguistic items at work in the discourse. Students were then taught how to perform those functions in addition to acquiring a knowledge of the linguistic items most common to the discipline being studied.

As we saw in Chapter Two, Widdowson was also interested in discourse analysis, and in the ESP context this was reflected in a focus on rhetorical function. His well-known English in Focus series, written with J.P.B. Allen in the mid 1970s, was based upon the notion of providing learners with a knowledge of the rhetorical functions at work in the discourse of science, and then having them complete exercises which enabled them to develop the ability to perform those functions. Central to the development of this series was a seminal paper they wrote in 1974, where they drew a distinction between usage and use and stressed the need to focus on the latter as a means of familiarizing learners with 'the communicative properties of language' (1974:1). This, they said, means moving 'from an almost exclusive concern with grammatical forms to at least an equal concern with rhetorical functions' (1974:3) such as definition, classification, drawing conclusions, etc. The English in Focus series which followed this paper provided instruction and practice in the use of a wide variety of rhetorical

functions characteristic of science and technology.

In the 1970s, then, there was clearly a different view of language and language learning emerging in ESP. Previously, when register analysis dominated ESP, there was an emphasis on 'the statistical significance of lexical items rather than their communicative value as instances of use' (Mackay and Mountford, 1978:16). As Candlin, Kirkwood and Moore point out, this earlier emphasis was unwieldy from a practical point of view. First, they note, there was 'considerable descriptive difficulty of a data-collecting and analysing kind' (1978:197). Second, they observe that 'there are as many "Englishes of special purposes" as there are disciplines expressed in English' (1978:197), so that providing a comprehensive, useful register analysis of them becomes essentially an impossible task. Then, too, the previous focus on usage rather than use was increasingly seen as unsound. The register analysis approach implied the existence of special languages pertaining to the occupations or disciplines being studied. However, as Mackay and Mountford explain, such an approach creates 'restricted repertoires' for learners to acquire, and

such restricted repertoires are not languages, just as a tourist phrase book is not a grammar. Knowing a restricted 'language' would not allow the speaker to communicate in novel situations, or in contexts outside the vocational environment. Indeed there are very few contexts for which a restricted repertoire is entirely satisfactory. (1978:4-5)

It should be pointed out that such criticisms of register analysis did not eliminate such analysis from ESP, nor did they demonstrate that register analysis itself

is not a legitimate means of gathering linguistic data. Instead, it was seen as necessary to adjust the place of register analysis in ESP, so that the data it provides can be used in concert with other data and materials in ESP, rather than as the object of ESP courses.

By the end of the 1970s there was, says Robinson (1980:17), 'agreement that ESP does not mean a restricted language'; instead, she points out, 'it is the purpose for which the language learner is studying that is special or specific, not the language' (1980:8).

This focus on the learner's purpose(s) for learning a language brought the notion of needs analysis into a prominent position in ESP as the 1970s came to a close. But here the problem of adequately identifying learners' needs emerged and proved difficult to solve. On the one hand, as McDonough (1984:29) remarks, 'the idea of analysing the language needs of the learner as a basis for course development has become almost synonymous with ESP in recent years, and it is difficult to think of one without the other coming to mind'. On the other hand, as Brumfit and Roberts (1983:89) note,

needs analysis is in fact a difficult task involving many complexities. Not the least of these are that there can be conflicts of interest between bodies funding language courses, such as employers, and other parties concerned, including the learners.

Furthermore, say Tarone and Yule (1989:8), 'learners' aims, in terms of life or career, are not always readily characterized at any one point in time, nor do they necessarily remain constant'. In addition, Hutchinson (1988:75) notes, 'Needs analysis may act as a compass in

telling us where we want to go, but in determining our route to that target we must be guided by principles of learning'.

Still, as the citation from McDonough makes clear, ESP is notable partly for its efforts to provide needs analyses of learners' purposes for studying a language in the true spirit of the learner-centred orientation of communicative language teaching. Among these efforts, one which must be mentioned, though it is not centred specifically on ESP, is Richterich and Chancerel (1978). Working on the Council of Europe project aimed at supplying adult learners, in particular, with better means of learning foreign languages, Richterich and Chancerel defined some of the areas in which needs analysis is necessary, such as language activities, language functions, and language situations. They also focused extensively on the specific tools through which needs analysis work could be conducted. However, what they offered was merely suggestions and theories rather than practical, empirically tested demonstrations of their recommended methods.

Of much greater importance and prominence in ESP is Munby's (1978) comprehensive effort at needs analysis within an ESP framework. Taking into account the work in ESP on discourse analysis and the then emerging ideas about CLT, Munby declared that 'ESP...should focus on the learner and the purposes for which he requires the target language, and the whole language programme follows from that' (1978:2). In his view, this requires what he described as 'a socio-linguistic model for defining the content of purpose-specific

language programmes' (the sub-title of the book, entitled Communicative Syllabus Design). This necessitates defining the levels of communicative competence learners need to achieve relative to their purposes for learning the target language. What he attempted to do, then, was to devise an instrument for determining the appropriate target levels of communicative competence. He also discussed ways of applying the results of those determinations to the creation of syllabus content. The instrument he developed for this purpose is the 'communicative needs processor', which synthesizes learner feedback at the initial stage of analysis into a profile of learner needs. This profile is then converted into the specifics of the syllabus design.

As Hutchinson and Waters (1987:54) observe, Munby's 'work marked a watershed in the development of ESP' by offering a systematic and detailed means of conducting and utilising a needs analysis. On other hand, Munby's model, like Richterich and Chancerel's, was worked out in theory rather than in practice. When tested empirically, it has proved successful in informing teachers of what they need to know about the learners, but not how to effectively acquire the information (Robinson, 1980). That is, needs analysis in reality proves to be a more complex undertaking than the theoretical models account for. As we saw in the criticisms of needs analysis cited earlier, there are many variables involved in successful needs analysis work, and some of these are not amenable to such analysis. One example might be the currently popular occupational field of information technology. As a remarkably dynamic field due to the

continuous development of newer and more sophisticated technology, how can the ever-changing linguistic environment of that field (where terminology changes in keeping with the onset of new technological advances) be consistently accounted for in needs analysis work within that area?

ESP in the 1970s also began to look at the issue of learners' motivation in the study of the target language. Here the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) discussed in Chapter Two was highly influential. As we have already seen, Gardner and Lambert distinguish between instrumental and integrative motivation, with instrumental motivation representing the more utilitarian incentive usually at work in an ESP course. According to Gardner and Lambert, learners normally experience both types of motivation, but one or the other may dominate. The standard view in ESP, as Hutchinson and Waters (1987) point out, is that instrumental motivation is at the heart of the conventional ESP teaching/learning situation, since learners, especially adults, are usually seeking a working knowledge of the target language to fulfill a practical, specified purpose. This concentration on instrumental motivation provided further reinforcement for the more narrowly defined type of course and syllabus design common to ESP and its various sub-branches. On the other hand, the identification of integrative motivation-where the learner wishes to join the speech community using the target language he/she is learning-has helped make possible increased flexibility in ESP more recently.

In general terms, then, it can be said that in the

1970s ESP broadened its scope considerably by incorporating, together with CLT as a whole, the key concept of communicative competence into course and materials design. By shifting to a focus on use and rhetorical functions, ESP began to adopt a wider ranging approach to language and language learning while at the same time acknowledging the existence of special purposes for learning a foreign language. Here the stress on instrumental motivation and on needs analysis proved essential. Thus, as Mackay and Mountford (1978:18) summarise the situation at the end of the 1970s, ESP specialists were taking into account 'both the learners' specific purpose for learning the language, and a description of the language to be learnt that emphasises its character as communication as well as its formal properties'.

During the past decade, ESP has built upon and expanded from the foundation of communicative competence established in the 1970s. It is still the case that, as Kachru (1988:14) says, 'The underlying assumption for ESP is that, ideally, it contributes to maximum pragmatic success in the contexts of language use'. However, unlike the earlier days of ESP, it is no longer the case that such pragmatic success is the only goal of many ESP courses. There has, instead, been a broadening of the focus and the goals of ESP. In larger terms, this has been a move from what Jones (1991) calls the 'hard' ESP of the past (i.e. during the period when register analysis was at the heart of ESP) to the 'soft' ESP of the present. That is, previously ESP courses were defined along narrow lines in which the exclusive concern

was the ability of courses to supply learners with the restricted repertoire of linguistic items most frequently used within a certain occupation or discipline. Learners' purposes and needs were thus defined within strictly practical boundaries based entirely upon the acquisition of that restricted repertoire. More recently, this 'hard' approach, while still popular in ESP, is often modified into a hybrid approach in which learners' needs and purposes are defined in broader terms encompassing non-pragmatic, more communicative purposes as well as the traditional concerns of standard ESP, thus reflecting a 'soft' influence.

Progress has also been made in the area of needs analysis, and as a result contemporary ESP has moved to a greater focus on designing courses capable of making effective use of the results of such analyses, as well as the insights into language functions gained through research in discourse analysis. An increased concentration on course design itself is characteristic of contemporary ESP. In the days when ESP revolved around register analysis, course design was a simple affair based upon drawing learners' attention to the data supplied by analysis of the register they were attempting to learn. More recently, in light of the kinds of variables now considered important in ESP, i.e. those discussed in the review of developments in the 1970s, course design is a more sophisticated undertaking which has become a major feature of ESP. Such a situation has created demands for ESP teachers which may not exist for GPE teachers, who are not focused upon particular target

competencies or goals, and therefore need not rely upon detailed course specifications or materials accompanying them. This point is brought out by Hutchinson and Waters (1987:21), who comment that

ESP is an approach to language teaching which aims to meet the needs of particular learners...Thus, whereas course design plays a relatively minor part in the life of the General English teacher-courses here usually being determined either by tradition, choice of textbook or ministerial degree-for the ESP teacher, course design is often a substantial and important part of the workload.

Therefore, as Strevens (1980) explains, ESP teachers must possess 'professional competence in syllabus design and materials production' (1980:112) as well as enough flexibility to adapt to the changing needs and purposes of different groups of learners.

In designing ESP courses, teachers often draw on principles of course design drafted by Munby (1978), who says that 'we should teach the rules of use and language features appropriate to the relevant social contexts' (1978:23). In other words, he makes communicative competence an essential element of an ESP course. He discusses this in the context of a 'sociocultural' orientation, which

focuses on the social function of language and displays a learner-centred approach. Before deciding what to teach the learner one wants to know the requirements in terms of, for example, communicative mode and activities, and the relationships between him and his interlocutors. In other words, the specification of communication requirements or needs is prior to the selection of speech functions or communicative acts to be taught. By drawing up a profile of communication needs one can more validly specify the particular skills and linguistic forms to be taught. (1978:24)

The 'soft' approach popular in much current ESP is

derived in part from this broader, communicatively-based concept of needs analysis and course design. It entails a wider view of what the learner will do with the language after the completion of the course. As will be seen later in this chapter, this broader view of course design has important implications for the inclusion of literature in an ESP course. Indeed, the general idea of 'soft' ESP has, from the researcher's point of view, opened a possible door to a literary presence in ESP which is essentially closed within the 'hard' type of ESP common in ESP's earlier phases and still a part of ESP.

One of the consequences of the increased emphasis on communicative competence in course design is a change in the attitude towards the language skills to be taught in ESP. In its formative days, ESP focused on the reading skill. As explained earlier, in the 1960s national development was taking place in numerous countries around the world. Such development was augmented by access to the print media of developed countries, especially that concerning science, technology, and communications. This, in turn, necessitated the acquisition of ability in other languages, especially English. In particular, it meant developing the ability to read the media in which such areas were discussed. Hence, early ESP materials catered mainly to reading, and to a lesser degree to writing, with the other language skills irrelevant to the kinds of purposes ESP usually pursued at that time.

More recently, as a result of the stress on communicative

competence, ESP course design tends to favour the idea that 'to be communicatively competent in English, a technical professional should be proficient in all four skills, including speaking and writing' (Huckin, 1988:64). Such a development has opened up many new opportunities in ESP course design and materials construction, including the use of literary texts. That is, if selected carefully and used properly, literary texts can be more helpful in the development of language skills than some more orthodox ESP materials may be.

The 'soft', wider ranging approach characteristic of much recent ESP work has also impacted heavily on a long-standing debate within ESP on the nature of the materials to be used in the classroom.

Traditionally, as Crofts (1981:146) remarks, 'The writers of ESP teaching materials seem generally to have taken it for granted that the English of any occupation or academic discipline is best presented and learned in the context of subject matter with which the target students are familiar in connection with the occupation or discipline concerned or which they will learn as they pursue it'. That is, a student in an ESP nursing course, for example, would be exposed only to nursing-based materials, with such materials drawn directly from the world of nursing. This was, in other words, an emphasis on 'authentic materials' taken directly from the materials used in the occupation or discipline learners aim to enter. According to Phillips and Shettlesworth (1987:107), such materials generally have

been used in two ways: 'as a repository of natural language use...and as the stimulus for a variety of communication skills'. In the case of the former, exposure to such language use enables learners to see how language actually functions within the context in which they themselves will later have to use it. In the case of the latter, the authentic materials are used as a base for exercises which, in current terms, require learners to use all four language skills in manipulating the language.

As the interest in ESP shifted to the study of rhetorical functions, however, there was a simultaneous shift to what Robinson (1980) refers to as 'tailor-made' materials, i.e. materials constructed by teachers in order to foreground or draw attention to the linguistic features to be dealt with in the classroom. In some cases this means teachers completely writing their own materials in line with what they will teach; in other cases, this means teachers adapting or simplifying materials from real sources so as to fit them into the needs of the course.

Swales (1984:15-16) describes this movement from an exclusive emphasis on authentic materials to the contemporary mix of authentic and 'tailor-made' materials as a shift from 'traditional first-generation ESP' to 'new wave ESP'. Such a move further reflects the shifting foundations of ESP from the 1960s into the 1990s.

Recent ESP work has also been characterized by an emphasis on the task-based approach which is an integral part of CLT. Instead of presenting learners with specific

linguistic forms commonly found in particular English usage situations relevant to the learners' future purposes for the language and then expecting them to absorb and apply that knowledge on their own, as was the case in traditional ESP, the 'new wave' approach sets tasks for learners to perform so as to solidify not only their understanding of but their ability to use the language being taught. As Bloor (1984:17) points out, ESP in this case has borrowed the CLT emphasis on problem solving techniques wherein the tasks at hand require learners to utilize their knowledge of the target language to solve problems, which will in turn extend their ability in the natural, creative use of the language characteristic of real-world communication. Here the tasks are, as much as possible, simulations of real-life problems or activities which the learners are likely to encounter after completing their courses. In other words, as Schleppegrell (1991:18) explains, 'ESP courses do not use artificial tasks that teach arbitrary vocabulary and drill grammatical structures out of context'. Instead, as Wilson says:

In essence, task-based learning assumes not that the language should be atomised and practiced in small increments but that the language is learned when students are placed in a position where they have to use any or all of the linguistic resources available to them in order to achieve meaningful communication. The teacher's role is then to supply the language items necessary for the task to be undertaken and to assist when communication breaks down. Practice does take place but not in the systematic closely defined way required of the structurally based approach. (1986:19-20)

At present in ESP, then, there is, says Schleppegrell (1991:18), a 'focus on the learner and on task-based

activities that are designed to reflect some real use of English outside the classroom'. Such a focus illustrates how ESP has continued to evolve within the influences which have shaped CLT itself while still placing primary emphasis on specific sets of learners who have more clearly defined purposes for learning a target language than do students in a GPE type course.

Recent ESP work relevant to the concerns of the study

In this sub-section of Chapter Five, the work of three prominent ESP theorists will be briefly reviewed. The three are Widdowson and, collectively, Hutchinson and Waters. These theorists are being explored separately and in greater detail than those already cited because their critiques of ESP and their perspectives on how to design and implement ESP courses have had the greatest influence on the development of the theoretical model for the use of literature in ESP designed and tested in the classroom experiment discussed later in this chapter.

A) Widdowson

If there is a seminal figure in the development of ESP, it is Widdowson, whose interest in the subject dates back to the late 1960s. His most important ESP-related work began, however, in the early 1970s, starting with the Allen and Widdowson (1974) paper discussed previously. Since that paper he has produced four books which have had varying degrees of impact on the evolution of ESP. Teaching Language as Communication (1978), while not dealing directly with ESP, contributed to its development through its focus on discourse and the

well-known distinction between usage and use. The two Explorations in Applied Linguistics collections (1979a;1984) contain several important papers on ESP. Most important of all, however, especially to the concerns of this chapter, is Learning Purpose and Language Use (1983a), a book devoted to ESP. In that book Widdowson articulates several crucial ideas which are here interpreted as bases for the inclusion of literature in ESP.

Widdowson, like Hutchinson and Waters (to be discussed later), has been highly critical of the traditional or 'hard' approach to ESP. The essence of his criticisms is contained in the following citation:

ESP is generally practised on the basic assumption that it is both desirable and feasible to delimit the the language to be learned to match a specification of learner requirements. But is a delimitation desirable? It may give language teaching a certain air of cost-effectiveness, but does it not also reduce the learner to a kind of commodity? Does it not also imply that his opportunity is delimited to the confines of the particular role for which the language has been specified? ESP could be interpreted as a device for keeping people in their place.
(1984:190)

This 'delimiting', which arises from an excessive emphasis on register analysis and what Widdowson calls a 'narrow-angle' view of needs analysis, creates a situation in which 'language is taught in a vacuum, as a set of skills which have no immediate utility' (1979a:89). Such an approach then militates against the development of communicative competence, which lies at the heart of communicative teaching.

Widdowson's fundamental view, then, is that 'work on ESP has suffered through too rigid an adherence to the principle of specificity of eventual purpose as a determining

criterion for course design' (1983:15). That is, as noted earlier, the target needs are conceptualized too narrowly in linguistic terms and in terms of the learners' eventual use of the language acquired in the course.

In the following citation, Widdowson outlines the consequences of this dependence on specificity:

An increasing specificity of purpose will lead to an increasing confinement of competence as the formulae to be learned and the problems they are to be applied to come closer into correspondence. But the situations of language use which simply call for the automatic application of formulae and the submissive conformity to established rules are relatively rare. There are occupations (airline pilots and seafarers) and occasions in more general language use (polite greeting formulae, for example) which call for little more than running through a routine; but generally speaking, effective language use requires the creative exploitation of the meaning potential inherent in language rules—requires, in other words, what I have called communicative capacity. (1983a:13)

In short, ESP, as it has traditionally been practiced, fails to prepare learners for anything but the most limited purposes, and such purposes obtain somewhat rarely. As Widdowson goes on to point out, however, this is not only the result of unnecessary specificity in terms of needs and language analysis; it also is a matter of a serious failure in methodology. According to Widdowson:

methodology has been generally neglected in ESP. The emphasis has been on what ought to be taught, on content, rather than on how it should be taught. Courses have been designed to incorporate the systemic and schematic features of particular areas of language use, rather than the activities that users in these areas characteristically engage in to achieve a procedural realization of these features in the discourse process. (1983a:87-88)

In his criticisms of ESP, as well as his answers to the problems he has pointed out, Widdowson has used a number of

well-known distinctions. These begin with his distinction between usage and use, first made in Allen and Widdowson (1974), and deriving from the work of Hymes discussed earlier. As Widdowson explains, 'There is an important distinction to be made...between the usage of language to exemplify linguistic categories and the use of language in the business of social communication' (1979a:8). Looking further at this distinction, he explains that

In brief, knowledge of a language does not mean only a knowledge of the rules which will generate an infinite number of sentences, but a knowledge of the rules which regulate the use of sentences for making appropriate utterances. An utterance is not just a physical manifestation of an abstract rule of grammar: it is also an act of communication. To know a language means to know how to compose correct sentences and how to use sentences to make appropriate utterances. (1979a:12)

Traditionally, Widdowson says, ESP focused only on the ability to construct correct sentences, reflecting the structural side of early ESP pedagogy. Students were supplied with linguistic items produced through register analysis of the language used in the relevant occupation or discipline and instructed in correct usage of those items, with no further instruction beyond that level. Therefore, as the above citation asserts, students were not learning a language or how to use that language, but rather minimally helpful fragments of the language taken out of any meaningful context.

What must happen, as we have already seen in the last citation, is that learners must be instructed in communicative use of the language as well as in its grammatical correctness. In Widdowson's words, 'The language learner has ultimately to deal with actual language use and to concern himself with

the way in which the language he is learning conveys propositional content and functions as communicative activity' (1979a:233). The following citation indicates how this can be done:

How do we set about teaching the rules of use? Rules of use are rhetorical rules: communicative competence is the language user's knowledge of rhetoric. Traditionally, rhetoric has been represented as a set of prescriptive rules related to impressionistic norms, in much the same way as traditional grammar was represented. Rhetoric is concerned with appropriacy and grammar with correctness. (1979a:13)

To achieve appropriacy, or fluency, there must be an emphasis on 'language as an instrument of communication' (1979a:17). As indicated above, this requires a focus on rhetoric, and this has been implemented by Widdowson in his stress on rhetorical functions discussed earlier in the chapter. It was previously noted that Widdowson, like Selinker and Trimble (as exemplified in Selinker and Trimble, 1976), developed an approach to the teaching of EST based on the classification of and instruction in a wide range of rhetorical functions common to scientific and technological expression. We have already seen how this was achieved in Allen and Widdowson's English in Focus series. The main idea was to require learners, through the medium of problem solving activities, to apply their growing knowledge of the rhetorical functions characteristic of science and technology so that rules of usage were taught, but rules of use were likewise communicated to learners.

Closely linked to, and an extension of, the use-usage distinction is that between competence and capacity. Here Widdowson expands the communicative base ESP began to acquire

in the 1970s. During that time ESP researchers asserted the need to provide ESP students with some degree of communicative as well as linguistic competence relative to their occupation or discipline. Widdowson takes things a step further by stating that communicative competence is not sufficient, either. This is because, he says, 'We are after all principally concerned with setting up conditions for learning, for preparing our students to cope with contingencies that cannot be specified in advance' (1984:241). Meeting these contingencies requires a capacity which he feels goes beyond competence.

Capacity, he says, is 'the ability to exploit a knowledge of the conventions of a language and its use for the creation of linguistic behaviour which does not conform to type' (1983a:11). That is, it is 'the ability to use a knowledge of language as a resource for the creation of meaning', and this 'is concerned not with assessment but interpretation' (1983a:25).

Competence, on the other hand, has two principal limitations which separate it from capacity. First, it 'seems to imply an analytic, rather than a user, perspective' on language (1983a:25). Second,

competence seems to imply conformity, either to code (linguistic competence) or to social convention (communicative competence). The assumption seems to be made that language behaviour is rule governed, determined by a knowledge system which has only to be invoked and applied on particular occasions for communication to take place. In other words, language behaviour is a matter of compliance. (1983a:25-26)

In a narrowly defined ESP course, there would be no need to look beyond the development of communicative competence (or even to achieve full communicative competence). However,

in the kind of broadly-based course Widdowson advocates, provision must be made for activating learners' capacity as well. This additional focus on capacity is one which creates greater possibilities for a literary component in ESP, especially through the problem solving exercises and activities which exploit the resources available in literary texts in ways discussed in Chapter Three. Such activities are aimed at activating such capacity in learners, and literary texts are, by their nature, highly amenable to such activities.

Another crucial distinction in Widdowson's work, and one which has useful implications for literature, is that between training and education. Here, as Widdowson explains, 'as generally conceived, ESP is essentially a training operation which seeks to provide learners with a restricted competence to enable them to cope with certain clearly defined tasks' (1983a:6). That is, 'training seeks to impose a conformity to certain established patterns of knowledge and behaviour' (1983a:19). This is the province of 'hard' ESP courses.

On the other hand,

an educational approach is one which develops an understanding of principles in order to extend the range of application. A person educated in a certain language, as opposed to one who is trained only in its use for a restricted set of predictable situations, is someone who is able to relate what he or she knows to circumstances other than those which attended the acquisition of that knowledge. To put it another way, education in a language presupposes what Halliday calls 'meaning potential'. (1983a:17)

Educationally-based ESP falls within the bounds of the 'soft' approach, and it is here where space for a literary presence in ESP can be created.

It should be noted, however, that Widdowson does not see all ESP courses as being strictly training or strictly educationally oriented. What he proposes is 'a scale, with training at one end and education at the other' (1983a:20). And in most cases, he says, ESP courses will fall between the two extremes of the scale, so that elements of both domains might be found within courses. The scale itself is what he calls a 'a scale of specificity', and it has important implications for literature and ESP. Indeed, it is one of the foundations on which the theoretical model for literature in ESP described later in the chapter is based. Given this importance to the study, it is necessary to look in detail at how Widdowson defines the scale concept:

We can suggest that the purposes in ESP are arranged along a scale of specificity with training at one end and education at the other. As one moves along the scale in the direction of education, one has to account increasingly for the development of capacity and, at the same time, one has to take into consideration the pedagogic problem of establishing objectives which are projections of final aims. At the training end of the scale, objectives and aims will converge into close correspondence and will seek to impart restricted competence. At the education end of the scale will cluster courses of English for academic purposes which require the development of communicative capacity and which will call for pedagogic decisions in the formulation of objectives. At this end of the scale, ESP shades into GPE. (1983a:10-11)

The scale's implications for literature-based ESP will be discussed later; for now it is sufficient to merely state that such a scale broadens the range in which ESP courses can be conceptualized and in the process allows for possibilities which did not exist in ESP's earlier days.

Complementing the notion of a scale of specificity is Widdowson's distinction between 'goal-oriented' and 'process-

oriented' approaches to ESP. A goal-oriented approach, he says, 'relates to terminal behaviour, the ends of learning', that is, 'what the learner needs to do with the language once he or she has learned it' (1981:2). On the other hand, a process-oriented approach focuses on 'transitional behaviour, the means of learning', that is, 'what the learner needs to do to actually acquire the language' (1981:2). Goal-oriented approaches fall along the training end of the scale of specificity; process-oriented approaches are located along the education end of the scale. Widdowson advocates an increased emphasis on process-oriented approaches, and it is the researcher's belief that such approaches would appear to be more suitable to a literature-based ESP course. As such, it is helpful to look at how Widdowson defines the use of such approaches:

To begin with, such an approach rejects the pedagogic equation and accepts from the outset that the language data given to the learner will not be preserved in stone intact but will be used as grist to the mental mill. Hence the language content of the course is selected not because it is representative of what the learner will have to deal with after the course is over but because it is likely to activate strategies for learning while the course is in progress. In principle, therefore, it is possible to conceive of an ESP course containing very little of the language associated with the special purpose so long as the language that it does contain is effective in developing the ability to achieve the special purpose after the teaching is over. (1981:5)

The last sentence above is especially important with respect to literature and ESP, since it leaves wide open the range of possibilities for the selection of ESP course materials, provided they can be utilised within those purposes which keep a course within the realm of ESP.

Widdowson's distinction between goal and process oriented approaches is supplemented by another of his helpful dichotomies, this one between 'narrow angle' and 'wide angle' ESP courses. Narrow angle courses are those which fall within the 'hard' domain of ESP, in which the goals and methods of the course are restricted within the boundaries of a limited set of purposes at hand. For instance, a course in, say, restaurant waiter's English would seek only to provide the learners with a set of useful words and phrases sufficient to meet the linguistic requirements of the job. Thus the focus or angle of the course is extremely narrow, with only the most practical purposes being served. In contrast, wide angle courses follow the 'soft' approach and incorporate the educational realm of ESP, where learners pursue broader goals revolving around the acquisition of communicative capacity, as we have already seen. Widdowson's advocacy of a process-oriented approach is reinforced by his support for wide angle course design as an approach to ESP which should receive consideration in course construction. Here it should be pointed out that Widdowson does not oppose goal-oriented, narrow angle ESP: rather, he proposes that not all ESP courses be designed along such lines, as was the case for some years in ESP.

The previous pages have explored Widdowson's insights into course design, each of which has positive implications for literature as a tool in ESP. It is important now to look briefly at the principal means by which Widdowson's preferred brand of ESP is to be implemented. The key component here is his oft-stated emphasis on discourse. Since the early 1970s,

Widdowson has advocated a discourse-based approach to ESP, as opposed to the formerly prevalent emphasis on register analysis. In Allen and Widdowson (1974), this notion was introduced by asserting that learners need to develop 'the ability to recognize how sentences are used in the performance of acts of communication, the ability to understand the rhetorical functioning of language in use' (1974:3). In an ESP course, then, they assert, 'the language should be presented in such a way as to reveal its character as communication' (1974:4). That is, there must be an emphasis on discourse, which Widdowson defines as 'the use of sentences in combination' (1979a:90). He goes on to say that 'If we are to teach language in use, we have to shift our attention from sentences in isolation to the manner in which they are used to perform communicative acts in discourse on the other' (1979a:93).

In designing the materials and methodology for an ESP course, then, teachers must devise approaches which build upon discourse so as to acquaint their students more fully with language in use. According to Widdowson, this can be done through a technique he calls 'gradual approximation'. He describes it as follows:

Gradual approximation begins by providing exercises within the scope of the learner's (limited) linguistic competence in English and then gradually realizes its communicative potential by making appeal to the other kinds of knowledge that the learner has. Thus the starting point is the sentence and the end point is discourse. (1979a:76-77)

In other words, the learner is presented with increasingly sophisticated samples of the target language as the

course progresses-sophisticated in the sense that they increase the range and complexity of the rhetorical functions which the learner will need to acquire in order to more fully achieve or satisfy the purposes for which he/she is studying the language. This approach not only moves the learners from a knowledge of usage in the early stage to a knowledge of use later in the course, but also creates in them what Widdowson feels is an important need to believe that they are engaged in some sort of valid communicative activity.

In summary, Widdowson has created the grounds for a process-oriented, wide angle type ESP course where educational purposes can augment whatever training needs might exist. As Widdowson points out, in such a course 'There is less emphasis...on specific competence and more on general capacity' (1983a:90-91). It is within this type of course that literature, if it is to have a place within ESP, is likely to be found. How that may occur will be discussed and demonstrated later in the chapter.

B) Hutchinson and Waters

In a series of publications in the 1980s, principally English for Specific Purposes: A learning-centred approach (1987), Hutchinson and Waters have challenged much of what had transpired in ESP in the past and offer a flexible approach to ESP teaching based on a broader view of learners' needs than is normally used in ESP course design.

Some of their critique of orthodox ESP is aimed at the emphasis on register analysis which has informed ESP since its inception. As they explain, 'Describing a language is

not the same as describing what enables someone to use or learn a language' (1987:38). Their objection is not with descriptions of language, or the idea of register analysis, but rather with the ways in which such descriptions have misdirected the focus of ESP. In their view, 'in its development up to now, ESP has paid scant attention to the question of how people learn, focussing instead on the question of what people learn...if it is to have any real and lasting value, ESP must be founded in the first instance on sound principles of learning' (1987:2). Thus, language descriptions which constitute register analysis have, when used as a teaching tool and as the primary means of course design, prevented a focus on language learning in a larger sense. Furthermore, they maintain that

ESP is not a matter of teaching 'specialized varieties' of English. The fact that language is used for a specific purpose does not imply that it is a special form of the language, different in kind from other forms. Certainly, there are some features which can be identified as 'typical' of a particular context of use and which, therefore, the learner is more likely to meet in the target situation. But these differences should not be allowed to obscure the far larger area of common ground that underlies all English use, and indeed, all language use. (1987:18)

In other words, the emphasis on language description misleads learners by creating a false impression of the target language. That is, within the traditional, register-based approach to ESP, learners were only exposed to isolated usages of the language and were seldom allowed to see the language in full operation or use, thus leaving them with a highly restricted view of the language.

They also criticise needs analysis, and on grounds

similar to their critique of the reliance on register analysis. They point out that 'Needs analysis involves examining communication in the target situation...The problem here is that this can replicate only a small-and, probably a relatively trivial-part of what a learner needs in order to communicate in the target situation' (1984:109). Thus, even an approach like Munby's, with its commendable stress on accounting for sociocultural variables in fulfilling learner needs, falls short, because it is not equipped to generate enough useful data from which to build a truly effective course. In short, while well-intentioned, needs analysis can in reality only achieve limited ends because the number of variables to account for is too great. As they put it, 'there is a failure to take into account the realities of the ESP learning situation' (1984:108). They add that

A typical consequence of this is that ESP teachers are often put in the untenable position of having to teach from texts whose subject-matter they do not understand. Furthermore, in most ESP materials, the learner is presented with uninspiring content and language exercises which lack any clear communicative focus. As a result, ESP is, at present, a rather un-communicative form of language teaching. (1984:108)

Looking further at the classroom situation, they assert that 'many current ESP materials fail to engage the learner's interests or to challenge his true abilities' (1982:112). These materials 'are too often uncreative; the scope of the language activities they attempt to engage the learner in is limited; and their knowledge content is largely unexploited' (1982:100). Here, as seen earlier, a

narrow view of language and of the process of needs analysis blocks the way toward looking at principles of language learning which would allow for the construction of more creative, effective course designs and course materials.

The subject-specific nature of many ESP courses-in which the purpose of the course is narrowly construed within tightly defined boundaries-is another problem in course and materials design in their view. Here they point out that 'in terms of language content there is little justification for a subject-specific approach to ESP. The justification becomes even less significant when we take into account underlying skills and strategies. These certainly do not vary with the subject area' (1987:166). Hence, from their point of view, it is unnecessary to label and conceptualize an ESP course according to a particular subject or focus.

Given these remarks, the vision of ESP described in, say, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964), with courses targeted at very specifically defined groups of learners, is representative of the kind of approach Hutchinson and Waters see as counterproductive to the ends of ESP. This is the 'hard' approach to ESP which they are then criticizing. On the other hand, the type of ESP described earlier with reference to Selinker and Trimble, as well as Allen and Widdowson and their English in Focus series, evades some of the criticism made by Hutchinson and Waters. Here the focus on science and technology, i.e. EST, is rather general compared to the narrowly conceived kind of course such as 'English for doormen', and so does not entirely limit the

learners in terms of what they can learn. Still, the focus on science does place some restrictions on the course; the key here is how closely defined the focus on science becomes. A very specific course, like 'English for Biotechnicians', creates too narrow a focus for real learning to take place.

The essence of Hutchinson and Waters' critique is expressed in the following citation, which also points the way toward their ideas on how to design more effective ESP courses:

It is one thing to show that technical English differs from general English, but it is quite another to argue from this that a different linguistic competence is required to cope with it. The question we need to ask is not whether the content or language of mechanical engineering is different from that of telecommunications or of any other subject, but whether the study of mechanical engineering texts enables the student most effectively to handle a course in mechanical engineering. (1981:58)

Their general answer to the question posed above is that 'ESP is primarily an educational, rather than a linguistic, concern. It is therefore vital to base the ESP course on the needs of the educational environment, and for the course to be informed not only by linguistic considerations but also—indeed, chiefly—by educational precepts' (1984:111). In other words, a course in mechanical engineering is not simply about the language of mechanical engineering, and thus requires a broad-based approach which will be described in the following paragraphs.

Underlying the position they have stated above is the distinction by Widdowson, cited earlier, between narrow and wide angle courses, with narrow angle representing 'hard' ESP and wide angle representing 'soft' ESP. Hutchinson and

Waters, with their strong emphasis on an educational component in ESP, clearly favour wide angle course design.

Central to their wide angle approach is a focus described in the following citation:

the whole ESP process is concerned not with knowing or doing, but with learning. It is naive to base a course design simply on the target objectives, just as it is naive to think that a journey can be planned solely in terms of the starting point and the destination. The needs, potential and constraints of the route (i.e. the learning situation) must also be taken into account, if we are going to have any useful analysis of learner needs. (1987:61)

As is consistently true in ESP, Hutchinson and Waters also see needs analysis as the starting point for their approach. However, they regard needs analysis in a broader light, as the above citation suggests. In their view,

Analysis of the target situation can tell us what people do with language. What we also need to know is how people learn to do what they do with language. We need, in other words, a learning-centred approach to needs analysis. (1987:63)

What they advocate, then, is 'looking at the teaching of ESP in terms of a whole teaching/learning process' (1987:161), i.e. a wide angle approach which accounts for various needs of learners, rather than only those of the most narrowly defined linguistic kind.

In terms of what happens in a Hutchinson and Waters type ESP course, they explain that

The aim of the ESP course should be to provide the learner with the capacity to handle communication in the target situation. Thus, course material should be chosen in terms of how well and how far it develops the competence of the learner, rather than on the basis of the extent to which it mirrors the performance data of the target situation. (1984:109)

The latter point is especially important with respect

to the development of a literary component in ESP. In the past, as we have seen, ESP materials were expected to be tightly tied to the type of occupational or academic situation the learner would face outside the ESP classroom, hence the 'mirror' notion just mentioned. Hutchinson and Waters, by rejecting that mirroring requirement which so often informed materials design and selection in the past, are opening the door for a much broader range of materials to be used, provided that they ultimately prepare the learner to cope, communicatively, with the demands of the particular situations to be faced outside the classroom. Activities-based uses of literature can thus be incorporated into the Hutchinson and Waters type of course since, as Chapter Three demonstrated, literature "develops the competence of the learner"-this being the major requirement for any materials selected for use in their approach.

The crux of their approach lies in the factors they believe should be taken into account when courses are designed and implemented. They list the following factors as central to their approach (1984:111):

- general theory of how people learn
- resources (e.g. the teacher, visual aids available, time, etc.)
- expectations and experiences of English
- expectations and experiences of teaching and learning in general
- the fit between the ESP teaching situation and the wider educational context to which it belongs

The significance of these factors from the point of view of this study is that they generally link ESP to larger

language teaching concerns, i.e. the development of communicative competence or capacity, rather than the acquisition of a restricted repertoire of words and phrases relevant to a specifically defined target situation. In so doing, they draw on what literature has to offer to ESP: language and content which, if properly exploited, can contribute to the educational as well as linguistic development Hutchinson and Waters consistently speak of.

Complementing the factors Hutchinson and Waters believe must be considered in designing an ESP course is a set of principles of language learning which is central to the methodology they espouse. These include (1987:128-130):

- Second language learning is a developmental process
- Language learning is an active process
- Language learning is a decision-making process
- Language learning is not just a matter of linguistic knowledge
- Language learning is not the learners' first experience with language

These principles exemplify what Hutchinson and Waters describe as the 'learning-centred' nature of their approach. That approach is one which they see as an alternative to two previous approaches which developed in ESP. They say that in ESP's earlier days, there was a language-centred focus where register analysis determined the design of courses. This was replaced by a skills-centred approach. As they describe the situation, ESP researchers looked at the language-centred model and said: 'That's not enough. We must look behind the target performance data to discover what processes enable

someone to perform. Those processes will determine the ESP course' (1987:72-73). Moving beyond that approach, Hutchinson and Waters, in arguing for a learning-centred approach, say: 'That's not enough, either. We must look beyond the competence that enables learners to perform, because what we really want to discover is not the competence itself, but how someone acquires that competence' (1987:73). Only then, they add, will learners be able to fully understand and manipulate what they have learned of the target language.

Within this learning-centred model, Hutchinson and Waters believe that the

methodology cannot be just grafted on to the end of an existing selection of syllabus items and texts: it must be considered right from the start. To achieve this, the syllabus must be used in a more dynamic way in order to enable methodological considerations, such as interest, enjoyment, learner involvement, to influence the content of the entire course design. (1987:92)

Here, too, we see an opening for literature, in that a key feature of literary texts is considered to be their ability to arouse "interest, enjoyment, learner involvement", as cited above, particularly because of their narrative nature, as discussed in Chapter Three. In the process, literature can be linked with another of the components Hutchinson and Waters feel is essential in successful ESP work: intrinsic motivation. As they explain,

ESP, as much as any good teaching, needs to be intrinsically motivating. It should satisfy their needs as learners as well as their needs as potential target users of the language. In other words, they should get satisfaction from the actual experience of learning, not just from the prospect of eventually using what they have learnt. (1987:48)

With respect to literature, this perspective can be regarded as another stepping stone for the inclusion of literature in ESP, in the sense that appropriately selected and properly handled literary texts can stimulate learners' interest and as a result reinforce or create intrinsic motivation.

Hutchinson and Waters see the use of 'communication tasks' as the best means for implementing a learning-centred approach to ESP. Such tasks must be carefully linked with appropriate content. As they see it, with respect to content 'Language is not an end in itself, but a means of conveying information and feelings about something. It therefore follows that the content communicated by the language in ESP materials should be exploited to reflect this' (1982:101). Once appropriate content has been selected, it is plugged into a task-based approach in which 'The learner should be given opportunities to use the language and the content in a creative way, in order to solve a communication problem' (1982:101). They believe, then, that learners should be involved in 'solving realistic communication problems', and that there is a 'need for a much more adventurous and imaginative treatment of content, to facilitate this' (1982:121). As Chapter Three has already shown, this is another way in which literature can fit into ESP course design, since the most common uses of literature in CLT work along precisely the lines described above. Indeed, literature is seen as uniquely qualified to serve such an approach.

Summing up the approach developed by Hutchinson and Waters, in the final analysis, they say, 'The needs of the ESP classroom must not be overshadowed by the needs of the target situation. The primary aim of ESP, as in all ELT, is to ensure that the student knows more when he leaves the classroom than he did when he came into it' (1982:120).

Furthermore,

ESP is not different in kind from any form of language teaching, in that it should be based in the first instance on principles of effective and efficient learning. Though the content of learning may vary there is no reason to suppose that the processes of learning should be any different for the ESP learner than for the General English learner. There is, in other words, no such thing as an ESP methodology, merely methodologies that have been applied in ESP classrooms, but could just as well have been used in the learning of any kind of English. (1987:18)

These comments represent a dramatic challenge to standard approaches to ESP by allowing for extensive cross-fertilization of insights and methods from the GPE side of CLT. Part of this could well involve literature, especially through the communicative uses of literature discussed in Chapter Three. Hutchinson and Waters have demonstrated that teachers do not have to conform to an established, rigidly defined concept of or approach to ESP. In calling for more creativity in ESP course design and materials in line with educational as well as linguistic purposes at hand, Hutchinson and Waters have laid out groundwork upon which literature could be turned to in ESP, assuming a judicious use of literary texts in concert with those aims which centre on the communicative side of ESP.

Conclusion

Section 5A has briefly described the development of ESP, with a particular focus on the work of those theorists who have created conditions upon which a case for a literary component in ESP can be built. Those theorists, as we have seen, are Widdowson and, working together, Hutchinson and Waters.

The key point made in Section 5A is that there has been a major shift in the conceptualization of ESP, from the former 'hard' or narrow angle view, in which learners' needs, and the materials through which they were taught, were defined along very strict, practical lines, and the 'soft' or wide angle view. That view, which characterizes some of the contemporary ESP, moves away from the purely practical orientation of 'hard' ESP to include a focus on learners' needs within a broader context which accounts for educational as well as pragmatic concerns. Here the development of communicative competence, as opposed to the linguistic competence stressed in 'hard' ESP, is a key component in ESP. Within this 'soft' ESP learner interest plays a greater role than in 'hard' ESP, and the activities-based approach utilized in general purpose CLT is seen to be a suitable source for classroom procedures for wide angle ESP course. This, in turn, creates an opening for literature within ESP, in that literature can stimulate learner interest and is highly amenable to the activities-based approach. Section 5A thus established some of the key ideas upon which a framework for the use of literature in ESP can be constructed.

Section 5B: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR AN ESP-LITERATURE
CLASSROOM EXPERIMENT

Introduction

The forthcoming Section 5C of this chapter, as indicated previously, will describe and discuss a classroom experiment in which literature and ESP were linked. First, however, there must be a description of the theoretical framework developed by the researcher which underlies that experiment. This section provides that description.

First it must be pointed out that literature has basically been excluded from ESP, hence the framework to be described has no solid precedents within ESP. Instead, as noted earlier, it has been constructed out of insights and ideas arising from previous chapters, the first section of this chapter, and the researcher's own perspectives deriving from the research conducted during the course of this study.

Literature's exclusion from ESP results mainly from the common conceptualization, and designation, of ESP courses as 'service courses'. Whereas GPE courses aim at supplying learners with overall communicative competence in English, ESP courses are usually targeted at providing learners with a specified or restricted competence relative to clearly defined purposes involving English. As we have already seen, such purposes are normally connected to a particular occupation or academic discipline. Since literature does not play a role in those occupations or disciplines, it is deemed not to have a place in the design or implementation of those courses. Then, too, given its imaginative and artistic characteristics, literature is not seen as practical,

while standard ESP courses cater to decidedly pragmatic needs. As such, literature is not seen to be capable of servicing the kinds of needs and purposes common to ESP courses.

It should also be pointed out that teachers with literary backgrounds have generally shunned ESP-type teaching, especially because of the 'service' label. As McDonough explains in a review of developments in ESP, 'In the "early days" of ESP-and in fact today, in any situation where transition to an ESP conception of language teaching is taking place-many humanities-trained teachers with a literary background felt a deep and understandable resistance' (1984:131). She goes on to say that they find such teaching, with its normally fiercely practical base, 'alien and even threatening to their professional status' (1984:131). As a result, those with strong literary backgrounds avoid ESP, and those lacking such a background gravitate towards ESP, leaving ESP without the presence of a literary influence.

In ESP, then, and in ELT in general in the second half of this century, there has been what Tickoo (1981:156) calls a 'language-literature divide' whereby the interests of language and literature teaching are seen as mutually exclusive. In terms of ESP this has meant, in the main, a situation described by Greenall in a paper on the EST domain of ESP: 'there has been a danger right from the start of the literary EST teacher and course designer choosing inappropriate language or skills as his objective and a temptation, basically, to choose what he himself understands' (1981:25). It is a situation in which, says Strevens, 'That view of

literature which concentrates on the reader's emotional response to a poem or a novel and which regards analysis as likely to destroy the very causes of the response itself- this view does not fit easily with a pragmatic, objective, analytical, unemotional outlook upon science and technology' (1988:42).

There have, however, been some attempts to draw connections between literature and ESP. Trimble and Trimble (1977), for example, have shown how literature teachers can use their knowledge of the analysis of literary texts, especially the language of such texts, in the preparation of ESP course materials. In their view, 'the techniques of analyzing a literary text and of analyzing a scientific text are sufficiently similar that the teacher trained in literature can apply the analytical techniques of literature to the analysis of EST texts' (1977:11). This is not a call to integrate literature itself into ESP or EST, but the effort to find a way for the literature teacher to use his/her literary background in EST is commendable.

One of Widdowson's early papers also attempts to build a literature-ESP bridge. Commenting on 'Literary and Scientific Uses of English' (1974), Widdowson tries to show literary and EST teachers what they have in common in order to break down that 'language-literature divide'. In particular,

When a scientist discovers new facts or develops new theories, he is faced with very much the same problem as the literary writer: how to express new ideas within a medium which has been developed to express ideas which are familiar and commonly acceptable. Like the literary writer, the scientist does so by inventing new words or by giving old words new values; in short, by developing his own mode of communication

...on the face of it, the two pictures of reality offered to us by poets and physicists are equally unfamiliar and fanciful: alike in that they both call our conventional view of the world into question, and use language to open up perspectives on reality other than those of our common experience. (1974:284)

On the other hand, he says, 'they do, of course, use language in different ways: nobody mistakes a novel for a textbook on heat engines, or a sonnet for a paper on thermodynamics' (1974:285). What he attempts to do, then, is this: 'In establishing the difference I hope to indicate how the teaching of both might be undertaken in accordance with the same basic approach' (1974:285). He does not, then, describe how literature might be used in an ESP course, but he does draw a connection between the two types of teaching, and in the process attempts to break down the walls between the two. He does this by identifying the common denominator between the two. As he explains: 'The task of the English teacher who is concerned with the teaching of English, whether for scientific or technical purposes or for the appreciation of literature, is to teach how the communicative activities which are an intrinsic part of science itself and literature itself, are realised through the particular medium of the English language' (1974:292).

In a later paper Widdowson develops another perspective on literature and ESP, this time through the medium of literary criticism. According to Widdowson,

I cannot help feeling, outrageous though the feeling might seem to be, that literary critics have come closer than linguists to an understanding of the communicative function of language and the ways in which discourse is made. Their approach to language acknowledges at least that meanings in discourse are to be worked out by active interpretation and

are not a simple function of correlating, that this interpreting ability depends on more than just a knowledge of preformulated rules. (1979a:48-49).

In this paper, 'EST in theory and practice', Widdowson is not calling for the use of literature in ESP or EST, but he is attempting to draw attention to what approaches to literature have to offer to ESP. The point expressed in the above citation is one made by the researcher in Chapter Three: that a knowledge of literary theory is beneficial to language teachers as a way of making them aware of means by which literature can assist their teaching.

Widdowson adds another interesting perspective on ESP and literature in his assertion that, contrary to conventional thinking about ESP, literature is not of its nature irrelevant to the purposes of ESP. Rather, he says,

if one avoids presenting The Grapes of Wrath and The Mayor of Casterbridge to students whose goal is to read engineering textbooks it is not because these novels are unrepresentative of engineering English but because we judge that they are not likely to engage the interest and to activate the learning strategies of such students and so would not have the necessary facilitating function. (1981:5)

Conversely, then, if literary texts can be found which do engage ESP learners' interest and do stimulate learning strategies in some way, then there is a pretext for using literature in an ESP classroom. Here the key question becomes one of selection criteria.

Hutchinson and Waters (1982) make the very same point expressed by Widdowson. As we have already seen, they believe it is important for course materials to engage the interest of ESP students; at the same time, they believe that ESP materials often fail to succeed in that task. They have

therefore called for ESP materials to be drawn from a wider range of sources than is customarily the case in ESP. Among the sources listed (1982:112-113) is literature. How such texts could be used in ESP is not commented on, but their reference to literature in the context just described implies that they agree with Widdowson on the notion that literary texts which can interest learners do have a place in ESP.

Stern (1985) has commented briefly on how the content of literary texts can be utilised in stimulating student discussion of themes or ideas expressed in literature and connected with their area of study. She briefly illustrates, for example, how students in a business course could study the play Death of a Salesman from the point of view of its comments on the world of business.

Other writers who have made references to literature and ESP are Carver (1983) and Tickoo (1981), both of whom agree with a point made earlier by Widdowson. That is, as Tickoo (1981:156) expresses it, literature and ESP teachers share a common denominator in their mutual interest in 'communication and meaning', and as a result ESP teachers can learn from literary scholarship new ways of approaching their own ESP texts. Meanwhile, Swales (1985a) comments on how ESP researchers can benefit from a knowledge of techniques of literary analysis.

Kachru (1988) comes closest to offering a full-scale literature-ESP framework. He begins by noting how ESP specialists have traditionally assumed that, in linguistic terms, literature has nothing to offer ESP because of its

different, 'literary' uses of language. Kachru proposes an approach which involves 'accepting a hypothesis of code difference as opposed to code deficit' (1988:20-21). That is, as we saw earlier in Widdowson's (1974) discussion of literary and scientific uses of English, the differences between these uses of language can be assets, if viewed properly. Kachru attempts to build on what might be called these positive differences by focusing on the use of non-native varieties of English. Concentrating on the fiction and poetry of writers using local varieties of English in Singapore, Sri Lanka, and India, Kachru shows how in such texts 'various linguistic devices are exploited to maximise pragmatic success in textual terms' (1988:21). In other words, such texts contain considerable amounts of effective code-mixing, and the study of such texts can sensitise students in those locales to how language is used communicatively in their own geographic context. Essential to this approach, which is comparative in nature, is the belief that other kinds of texts don't feature such language use, use which is necessary to understand for ESP as well as GPE students. ESP students, then, can compare the local varieties found in literature with the standard uses found in non-literary texts with a focus on ESP-type situations represented in both texts. The key point here is that the local literary texts will give the students more exposure to the kind of language they need to know in support of their ESP-related purposes.

While the perspectives on literature and ESP just

reviewed are helpful in promoting an ESP-literature link, the fact remains that few attempts have been made to forge such a link, and as such the notion of literature being used within an ESP context is essentially unexplored. The framework to be described in this chapter, together with the classroom experiment through which it was implemented, therefore represents an attempt to explore in depth how literature might be connected.

Description and Major Components of the Course Framework

The course framework developed by the researcher will be introduced in several sub-sections of Section 5B. In this way both the background to the framework as well as the framework itself will be clearly established before looking at the classroom experiment, which will be discussed in Section 5C.

Overview of the experimental situation

As we have already seen, Chapter Four placed literature and its integration into ELT and CLT into a narrower focus by examining particular teaching contexts related to such integration. However, it was also felt necessary by the researcher to test some of the ideas and insights arising from the research reported earlier as a way of further narrowing the focus on literature, ELT, and CLT. A classroom experiment was deemed the best means for this purpose. Accordingly, a situation was sought in which the ideas and insights just referred to could be examined in a light which would not only explore what has already taken place on the

subject of literature's integration into ELT/CLT, but would, at the same time, pave new ground in that integration. That is, there was a desire to do more than rehash ideas about that integration on ground that has already been written about; hence, a situation in which literature had not yet been examined fully was regarded as the ideal way in which literature's presence in ELT and CLT could be seen in a new and different light. It was for these reasons, in part, that the decision to look at literature within the context of ESP was made. This desire was strengthened by some of the ideas about ESP already described-ideas which demonstrated a wide angle, educationally based view of ESP in which, the researcher hypothesized, literature could find a viable place. Furthermore, as has already been established, ESP is a key branch of CLT, and so, given the overall thrust of this study to investigate literature's integration into CLT, it seemed wise to look at literature within this large area of CLT. In addition, it was felt that if the experiment could point out ways in which literature can function successfully in ESP, literature's role within ELT and CLT would be solidified, a development the researcher favours. Thus, it was decided to locate a situation in which a link between literature and ESP could be attempted and examined under conditions which would allow for a meaningful exploration of that link.

Description of the class setting

Given the points made above, the teaching situation chosen was a general English course for first year

undergraduate students at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. That is, it was the same kind of class described in Section 4C, where the survey results were reported and analysed.

The course, coded ELT 115/116, was a two term class in which the same students were enrolled for both terms. Such an arrangement ensured continuity, and a sufficient length of time in which to test the ideas associated with the literature-ESP link. Furthermore, the three class hours per week provided ample time with which to meet and work with the students.

Another attraction of this particular course was its ESP/EAP type orientation. That is, despite its official listing as a 'general English' course, ELT 115/116 was conceptualized by the organization within the University responsible for running it, the English Language Teaching Unit (ELTU), as the afore-mentioned ESP/EAP kind of course. This, indeed, was true of all the first year English courses on offer, i.e. each section of the course was allocated students from the same faculties at the University, as noted in Chapter Four, so that the English they were taught was in some way related to the nature of the faculties they studied within. As such, ELT 115/116 offered an excellent opportunity to use literature within an ESP type format.

At the researcher's request, he was assigned ELT 115/116 because it was comprised entirely of students in the Science faculty. This request was made because such students were hypothesized by the researcher to be far removed from the

world of English literature, and as such would provide a more significant testing ground in which to explore the literature-ESP link. By contrast, students in some other University faculties were likely to have studied in the arts stream at secondary school level, and may have been more prone to be favourably inclined to the idea of working with English literature. Under such circumstances, the use of literature could have been seen as a form of preaching to the converted. There was little risk of this accusation with respect to students with a science background. For the very same reason, insights arising from the experimental work with them would have a validity that work with students already predisposed toward literature might not have.

It should also be pointed out that the selection of this type of class situation imposed some restrictions upon the researcher, in that he was bound to work within the broad outlines for the course established by the ELTU. Though he was generously allowed to abandon the course structure and sets of course materials normally used in the first year English class, the researcher nevertheless had to be cognizant of the ELTU's overall expectations for the course. That is, the students had always to be regarded as science students, and preparing them to meet the English-related requirements of the many science courses they would take during the four year undergraduate curriculum was an obligation which had to be met.

In introducing the class setting, a few points from Chapter Four must be briefly recapitulated. As was pointed

out in Section 4C, the first year English course was required of all newly admitted first year undergraduates whose combined results on the HKCEE English Language examination and Chinese University's own entrance examination were such that they were believed to need additional work in English in order to function effectively at a bilingual university. (Some of the major language-related features of the University have already been described in Section 4C.) Hence, the students in ELT 115/116 could be presumed by the researcher from the start not to be the 'cream of the crop' in terms of English language proficiency, and so they were seen to be more interesting subjects for the experiment. That is, more proficient students enrolled in an elective course might be regarded as atypical, and therefore not representative samples for an experiment of this kind.

The ELT 115/116 course took place during the 1989-1990 academic year. Other details about the course will be introduced and discussed where appropriate later, during the description of the classroom experiment.

Results of a student attitudes questionnaire

As we have already seen, a common practice in ESP is to conduct a needs analysis procedure at the beginning of a course so as to determine which student needs must be catered to during the course. In the case of ELT 115/116, this had already been done to an extent by the ELTU, in that they had decided the main focus of the course was to prepare the students for their English-related work in their science courses at the University. Given the experimental nature of

the course, however, the researcher's belief was that it was necessary to gain some sense of the students's ideas about their English, and especially about literature, at the start of the course. Such information would help create a useful initial profile of the students as a group, would provide helpful insights into their expectations and attitudes toward the course, and would make possible a comparison of attitudes at the beginning and the end of the course. As such, a short questionnaire was drawn up by the researcher, and a general review of the results will be presented in segments in the next few pages as a means of profiling the students enrolled in the course. The questionnaire itself can be found in Appendix C.

a) general information about the students

A total of 15 students participated in the course. Of these, all were male, and all had studied in the science stream during secondary school. 14 had been admitted into the University as engineering majors; 1 majored in statistics. Hence, all were in the Science faculty at the University. Meanwhile, 13 had studied in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools-where English should have been the medium in which they were taught in most subjects, including their science courses-while 2 had studied in Chinese medium schools. As a result, for the most part the students could be expected to be familiar with science in English, and the fact that they had been admitted into the University amidst intense competition for University places implied that they handled 'scientific' English at least fairly well with respect

to reading skill and possibly writing skill. On the other hand, such a background probably meant that they had received little practice in spoken English. As to listening skill, those studying in an Anglo-Chinese school should have received considerable practice in listening to English during lessons in most subjects, though this was not necessarily the case, given the realities of Hong Kong reported in Chapter Four. At any rate, they could safely be expected to have a working knowledge of 'scientific' English, and this was seen as a strength from which to build the course upon.

b) students' background regarding English

The comments above gave a few general indications about the students' situation concerning English. Looking now in more detail at their English language background, it should be pointed out that, as indicated in Chapter Four, students will have received approximately 14 years of English lessons by the time they reach university, beginning with instruction in the basics at kindergarten level. In primary school pupils have several periods of English per week. The same is true in secondary school. However, in the case of Anglo-Chinese schools, the English lessons are complemented by the fact that most other subjects are also taught in English. English is also a compulsory subject at Form Six level. Thus, the students in the course had studied English extensively by the time they reached Chinese University. Furthermore, they had three years of experience with scientific English from Form Four through Form Six.

These remarks reveal their general background. The

questionnaire results produced a much more detailed picture, beginning with their performance on the HKCEE. Here the results indicated that the students were slightly weak, with just 2 receiving a B, 6 receiving a C, and 7-almost half-receiving a D. Furthermore, as evidenced by their presence in the first year course, they had not done well on the University's entrance examination with respect to ability in English. This information is supplemented by the students' perceptions of their ability in each of the four skill areas. That is, one part of the questionnaire asked the students to rate their own perceptions of themselves with respect to the skills of speaking, writing, reading, and listening. Their responses are recorded in Table 5:1.

Table 5:1

Student perceptions of their English language skills
(expressed in frequency of responses)

<u>skill</u>	<u>very poor</u>	<u>poor</u>	<u>fairly poor</u>	<u>barely accept- able</u>	<u>fairly good</u>	<u>good</u>	<u>very good</u>
speaking	3	3	5	4	0	0	0
writing	2	5	2	5	1	0	0
reading	0	4	1	6	3	1	0
listening	0	0	7	3	4	1	0

These responses show us that the students rated themselves rather low with respect to the productive skills, speaking and writing, while expressing a slightly more positive attitude with respect to the receptive skills of reading and listening. On the whole, however, the students seemed to lack confidence in their English, with a considerable amount of clustering between the poor to barely acceptable range. Such a view is reinforced in responses to another question,

in which the students were asked to rank their ability in English relative to their classmates. Here 12 of the 15 students ranked themselves 'somewhere within the bottom 50% of the class'.

c) student attitudes toward literature

Since literature was to be a major part of the classroom experiment, and because the students were coming from a non-literary background in view of their focus on science in secondary school, it was important to gain some sense of how they looked at literature. As a result, they were asked several questions about literature.

Two questions asked them to state the percentage of time they felt should be devoted to studying English literature in secondary school and in University English lessons. Table 5:2 lists their responses to both questions, with the frequency in brackets next to each percentage stated by the students.

Table 5:2

Percentage of time to be spent on studying literature in secondary school and university English lessons

<u>secondary school</u>	<u>university</u>
5% (2)	0% (2)
10% (2)	10% (3)
15% (1)	20% (4)
20% (5)	25% (4)
25% (2)	30% (1)
30% (3)	40% (1)

Like the responses reported for similar questions in Section 4C, these responses show that the students were more inclined toward English literature than their science backgrounds suggested, and as such this provided a hopeful

sign for the beginning of the course. Such a response was also helpful in drawing up plans for the first term of the course. However, responses to a follow-up question reflected a need to be cautious. Here the students were asked to rate, on a scale from 0 to 10 (with 0 representing no interest, 5 representing medium interest, and 10 representing extreme interest), their interest in studying works of English literature. Their responses (with frequency in brackets next to the number selected) were: 0(2); 2(3); 3(2); 4(2); 5(3); 7(3). In this case we see that 2/3 of the students expressed little interest in literature.

Of particular importance was their perception of their ability to understand literature in English, especially different types of literature. Therefore, several questions asked them to rate their ability to understand these types of literature, using the same kind of scale just cited (i.e. 0=no ability; 5=medium ability; 10=excellent ability). Working on a scale ranging from 0-10, the students made the following responses recorded in Table 5:3.

Table 5:3

Students' perception of their ability to understand English literature (expressed in frequency of responses)

<u>ability to understand</u>	<u>0.</u>	<u>1.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>6.</u>	<u>7.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>10.</u>
Eng. Lit. (general)	0	4	1	6	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
poetry	5	2	1	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
drama	4	3	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0
short stories	0	0	1	2	3	4	2	3	0	0	0
novels	1	1	2	3	3	4	0	1	0	0	0

Here we see that on the whole, the students felt at the start of the course that they were generally weak in their ability to understand English literature. In terms of specific types of literature, that perception was expressed quite strongly with regards to poetry and drama. Meanwhile, fiction, especially short stories, was looked upon with a moderate degree of confidence. These responses impacted on the types of literary texts selected for use in the course, especially since those feelings were supported in a follow-up question, in which the students were asked to rank the different types of literature in terms of their interest, with 1 representing most interest and 4 representing least interest. Table 5:4 reports their responses.

Table 5:4

Student ranking of preferences for types of literature

<u>literary type</u>	<u>1.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>4.</u>
poetry	1	0	1	12
drama	1	3	9	1
short stories	9	4	1	0
novels	2	8	3	1

Again, these responses were very helpful as an indicator of the kinds of literary texts to be used with the students.

On the whole, the questionnaire produced a profile of the students which indicated that they were basically somewhat insecure about their English, especially their productive skills, saw a modest place for literature in the teaching of English, and were inclined toward fiction in terms of their own interests in English literature.

Contributions to the framework from previous chapters

The type of classroom setting chosen for the experiment, together with the students' responses to the questionnaire distributed at the beginning of the course, provided valuable input from which to construct the course framework. Before looking at the framework itself, it will also be helpful to briefly review important insights from previous chapters which likewise influenced the shape the framework took.

A key element in the building of the framework was the fundamental view of language teaching arising from CLT. That view is contained in a statement from Prabhu, who explains that 'the development of competence in a second language requires not systematization of language inputs or maximization of planned practice, but rather the creation of conditions in which the learners engage in an effort to cope with communication' (1987:1). This was seen to be crucial for the experimental situation, particularly since the students entered the course with approximately 14 years of English lessons, as has already been shown, from which to draw. Those previous years of experience had provided them with considerable knowledge of English; what they needed as they entered the University was the chance to work with that knowledge, i.e. to "cope with communication", as Prabhu asserts. Only in this way could they derive meaningful use of English from what they had learned in the past, and as such be prepared to use English communicatively in later communication situations. Here it was felt necessary to look beyond their University English needs and anticipate such

future communicative contexts as attending job interviews conducted in English, studying overseas for higher degrees, and the like. Therefore, a central requirement for the framework was that it had to make possible the kinds of conditions implied in Prabhu's citation, with the ability to "cope with communication" seen as an essential language-based objective of the course.

As Chapter Three has already demonstrated, literature as it is now viewed fits very effectively into the type of communicative teaching situation described by Prabhu. That is, literary texts can be used in a wide variety of ways which create the kinds of learning conditions just referred to, and it was for this reason that the researcher believed literature would be of great value to the students in the ELT 115/116 course. To some degree, modern ideas emanating from literary theory make possible this communicative use of literature, as a comment from Bretz and Persin (1987:166) illustrates:

Recent theories of language and literature-reader-response, feminist, contemporary psychoanalytical criticism, and deconstruction-reveal a multiplicity of meanings that constitute even the "simplest" of texts. Within the classroom, these approaches to literature offer new possibilities for active student participation. Freed from the need to "explain" the correct meaning of the text to students who remain mystified as to how this meaning was extracted, the classroom becomes a place of discovery, of dialogue, and of cooperative reading.

Here we see how literary theory makes possible uses of literature which are interactive in nature-interactive in the sense of students' relationship with texts and in the sense of their contact with each other through the texts at

hand. In this way they will be "coping with communication", and in the process will be building and/or extending their communicative capacity. Literary theory thus creates a bridge between literature and communicative language teaching objectives by making literary texts amenable to the kinds of interactive engagement essential in CLT. This interactive engagement occurs through the activities-based, task and problem solving approach central to CLT, one which can make full use of the language and content contained in literary texts. A previously cited remark by Brumfit and Carter reveals how this can take place:

Literary texts provide examples of language resources being used to the full, and the reader is placed in an active interactional role in working with and making sense of this language. Thus, literature lessons make for genuine opportunities in group work and/or open-ended exploration by the individual student. (1986:15)

Another important requirement of the process of building a course framework, then, was to design a course which would allow for the uses of literary texts suggested in these literature-related citations, as well as others contained in Chapter Three. That meant creating a classroom situation in which the students could actively engage the texts in such ways that their responses to the texts would enable them to generate their own discourse. In this sense they would be "coping with communication" by reading the texts and then using their knowledge of English to articulate their responses to the texts. This, in turn, would enhance their communicative competence.

To ensure the construction of an effective course

framework, the perspectives and input mentioned thus far had also to be linked to the teaching of ESP, otherwise the course would have been of the GPE type. As such, it is important here to draw attention to particular ideas about ESP which, when added to those already discussed, created a foundation from which to build an appropriate ESP-literature course.

Section 5A pointed out some major insights within ESP which have already been discussed in the context of their contributions to the notion of an ESP-literature link. Also helpful was a point made by Huckin, who states that 'In the working world, general communicative competence is as important as technical communicative competence' (1988:69). This "general communicative competence" was regarded by the researcher as a crucial goal to be pursued in the course. As such, Huckin's accompanying idea of 'generalized ESP' (1988:69) was adopted as a central organizing point in the development of the course framework. 'Generalized ESP' was seen as consonant with the view of CLT cited earlier by Prabhu, and at the same time allowed considerable room for the use of literature. Furthermore, this type of ESP was regarded by the researcher as of considerable benefit to the ELT 115/116 students, particularly in the Hong Kong context, where English, as we saw in Chapter Four, plays such a vital role occupationally in the territory. In 'generalized ESP' the focus is on a wider set of language goals, as opposed to the acquisition of what was called 'restricted competence' earlier in this chapter.

Hutchinson and Waters' belief in learning-centred ESP also contributed significantly to the building of the course framework, both as a useful approach to ESP and as a means of linking the ideas about CLT and literature discussed earlier. As they explain, 'Learning is more than just a matter of presenting language items or skills and strategies. In other words, it is not just the content of what is learnt that is important but also the activity through which it is learnt' (1987:92). This idea is echoed by de Escorcia (1985:232), who says that 'ESP is not a matter of relevant content alone, nor of the ordered presentation of linguistic items. Authenticity also means the development of personal learning strategies to approach the particular task of interpretation and further application of texts to real life situations'.

To support these conceptualizations of ESP, the activities-based approach employed in CLT, and in the use of literature in CLT, is an essential classroom tool. In particular, as Hutchinson (1988:73) observes, 'Tasks and activities should...give learners the opportunity to make decisions'. That is what literature as it is used in CLT does exceptionally well: it requires learners to continually make decisions as they read and discuss texts within the activities-based, problem solving mode.

Reinforcing these comments is an observation by Mackay and Mountford (1978:9), who assert that

What appears to be required is an approach that focuses attention on the learning of the language as a communicative instrument from the learner's point of view. This approach emphasises the 'problem

solving' role of the learner as a participant in the interpretation and composition of discourse.

The researcher's belief was that the same requirement held true for the ELT 115/116 course, and this requirement thus impacted heavily on the construction of a course framework. It was therefore necessary to devise a framework which made the best possible use of literature in communicative terms so that both students' capacity to manipulate and express 'scientific' English and their overall communicative capacity would be heightened by the type of framework adopted. At the same time, the framework had to account for various factors associated with the class setting, as well as the attitudes the students had expressed in the course questionnaire. Each of these variables influenced the shape the framework eventually took.

Main features of the course framework

In addition to the variables mentioned thus far, the framework for the course was influenced by the overall objectives it sought to achieve. These must now be discussed briefly before the main components of the course framework are introduced. It should be added that more specific course objectives will be discussed in Section 5C.

The first general course objective was to broaden the students' experience of science, since it was science they had come to study at the University and would presumably pursue vocationally. This broadening was seen to occur in two ways: a) linguistically, in terms of increasing their ability to use scientific English; b) conceptually, in terms

of clarifying their definitions of themselves as scientists.

The second general course objective was to strengthen their overall communicative competence by drawing their attention to both non-scientific and scientific uses of English, so that they would leave the course with improved communicative proficiency in the language.

Pursuing these general course objectives meant that the course framework had to be one which balanced academic interests, i.e. related to their study at the University; occupational interests, i.e. the English-related circumstances they could be assumed to encounter in their careers; and general/personal interests, i.e. their overall personal and linguistic growth.

It was also felt that the framework should build upon what might be called the scientific competence the students brought with them into the course by virtue of the fact that they had already followed a science stream in secondary school and, in most cases, had extensive exposure to scientific English through textbooks and lectures. Even the two students who had studied in Chinese medium schools were familiar with scientific terminology in English through the use of English language textbooks (that is, the Chinese medium was the language of instruction in the classroom, not the language of the textbooks). As a result, the framework needed to enhance what they had already acquired, rather than supplying a basic scientific vocabulary.

Given the points just discussed, as well as those made in the preceding sub-sections, it was decided that a wide

angle, soft ESP framework was best for the kinds of students enrolled in the course and the general objectives which had been established for the course. This meant, in other words, developing a framework of the 'generalized ESP' type, as described by Huckin (1988) earlier. Such a framework would account for educational as well as vocational or occupational needs, and would focus on the development of communicative, rather than linguistic, competence. This type of framework would also make possible an emphasis on 'humanized ESP' (Frelick and van Naerssen, 1985; van Naerssen and Kaplan, 1987), that is, a type of ESP which focuses on the personal development of ESP learners so that they are better prepared to meet the non-linguistic, or sociocultural, demands which may accompany their profession, such as interacting socially and professionally with associates at conferences, seminars, and so on.

Central to this kind of framework was Widdowson's crucial notion of a 'scale of specificity'. As we have already seen, this scale places strictly occupational-or training oriented-purposes at one end of a continuum and purely educational purposes at the other end. Particular ESP courses are then located, or conceptualized, somewhere along the continuum on the basis of how specific the purposes may be. More specific, or narrow angle, courses exist in the training based domain; less specific, wide angle courses fall within the educational domain. At the same time, many courses which combine both narrow and wide angle features cluster toward the middle of the scale. The great value of this notion is

that it allows for a wide range of ESP courses to exist by perceiving ESP in broad terms encompassing both the narrow and wide possibilities. As a result, the entirely 'hard' courses which used to be the sole type of ESP course offering are now just one option available to teachers, depending on the needs of the learners involved.

In the case of the students in the ELT 115/116 course, a course falling within the educational region of the scale of specificity was deemed more suitable on the basis of factors already discussed, particularly their already established scientific background.

Another main feature of the framework was its process oriented, procedural type nature in which activities-based, task and problem solving work would take place within the classroom. As was explained earlier, this type of approach requires of the students that they experience the target language through the process of performing various communicate tasks which require them to interact with and generate discourse in the target language. Instruction in the language follows, when necessary, the problem solving activities, rather than preceding them.

In each case, the main features of the course framework described in this sub-section were deemed to be appropriate with regards to the general course objectives discussed earlier. At the same, each of them made possible a literary presence in the course. That is, literature's unique blend of language and content is best suited to the wide angle, soft, generalized type of ESP course ELT 115/116 was

considered to be by the researcher. There appears to be little, if any, room for literature in a narrow angle, hard type of ESP course, where the objectives are defined in extremely specific, practical terms. However, the framework developed for the classroom experiment was such that both the language and the content of carefully selected literary texts could be exploited in service of the general course objectives stated previously along lines discussed in Chapter Three.

It must be added here that such a framework was created not only to make room for literature within a generalized ESP format, but because of a genuine belief on the part of the researcher that literature deserves a place in such a course. Because, as Chapter Three shows, literature is highly amenable to the activities-based approach, and because contemporary ESP is conceptualized more within a communicative context than was the case in the past, there are valid grounds to bring literature into the kind of ESP course ELT 115/116 was perceived to be by the researcher. The framework just outlined in broad terms was seen to be a workable mechanism by which literature could legitimately be introduced into an ESP course.

Conclusion

Section 5B has provided a general view of the framework of the ESP classroom experiment to be examined in Section 5C by briefly discussing ideas and perspectives which informed the construction of that framework.

The framework itself was an attempt to integrate valuable insights from CLT and ideas about literature and language teaching inspired in part by modern developments in literary theory into a particular domain of ESP. That domain was one in which a wide angle course design approach pursuing educational as well as occupational purposes within a generalized ESP format was regarded by the researcher as appropriate for the circumstances at hand. Those circumstances included the general nature of the course itself as defined by the University where it was offered, the make-up of the students enrolled in the course vis-a-vis their status as science students with a background in scientific English, and the kinds of purposes the course could legitimately be perceived to serve in accordance with the needs the students were believed to have brought into the course.

In line with recent research on ESP as described in Section 5A, it was felt that exciting new possibilities are emerging in ESP, possibilities which open the door to the use of literary texts under appropriate circumstances. The framework described in this section of Chapter Five was an attempt to create grounds on which such uses could be explored so as to further develop the integration of literature into CLT, and at the same time to reinforce the movement toward what Swales (1984) earlier referred to as 'new wave ESP'. The classroom experiment described in Section 5C endeavoured to find a place for literature within that 'new wave ESP'. In the next section we will see how, specifically, the framework outlined in this section was implemented, and how successful that effort was.

Section 5C: DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF A LITERATURE-BASED
ESP CLASSROOM EXPERIMENT

Overview

Section 5C focuses on a classroom experiment in which literature was used in an ESP course within a framework developed by the researcher.

The section is divided into four sub-sections. The first introduces the course itself. The second describes how the first term of the course was organised and conducted. The third describes how the second term was organised and conducted. The fourth consists of a discussion of the course experiment, including a focus on its strengths, its weaknesses, the answers it produced to some overriding major questions about literature and ESP, and insights gained from the experiment.

A) Introduction to the Course Experiment

Course profile

Section 5B has already established some of the main course features, i.e. that it was an ESP course for first year undergraduate students at the Chinese University of Hong Kong; that the students were all studying in science faculties; that they were required to participate in the course because they were believed to need further work in English in order to cope successfully with the linguistic demands of a bilingual university; and that the course was designed by the researcher as a wide angle, generalized ESP course located toward the educational side of the scale of specificity and utilizing the activities-based approach.

As already indicated, the course lasted two academic terms during the 1989-1990 academic year. Each term was 15 weeks in length, with two class sessions per week. One session consisted of two periods; the other was one period in length. Thus, a total of three hours per week was spent with the students in the course coded ELT 115/116.

Student profile

The students' English background, as well as some of their attitudes toward English and English literature, were discussed in Section 5B. There we saw that, on the whole, the students lacked confidence in their English, particularly with respect to the productive language skills of speaking and writing. We also saw that for the most part they had not performed well on the HKCEE English Language examination. As for literature, they expressed a very minor degree of interest in it, but did see some value in the use of literature in secondary school and University English lessons. They expressed a preference for fiction, especially short stories, among literary types. Meanwhile, they showed little confidence in their ability to read English literature successfully.

While the information just reported was useful in making preparations for the course, and especially in the design of the course framework, it was felt that additional information was required in order assist the development of the course. As such, at the beginning of the first term the students were tested by the researcher to gain a better sense of their English language proficiency at that point in time. Reading comprehension-particularly with respect to literature-was

tested via a very short story (Saki's "The Open Window"); writing was tested via a short composition assignment; listening comprehension was examined via dictation; and speaking was measured through a short interview/conversation between the researcher and each student. The students were also required to complete a cloze test as a general indicator of their ability in English. The results of all but the interview are set out below (the interview was not graded; instead, general impressions were formed).

Table 5:5

Results of First Year English Diagnostic Language Tests

<u>skill</u>	<u>total # of marks possible</u>	<u>class average</u>	<u>range of marks</u>
reading	20	11.14	4 to 17
writing	30	17.60	15 to 21
listening	100	30.67	10 to 60
cloze	50	24.43	14 to 32

On the whole, these results confirmed the basic impression the students had conveyed in their own assessment of their English reported in Section 5B, that is, that their English was not very strong. However, whereas they had expressed some confidence in their listening ability, the diagnostic test showed that this was the skill they were weakest in among those listed above. The interviews showed that they were even weaker in speaking. This was not surprising, since most indicated that they had very seldom ever spoken in English during secondary school, and when they did, they rarely attempted more than a few simple sentences.

The primary importance of these test results was that

they demonstrated the need to work in all four skills areas during the course, since the students clearly needed help in each skill. It was especially felt that, given the students' almost complete lack of practice in spoken English, together with the special concern they had shown over that skill, maximum opportunities for speaking in class had to be created. This need coincided neatly with the emphasis on spoken English in the activities-based approach used in CLT, as well as the stress on response in the application of literature in the language classroom.

Key questions

Before looking at what took place during the course experiment, it is important to note several key questions which were drafted at the time the experiment was first conceived and were borne in mind throughout the planning stages of the experiment. These questions were likewise taken into account as the experiment proceeded. Useful background to them can be found on pages 441 and 460 in short explanations as to why the researcher felt that a link between literature and ESP should be pursued. The questions include:

1. Is there a useful role for literature in ESP?
2. Which kinds of texts will work best in a literature-based ESP course?
3. In what way(s) can literature be most helpful in the ESP context?
4. What is the best mixture (in terms of percent) of literary and non-literary materials in a literature-based ESP course?
5. What is the best ratio of time spent on literary and non-literary materials in a literature-based ESP course?

6. What can literature provide students that standard ESP courses/materials fail to provide in educational (as opposed to training) type ESP classes?
7. How much impact will exposure to literature have on students' motivation/interest in studying English?
8. To what degree will exposure to literature encourage students to continue reading literature after the completion of the literature-based ESP course?

Each of these questions is answered in the discussion segment of the final sub-section of this chapter.

Course objectives

Before looking at the classroom experiment itself, it is essential to be aware of the key objectives underlying the course and the experimental process it entailed. First, however, it is worth recapitulating the two general course objectives identified on pages 456-457. These were:

1. To broaden the students' experience of science, since it was science they had come to study at the University and would presumably pursue vocationally.
2. To strengthen their overall communicative competence by drawing their attention to both non-scientific and scientific uses of English, so that they would leave the course with improved communicative proficiency in the language.

We can now look at the objectives accompanying those just mentioned. It should be added that objectives specific to each of the two terms of the course will be discussed separately in the description of those two terms. The central underlying objectives (not ranked in order of importance) included:

1. To investigate the potential integration of literature and ESP.

2. To explore the impact literature has on ESP students.
3. To inculcate in students a greater interest in literature in English.
4. To broaden the students' intellectual and personal horizons.
5. To assist students' development in all four language skills areas for general and vocational purposes.
6. To reinforce and expand students' knowledge of and ability in the use of 'scientific' English.
7. To sensitise students to different uses/types of English so as to strengthen their general and purpose specific proficiency in the language.

Course evaluation

The progress of the experiment was monitored in various ways. One, the researcher kept a diary of impressions, thoughts, and reactions in response to each class session. Two, the students' coursework was assessed in the usual ways (marking essays and exercises, and so on), and their participation during classroom activities was carefully observed. Three, students' responses were informally sought through conversations inside and outside class. Four, at the end of the course the students were asked to complete a questionnaire which measured their reactions to various aspects of the course. Their responses will be discussed in the final subsection of this chapter.

B) Description of the First Term of the Classroom Experiment

Aims and overall approach

One of the great advantages of the classroom experiment was that it constituted two academic terms; indeed, as noted

in Section 5B, this was one of the reasons why the ELT 115/116 course was chosen for the experiment. This left ample space for experimentation, and thus created considerable flexibility in the planning and implementation of the course. In particular, it meant that the two terms could be approached separately to some degree, while at the same time pursuing the same overall objectives for the course.

As a result of this situation, the first term was regarded as the 'exploratory' term. That is, given the relative uniqueness of the notion of a link between literature and ESP, there could initially be no fixed ideas about the best way to implement that link. The course design already described in broad terms had created a general framework for the course, but it had not determined how, on a day to day basis, the course should proceed. It was therefore felt necessary to regard the first term as one in which the literature-ESP link would be examined from various angles in order to eventually determine which model could then be tested in the second term. This 'exploratory' approach was especially important with respect to such crucial matters as what percentage of materials should be literary as well as non-literary; what percentage of time should be devoted to literary texts as well as technical texts and concerns; and which literary and non-literary materials would best fit the purposes of the course.

In accordance with the decision to follow an exploratory approach in the first term, several important aims were then developed to serve as a guideline for the first term. These

aims were pursued in addition to the general and underlying course objectives identified earlier. The aims were:

1. To experiment with literary texts to determine which were most suitable for the type of course envisioned.
2. To experiment with non-literary materials for the same purpose just described.
3. To look for the best distribution between literature and ESP in terms of the focus on materials from each area and the time spent in working with those materials so as to determine a clearcut ratio in each regard for the second term of the course.
4. To help the students feel more comfortable with literature in English.
5. To help the students feel positive toward the idea of working with a mixture of literary and non-literary texts.
6. To experiment with the activities-based approach of CLT to determine which kinds of activities best suited the kind of course being developed.

It was felt that pursuing these aims would make possible the creation of a more fixed approach to the literature-ESP link in the second term of the course with respect to the selection of course materials and the methodology through which to use them in the course. It was likewise felt that a fixed approach was desirable because such an approach would be more amenable to assessment by virtue of its clearly defined parameters. In contrast, an unfixed or free flowing approach would not easily lend itself to the kind of evaluation an experiment demands.

Course texts

The objectives just described had a particularly strong impact on the selection criteria for the first term materials

chosen. Given the exploratory nature of the term, it was felt necessary to work with a fairly wide variety of texts. At the same time it was especially important to select texts which would, as indicated earlier, enable the students to feel more comfortable with literature and thus facilitate the idea of a literature-ESP link. It was therefore essential to discover which kind(s) of literary texts would best engage the students' interest and imagination, in the process making literature more attractive to them and correlating effectively with the learning-centred, activities-based approach defined earlier in the study.

An important point of consideration here was the question of how 'literary' the literary texts needed to be, i.e. should they be canonical, popular, etc. Here the selection criteria discussed in Chapter Three were quite relevant and helpful. We saw in those comments that, from the communicative point of view, the English literary canon should generally be avoided, with popular literature seen as more appropriate in the language classroom, though this also depends on such factors as the level of the course, the purposes at hand, and so forth. This was, on the whole, the approach adopted for the first term, though a few of the texts selected often appear in literary anthologies and thus have a canonical air. Once again, the exploratory nature of the term was a factor to be considered. That is, it was felt to be important to try different types of texts, popular and otherwise, so as to establish a clearer sense of the students' preferences and abilities. It was also considered worthwhile to choose,

as much as possible, works by writers who are well regarded within their respective literary territories, so that there was some quality control at work in the selection of texts. In this way certain standards with respect to content and language would be observed, that is, the texts needed to be well written and contain themes and plots which would take the students beyond a superficial experience with the texts.

The responses to the course questionnaire were also helpful in determining which kinds of literary texts to experiment with. The students had expressed an overwhelming preference for short stories, and it was therefore obvious that such texts should be included in the course. Then, too, given their brevity, short stories lend themselves especially well to the purposes and conditions of a language course: students require smaller amounts of time to read them; they can be dealt with relatively quickly in class sessions; and, as CLT researchers have found, they can be easily adapted to the task-based, problem solving approach popular in CLT. For the very same reasons novels were not considered suitable for the course, even though the students favoured them over drama and poetry. There was a particular concern that the amount of time required to read and properly work with a novel would leave the students discouraged about literature, and thus work against the interests and objectives of the course. Drama was rejected along similar lines. Indeed, in the researcher's experience in Hong Kong, drama is particularly difficult to work with, because dramatic texts lack descriptive or referential language and passages which can

help prepare students for the contexts presented in the dialogue, as occurs in fiction. As such, drama was felt to require too much teacher guidance to be effective.

Because the first term was meant to be exploratory in nature, it was felt that more than one literary type should be included among the course materials. Short stories were, as already indicated, an obvious and apparently solid choice. The other viable possibility, given the comments just made, was poetry. Here the responses to the course questionnaire were set aside, albeit cautiously. For one thing, it was felt that the students' notion of English poetry might be a misleading, essentially canonical one. Furthermore, as CLT research has revealed, poetry, like short stories, can be integrated successfully into language teaching, and this can be done outside the literary canon. The texts on literature in CLT discussed in Chapter Three rely heavily on short stories and poetry, and it was deemed appropriate to follow their approach in the first term. Then, too, the criteria noted earlier which made short stories attractive applied to poetry as well. Poems can be read quickly; they are amenable to the activities-based approach; and they can be dealt with rapidly, and yet effectively, in the language class. Thus, poetry was selected along with short stories as the literary types to be experimented with in the first term.

The selection of non-literary or ESP materials could not be accounted for in the responses to the course questionnaire; therefore, the criteria used were the course objectives

and points made earlier regarding the students' science background upon entering the course and their various presumed needs-vocational, academic, and personal-after completing the course. That is, on the one hand, it was necessary to deal with the subject at hand, i.e. science, in ways which would be valuable to the students linguistically. At the same time, it was considered important to choose materials which would stimulate the students' scientifically-based interests and simultaneously cater to the larger educational purposes at hand in the course. It was therefore decided to experiment with a combination of traditional type ESP materials and some with a scientific orientation while containing other qualities as well.

We can now look at the textual choices made, with the rationale behind their selection to follow.

Literary Texts

Short Stories

"The Open Window" (Saki)
 "The Story of an Hour" (Kate Chopin)
 "The Untold Lie" (Sherwood Anderson)
 "Stitch in Time" (John Wyndham)
 "Random Quest" (John Wyndham)
 "To Build a Fire" (Jack London)

Poems

A selection of several Japanese haiku poems
 "Fog" (Carl Sandburg)
 "This is just to say" (William Carlos Williams)
 "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" (Robert Frost)
 "The Road Not Taken" (Robert Frost)
 "Snake" D.H. Lawrence
 "The Fish" (Elizabeth Bishop)

All of the texts were considered to be of at least reasonable literary quality, and so were selected partly

on that basis. In addition, among the short stories, the first three were chosen partly because of their length and partly because of their content. The Saki and Chopin stories are only three pages in length each; the Anderson story is a few pages longer. Hence, in the early stages of the course, the students were not encountering long reading assignments while first tasting fiction in the course. There was also a desire to note which kind of content appealed most to the students. "The Open Window" is a clever and entertaining story about a cunning and interesting joke a precocious girl plays on a family and a stranger who visits them. It was hoped that such a story would arouse some initial attraction to fiction on the part of the students. The story was dealt with at the beginning of the term (indeed, as noted earlier, it was used in the diagnostic testing procedure). It was followed, in order, by the Chopin and Anderson stories, both of which were complete contrasts to Saki in terms of content and style, thus complying with the exploratory nature of the first term textual selections.

"The Story of an Hour" is about a young woman yearning to be free of what she sees as the unacceptable constraints of marriage. The brief period-literally an hour-in which she believes, mistakenly, that she has been set free from her marital bonds by her husband's death leads to her tragic and ironic death by a heart attack when she learns he has not died after all. The focus on the complexities of freedom held the main appeal, content-wise, of this story, in view of dilemmas facing Hong Kong during the run-up to 1997 and

the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong to China. Meanwhile, "The Untold Lie" focuses on the complicated nature of truth, a topic deemed meaningful within the educationally based purposes of the course. Both stories were intended to serve as forums for group discussions of various aspects of the texts related to their content and thematic concerns.

The next two stories, by John Wyndham, are science fiction stories, and these were selected out of a desire to see how the students, as students of science, would react to fiction with a science base. The researcher was aware that science fiction in Chinese is popular among young people in Hong Kong, and casual conversations with the students had revealed that most of them enjoyed this type of fiction. It therefore seemed worthwhile to investigate whether they would find equal enjoyment in science fiction in English. Also, John Wyndham has been one of the most respected writers in science fiction for many years. From the content point of view, both his stories deal with the intricacies and fascinations of Time. Such content was expected to engage the students' interest, as well as challenge their intellect. From the language perspective the stories were also attractive, being well written and also featuring both scientific and ordinary language use.

The final short story selection, "To Build a Fire", appears in many short story anthologies and, from the content and thematic point of view, presented an interesting contrast to the science fiction stories which preceded it. Here there was a desire to shift the students from one type of story

to another in line with the exploratory character of the first term. Also, the 'Man vs. Nature' theme was one which seemed worth exploring within the course's educational focus. Furthermore, the researcher had located a simplified version of the text, and wished to work with that on a comparative basis with the original text, especially with respect to differences in the language of the two texts.

Like the short stories, the poems varied somewhat in terms of length, content, and style. The short and deceptively simple haiku were introduced first as a way of making poetry look 'reader friendly'. They also provided excellent opportunities at the beginning of the course to look at the language of poetry, especially with respect to diction and connotation, and the deliberate use of ambiguity. The same lines of reasoning applied to the Sandburg and Williams' poems, with the idea being to ease the students into poetry while breaking down their presumed canonical expectations of poetry.

The Frost poems were introduced after those mentioned above, and were selected because of their valuable content and their fairly simple use of language to convey important content. They were felt to be accessible poems both linguistically and conceptually, though some coaching was expected to be in order. Both left considerable room for discussion because of certain ambiguities in the poems, and both offered observations on life which were regarded as helpful to the educational objectives of the course.

The Lawrence and Bishop poems are much longer than the

others, especially "Snake", and both were seen to offer worthwhile content and language use meriting discussion in class. "Snake", in particular, was regarded as appealing because of the way it deals with the subject of the fear and suspicion of the unknown, which is then assumed to be bad because it is little understood. The poem was expected to stimulate interesting discussion, as well as creating an opening for opportunities to write about the poem.

In general, the poetry was regarded as a useful contrast to the short fiction in terms of style, the process of reading involved, and as a positive challenge to the students' expectations for English poetry. It was hoped that the poems chosen would relax the students' fears toward poetry and thus make it an integral part of the course. Meanwhile, with respect to both types of literature, it was believed that the texts were accessible to the students in terms of content and language, and that at the same time they would, through their variety, provide the researcher with a clear indication as to which kind(s) of literary texts worked best with the students. This would then lay a foundation for the second term of the course.

As mentioned earlier, there was also a desire to experiment with the non-literary materials of the course. Because the course was being approached from the wide angle, generalized ESP point of view, and because the students already had experienced science in English for a few years, it was felt that the more distinctly ESP type materials need not conform entirely to the standard model of such materials.

As such, while all of the materials selected had a scientific base, they differed somewhat in terms of how they approached science. These materials included:

Non-Literary Texts

Book

Further Scientific English Practice (G.C. Thornley)

Essays

"Big White" (Skip Rosen)

"My Friend, Albert Einstein" (Banesh Hoffman)

"How I Designed an A-Bomb in My Junior Year at Princeton"
(John Aristotle Phillips and David Michaelis)

The more orthodox ESP materials came from Thornley's book. This is a collection of 30 short essays by various scientists on a wide variety of scientific topics. While a fairly old text (published in 1972), it was considered appropriate for the course because it is intended for ESP students, and as a result contains numerous learning aids, such as explanations of vocabulary and pronunciation, language and comprehension questions, and essay topics. The brevity of the essays was also an advantage. Most run one to three pages, and thus could be worked easily into class sessions. Furthermore, the essays were of a high quality and featured excellent samples of scientific English.

The three essays were seen as science-based alternatives to Thornley's collection. Though each essay dealt with science, the focus was on various philosophical and ethical questions related to science. These essays were therefore seen as enriching the students' experience of science in a broader sense by making them think about issues concerning

scientific endeavour, while Thornley's anthology of essays dealt with science itself and enhanced the students' purely scientific knowledge and vocabulary. The essays also provided a different approach to scientific writing because of their narrative style of composition. As a result, as with the science fiction short stories, the students were exposed to various uses of English, as opposed to the strictly scientific uses in Thornley's text.

One of the essays, "Big White", deals with a man's confrontation with a vending machine which dispenses hot beverages, but not those ordered by the narrator of the essay. The author then attempts to determine, systematically, the pattern the machine follows so as to make correct choices in the future. In the process he confronts not only the machine, which defies his efforts, but the larger world of technology and its domination over people. Such a situation was presumed to be of interest to the students, as well as of educational relevance in terms of demystifying technology and the emphasis in science on technological development.

The next essay, "My Friend, Albert Einstein," is a biographical account of Einstein as a man as well as a physicist. Here the author juxtaposes Einstein's approach to science with his deep humanistic concerns. In this way the students were led to look at ethical questions about scientific 'progress', a point deemed necessary in view of their future careers as scientists. This was part of the course's ongoing attempt to enlarge the students' concept of themselves as scientists in keeping with the scientific

and educational dimensions of the course.

The same line of thinking applied to the essay about designing an atomic bomb. Here a third year student at Princeton University narrates how he actually designed such a bomb as a course project, with the point being that if a university student could gain access to the knowledge necessary to do such a thing, who else could? The narrator then raises questions about the use of science in the development of weapons by discussing the valuable lessons he learned through the experience. Such an essay, with a student's experience at the heart of the narration, and with its basis in science, was expected to be considerably appealing to the students, as well as raising important ethical questions which, again, were intended to enlarge their view of themselves as scientists.

The students, then, saw standard ESP material and scientific writing and uses of language in several essays from Thornley's book, and combinations of scientific and narrative writing in the other essays as well as of scientific and ordinary language. Furthermore, as we have seen, ethical and philosophical questions about science were introduced, both to stimulate group discussions, and to sensitise the students to moral and human dimensions of scientific endeavour. Here the generalized ESP focus of the course was emphasized, while Thornley's book made possible a concentration on the more technical aspect of the course.

Course-Methodology

Before looking at how, specifically, the literary and non-literary materials were used in the first term, a few preliminary points must be made. First, each week the students moved back and forth between the literary and non-literary texts, so that in no week was there an exclusive focus on either type. This approach was intended to keep the students interested in both kinds of texts. Second, class time was divided between literary and non-literary texts in such a way that literature received only a little more attention than did the non-literary texts. The breakdown was approximately a 55% focus on literature, and a 45% focus on the non-literary materials. This ratio was monitored closely during the term so as to determine how appropriate it was by way of deciding upon a fixed ratio for the second term. Third, the students were divided into three groups comprising five students each, with at least one of the students thought to be more proficient in English, especially spoken English, assigned to each group. Fourth, the students were asked to purchase a notebook which would be their 'language notebook' throughout the entire course. In this notebook they were to record vocabulary, phrases, or even sentences they encountered in the course texts and found interesting, useful, etc. Their notebooks were occasionally collected and commented on by the researcher. Fifth, the students were required to write several short essays outside class, and their results on these constituted their course grade. There was no examination in either term.

As already noted, the methodology was rooted in the task-based, problem solving framework of activities-oriented communicative teaching which required them to use the target language in ways which challenged them linguistically and intellectually so as to activate learning strategies which would then enhance their language ability and enrich their academic, professional, and personal development. This approach was both content and language based. The following pages will describe some of the ways in which this approach was applied to, first, the literary texts, and second, the non-literary texts.

In the first few weeks of the term, the literary texts were approached from a combined teacher-centred and learner-centred methodology. In this way the teacher focus would provide some guidance as the students made their initial contact with literature, while the learner focus would introduce the activities-based emphasis which dominated the course shortly thereafter. This combined approach applied to the story "The Open Window" and the haiku poems, as well as the poem "Fog."

The approach to the poetry changed beginning with "This is just to say," with group work becoming the means by which the text was dealt with. The students were asked to work in their groups identifying ambiguous words and phrases and defining what they might mean, i.e. the range of possibilities for each. Different interpretations for the poem as a whole were constructed and presented by each group as well. The same approach was used with "Stopping by Woods

on a Snowy Evening" with regards to ambiguity and interpretations of the poem. In addition, the students were given various content-based questions to answer in groups, and then to present to the class. Regarding "The Road Not Taken," each group was asked to prepare an explication of the poem, which was then shared with the class. Each group was also asked to discuss the poem in a local, Hong Kong context, and then present their findings to the class, i.e. what the 'road not taken' might mean in that cultural environment. As for "Snake," the students were given a series of language-based questions, which they answered in groups, with each group then required to supply answers to the whole class on assigned questions from the entire list. They were also told that the poem could be broken into four sections on the basis of the narrator's changing attitudes toward the snake; they were then asked to identify those sections and the attitudes reflected within each of them. Afterwards, each student shared with the class a fear of his own. When the focus shifted to "The Fish," they were asked to prepare group explications of the poem, as well as a structural breakdown of the poem along the lines of that for "Snake."

As we can see, the group work on the poems was both language and content based. In some cases, the group work was done outside class, with reports given in class. As much as possible, however, the work was done in class.

As for the short stories, the approach became less teacher-centred with the second story, "The Story of an Hour." Here the students were given some help with the

background to the story, and then moved to the task-based approach. This consisted of writing, in groups, a short (maximum of 60 words) plot summary of the story, which was then shared with the class. The plot summary was used so as to focus the students' view of the story and help them prioritize important elements within it. Each group was then assigned a few sentences from the story to discuss and then explain to the class. This approach was repeated with "The Untold Lie;" in addition, each group was assigned to re-tell the story from the point of view of one of the characters in the story.

The group tasks became more varied with the next story, "Stitch in Time," one of the science fiction stories. First, the story was given to the students in sections, so that the prediction technique could be used. Here each group was required to create and then share with the class predictions of the next section to come. The groups were also required to explain a few sentences from each section of the story. Also, before each section was given to the students, they were asked to complete, in groups, short cloze passages from the section to come, with each group working out and sharing its answers with the class. This was followed by class discussion of the answers they had provided. After completing the story, each group was asked to write a brief description of what had taken place scientifically in the story. That is, they had to provide a description of what had happened as if they were preparing a scientific report on the incident in question (the story centred around an experiment in time

travel). The report could be no more than one paragraph in length. Each report was shared with the class as a whole.

When "Random Quest" was the focus of attention, the prediction, cloze, and sentence explanation tasks were repeated, though not with each section of the story. In addition, each group was asked to show how they would present to a class of Form Five science stream students in Hong Kong the scientific side of the story.

There was also some teacher intervention in the case of the two science fiction stories. Each story contains sections of dialogue in which scientific matters are being discussed. These were focused on briefly, with a concentration on how 'everyday' communication devices were used to express scientific concepts through a combination of emotive and scientific or technical language.

"To Build a Fire" was approached like other stories, i.e. through the preparation of a short plot summary and the answering of language-based questions. Most of the work regarding this story involved a comparison of various passages from the original text of the story as well as a simplified version. The objective here was for groups to study the same passages from the two versions and then discuss exactly what had happened in the process of simplification. Each group was also asked to prepare their own simplification of one passage from the story.

As in the case of the poetry, group assignments with respect to the short stories were conducted both outside and inside class, with an emphasis on the latter. Throughout the

term, the idea was to continually assign new tasks and problems to the students. In this way they were constantly working together to decipher the texts, and in the process were penetrating into both the language and the content of the works at hand.

With regards to the non-literary materials, the method used was still task based, but on a slightly more limited scale.

Several essays from the Thornley text were used in a variety of ways. First, cloze passages were constructed from sections of each of the essays before the essays had been given to the students; these were then completed by the students in groups, with answers shared by the groups in a rotation system. Here it should be explained that the cloze passages were used not as comprehension tests-their standard role-but rather as teaching/learning devices. That is, group responses to the blank spaces in the passages created many opportunities for discussion of language use. The various acceptable choices were noted, and the best choice among the acceptable alternatives was then identified and discussed. Structural factors were also discussed where necessary. This sensitised the students to general language use, as well as to uses in scientific discourse. In this way the Thornley-based essays a) generated chances for problem-solving discussions among the students as they attempted to complete the passages, and b) created opportunities for discussion of scientific uses of language, in the process focusing on the more strictly defined ESP side of the course.

The three other essays used in the first term made possible content-based discussions of science as well as language-based discussions. The essays from Thornley's text, in contrast, were mainly useful from the language point of view. With "Big White," for example, each group talked about and presented to the class ideas as to why machines so often frustrate and alienate people, and how scientists can deal with that situation. There was also discussion of the colloquial language use in the essay; here the work was somewhat teacher-centred.

The anecdotal essay on Einstein was approached quite differently. Here the essay's dual focus on Einstein as a man and as a physicist was maintained by requiring each group to look into his life and career so as to present to the class specific aspects or features of his contributions to science as well as his humanism. The purpose here was to introduce the practice of looking at both a scientist's scientific and human or moral responsibilities, as exemplified by Einstein's life and career. It was felt essential to work on this distinction-and the integration of the scientific and moral duties-so as to develop the larger educational context of the course. Here, then, an ethical dimension was added to the course, and this was seen as one way in which the students' experience of science could be broadened.

The third essay, on the student's A-bomb project, created an opportunity for group discussion through a focus on a series of content and language questions, with each group responsible for providing answers to some of the questions.

Each group was also responsible for rewriting a few short scientific passages from the essay, with the rewrites shared with the class. The essay's frequent shifts between emotive and technical language were discussed as a class, with direction from the researcher, so as to sensitise the students to both domains of language use. There was, in addition, a focus on the colloquial language used in the essay. Finally, each group was asked to discuss and share with the class their feelings on particular ethical questions raised by the essay (i.e. each group dealt with one question).

Summary

As already explained, the first term was an 'exploratory' one with respect to selection of texts and classroom methodology. The students were introduced to different types of literary texts and ESP/scientific texts in an effort to determine which would work most successfully later in the course. Different learning techniques were also experimented with to see not only which the students responded best to, but which blended in most effectively with the texts. It was also hoped that the students would feel better prepared to read literature, and would likewise feel more interested in it. The same hope applied to the range of scientific texts experimented with. It was deemed especially important to introduce to the students the idea that there were dimensions of science to explore beyond the acquisition of scientific information and terminology. That is, some of the scientific texts and classroom practices applied to them were used in such a way that the students could begin to define themselves

in terms of the wider range of responsibilities which scientists are expected to meet and observe. Here they were receiving their first taste of what the researcher later came to call a 'what if' learning strategy in which the students had to decide what they would do if they found themselves in similar situations. As will be seen later, this became an important part of the second term course methodology. Meanwhile, there was also a steady attempt to draw attention to different uses of language in the texts. This, in turn, introduced a kind of close reading technique into the course so as to sensitise the students to the careful reading of the language of the texts .

When the first, exploratory term was evaluated, several important conclusions emerged. These were:

--Poetry never really succeeded. Perhaps it was the texts themselves, but the more likely explanation was that the students were simply unable to draw a connection between poetry and their purposes as science students at the University. Despite considerable effort on the part of the researcher, a link between the poems and the scientific concerns of the course was never established.

--The science fiction stories were by far the best received among the literary texts. The best literature-based sessions of the first term were those involving the science fiction texts. The students found them interesting and, as hypothesized by the researcher, saw some connection between them and their needs/interests as science students.

--There was only a lukewarm reaction, at best, to the three science based essays which were not part of the Thornley collection. The students did not seem to dislike the essays, but they never actively engaged them.

--The short selections from Thornley were generally well received. In particular, the students responded very enthusiastically to the cloze exercises developed from them. And in general the students felt comfortable with them. They liked their short length, not surprisingly, and they seemed to enjoy the standard approach to scientific writing found in them.

--There was a fairly positive response to the attempt to include a focus on the responsibilities of a scientist. This was new to the students, and they found it a novel and somewhat interesting dimension to their scientific study.

--The students were asked to perform too many tasks and problem solving activities, especially with the literary texts.

--On the whole, too much had been attempted during the first term, causing the students to rush in order to complete all the assignments.

The successes and failures of the textual selections and classroom practices, as well as the conclusions just discussed, were carefully considered between the first and second terms of the course so that a clearcut, well defined approach to the second term could be fixed in advance of the term. That approach will be discussed in the following pages.

C) Description of the Second Term of the Classroom Experiment

Aims and overall approach

The second term had an enormous advantage over the first term, in that it had the insights gained from the exploratory approach of the first term to draw upon, as well as the responses to the course questionnaire distributed at the beginning of the course.

It had already been decided before the course began that the second term would be the real test of a literature-ESP link. This meant that it was critically important to develop, before the term started, a firm concept of the texts to be used during the term, the ratio between literary and non-literary materials and classroom sessions to be followed, and the teaching/learning techniques to be employed as the term

progressed. This did not mean that changes could not be made during the term, but it was felt that the more thoroughly the term was outlined before it began, the better its chances of effectively measuring the literature-ESP cross fertilisation proposed. It would mean that a particular model for the linking of literature and ESP would be attempted and studied, and valuable insight could be gained from the testing of a clearly specified model.

In light of the first term conclusions discussed earlier, it was decided to simplify or streamline the overall course approach in the second term, and to work under more controlled and concretely defined conditions from the start. It was also decided, in view of the reactions to literature which occurred during the first term, to focus exclusively on short stories, and within that context, on science fiction stories. This decision will be discussed in greater detail shortly. In addition, it was felt that essays from Thornley's book should be utilised far more extensively, indeed exclusively. Furthermore, fewer learning activities would be assigned with each text, literary or non-literary, used during the term.

A particularly crucial decision which had to be made was that concerning the proportion of time to be spent on literary and non-literary materials. As reported earlier, in the first term the ratio had been roughly 55%-45%, with literature receiving the larger share. With the decision to concentrate solely on science fiction literary texts in the second term, it was decided that the proportion of time devoted to literature would be increased to 67%, with the

remaining 33% allocated to the non-literary texts. This point will be taken up again shortly.

Bearing in mind what has been stated so far, the following second term objectives were established:

1. To measure the effectiveness of the 67%-33% ratio of literary to non-literary materials.
2. To examine the value of science fiction short stories in a literature-based ESP course for science students.
3. To look at the extent to which literary texts can overlap into the domain normally occupied by conventional ESP materials in view of the decision to use science fiction stories.
4. To help students feel that in reading and working with literary texts, they are pursuing ESP purposes.
5. To evaluate the effectiveness of the activities-based approach within the type of model designed for the course experiment.
6. To determine how the focus on literature designed for the second term would impact on the students' interest in literature.

These aims reflected the tighter, streamlined organizational approach of the second term, one which constituted a concrete model of a literature-ESP link, and one which could therefore be evaluated more directly in terms of its success and/or failure.

Given all of the points made thus far, the second term was regarded as the 'intensive' term, as opposed to the 'exploratory' first term. That is, with the clearly specified model developed for the second term and the narrower boundaries of that model, there would be a more intense focus on a particular attempt to connect literature and ESP.

Course texts

As has already been made clear, there was a determination to streamline the course in the second term. This was particularly reflected in the selection of literary texts. These, as noted previously, were all science fiction stories. They were taken from various collections of such stories. Ten stories were chosen on the basis of criteria discussed earlier. That is, it was considered essential to select stories which were well written, short, interesting and meaningful in terms of content, and accessible to the students with regards to language, subjects written about, themes, etc. The fact that the collections the stories came from were considered good collections was also considered. Here the researcher's long-time interest in science fiction was an advantage.

Before the term began, the stories selected for use were ranked by the researcher in terms of their level of difficulty with respect to both language and content. This was a subjective process, but it was based on the student reactions to texts used in the first term, the researcher's previous experience in using science fiction texts with students in Hong Kong, and an understanding of the students' background via the first term course questionnaire. During the term, the stories were introduced to the students from the least difficult to the most difficult. The ten stories were (in order of their use during the term):

- "Monkey Wrench" (Gordon Dickson)
- "Construction Shack" (Clifford Simak)
- "The Weapon" (Fredric Brown)
- "The Figure" (Edward Grendon)

"The Haunted Space Suit" (Arthur C. Clarke)
"Unwelcome Tenant" (Roger Dee)
"Tiger by the Tail" (Alan E. Nourse)
"The Store of the Worlds" (Robert Shockley)
"Protected Species" (H.B. Frye)
"An Alien Agony" (Harry Harrison)

The decision to work exclusively with science fiction stories in the second term was a crucial one, and so a few more words should be added to the discussion of the selection of literary texts.

The general criteria by which the stories were chosen were reviewed on the previous page. In addition, these stories were seen as appropriate because, as science-based literature, they provided a unique combination of features which were seen to appeal to the wide-angle, generalized ESP nature of the course. First, because of their scientific orientation, the stories helped keep the course within a broadly based scientific context, in keeping with the fact that it was an ESP course, however general its purposes. This was especially important a) because the experiment could only be considered a legitimately ESP-based one if there was a steady focus on ESP interests, in this case expressed through science; and b) the University expected the course to cater to science students, and the researcher was bound by that expectation. Second, as fiction, the stories contained those elements common to fictional expression: a plot, characters, dialogue, theme(s), etc. Furthermore, as science-based fiction, they included both scientific and everyday uses of language, and it was deemed necessary from the start of the course to expose the students to both

domains of language use. Here, then, we would find 'language resources being used to the full' (Carter and Brumfit, cited earlier) within contexts of relevance to the students as students of science with both science-related and general English language needs vis-a-vis their academic and professional interests. No other literary texts could combine scientific and non-scientific elements as fully as science fiction texts.

At the same time, the texts would enrich the students' experience of science in accordance with one of the two overall course objectives. In particular, various moral conflicts contained in the stories would make possible discussion of ethical dimensions of science and broaden the students' awareness of the responsibilities of scientists. Thus the generalized aspect of the course was accounted for, while at the same time the scientific content and language of the texts brought the students more in contact with science itself, in conjunction with the more conventional ESP side of the course.

In other words, the science fiction stories were seen to fulfil the literature side of the course, and at the same time performed the role assigned to the three science essays used in the first term by bringing larger science-related concerns into the course. This dual function of the literary texts reduced the need to draw on a large number of science-based, non-literary texts; at the same time, it created the unique overlap between literature and ESP envisioned in the course objectives, and thus introduced an intriguing way of

forming a literature-ESP link.

Finally, in view of their popularity in the first term and the fact that they deal with science in imaginative ways, science fiction stories were expected to engage the students' interest, and hence increase their motivation, in ways other literary texts might not.

One more point to be made is that, for some of the reasons just cited, the choice of science fiction texts as the sole source of literary material made it easier to implement the 67%-33% ratio between literary and non-literary materials since, as already noted, the science fiction stories overlapped into the non-literary territory in terms of both language and content.

With respect to the standard ESP side of the course, there was one text: Thornley's Further Scientific English Practice. It has already been explained how this collection of essays by various scientists was well received by the students, and worked well, during the first term. The purely scientific orientation of the essays, their brevity, and their inclusion in a book aimed at ESP students continued to make Thornley's text an appealing and workable one. His book was seen to effectively complement the science fiction literary texts by duplicating their scientific orientation, while presenting science, and scientific English, in a more conventional light.

On the whole, the desired streamlining effect was seen to be served well by the concentration on science fiction stories as the only literary material for the course, and the

focus on the essays in Thornley's book as the only strictly scientific material in the course.

Course methodology

In line with the decision to streamline the second term model for the course, the first methodological decision made was to make a clearcut distinction between the literary and non-literary materials in the course. This was done by designating the weekly two hour class session as the 'literary' session, while the weekly one hour session was the 'practical' session. As such, the students worked strictly with the short stories in the literary sessions, and with the essays from Thornley's book in the practical sessions. This was in contrast to the first term, where the literary and non-literary materials were often both dealt with in a class session. It should be added that the students were not told of these designations. It should also be pointed out that this distinction referred to attention paid to the materials themselves, not to language or content arising from them. That is, the researcher often linked language and content from one type of session to something taking place within another type of session as a means of maintaining some continuity between the two. This usually occurred during the course of class discussions.

The other major methodological decision made before the start of the term was, as noted earlier, to simplify the activities-based approach by focusing on fewer tasks per story or essay.

During the second term, then, the students had a

'literary' session and a 'practical' session each week, with the literary sessions comprising 2/3 of total class time, in accordance with the 67%-33% ratio of literary to non-literary materials. Within these sessions, the task-based, problem solving approach was followed for all sessions.

The overall methodological approach to the literary sessions was, to some degree, an adaptation of I.A. Richards' work with his literature students at Cambridge in the 1920s (as described in Chapter Three). His students were presented with a series of poems without any accompanying information about them, thus forcing them to respond directly to the texts themselves. They were then required to write explications, or 'protocols', of the poems, which Richards then analysed to determine how they had read the poems.

This approach was followed with the literary texts in the sense that, in the case of each of the stories, the students were required, as their first group work task, to prepare plot summaries, or protocols, of the stories. A maximum number of words was stipulated for each summary, ranging from 50 to 60, depending on the complexity of the story. For the researcher these summaries were useful as a means of monitoring how well the students had understood the stories and could isolate their main features. This also made it possible to measure their progress in comprehension from story to story. In addition, it reinforced the reader-based approach utilized in much of the first term, wherein it was the students' reactions to texts which counted, rather than the researcher's.

For the students this technique was expected to be helpful as a concrete starting point in their work with the stories. That is, they knew from the start of the term that they would be expected to prepare such summaries throughout the term, and so their reading of the stories was shaped or intensified by this initial requirement for each story. Here there was an element of 'close reading', in that such a requirement meant that the students had to pay careful attention to each element in the stories while reading them. This plot summary technique was also expected to be useful in the sense of providing the students with a problem solving activity which helped engage them immediately with the stories. The problem was how to arrive at a workable prioritization of the elements of each story which could be compressed within the word limit established for each protocol assigned. This problem required that the students use the target language effectively in order to work through their presumably different ideas as to which elements were most important in the story in question, or even their interpretations of the story. They also had to use the language effectively, and concisely, in order to comply with the word limit requirement-another reason for employing the technique. Thus they had to discuss the target language itself while using it in order to prepare their group protocols. They also had to use the language to effectively decipher the meaning of the story being discussed, as well as to rank its elements for inclusion in the summary. On the whole, then, the preparation of the protocols brought

the students into meaningful contact with the target language and with literature in a number of ways.

Once completed, the protocols were given to the researcher, who photocopied them so that they could be reviewed and discussed with the class as a whole. In this way the students could compare their readings of the stories as well as their use of language in expressing the information contained in the protocols. While this took place, the researcher also made comments, with a special emphasis on pointing out effective uses of language and perceptive readings of the stories.

The close reading notion was also applied in another technique used with all the stories: requiring each group to answer a few language-based and content-based questions connected to the stories. Knowing that they would have to answer such questions, the students once again had to read the stories with special care. Here the researcher could build upon the students' extreme reluctance to 'lose face' in front of the class. Being Chinese students, they were particularly concerned about this factor, and so were highly motivated to correctly answer the language and content questions when their groups were asked to present their answers to the rest of the class.

Simplification was used as a learning technique in the case of several of the stories. Sometimes the researcher would write a simplified version of a paragraph from a text, and each group would be required to analyse the simplification linguistically, as well as how changes in the text might

affect the reading of the story. Their group analyses were then shared with the class. In other cases the students were required, within their groups, to simplify a passage from a story and then explain and justify their simplification before the rest of the class. The purpose in both uses of simplification was to draw the students' attention to the language of the texts through comparison between the original and simplified versions, and between the various simplified passages. Furthermore, the process of simplifying passages, or discussing others given to them, required the students to talk about how the target language functioned in the passages in question. Both scientific and non-scientific portions of the texts were used in this way so as to fully utilise the unique linguistic advantage the science fiction texts possessed for a course aimed at students who were all studying science.

Sometimes, too, the students were asked to rewrite portions of texts. In some cases this involved dialogue as a way of focusing their attention on how everyday or emotive language was being used to achieve various communicative effects, since rewriting first required an understanding of how the language in question was functioning. In other cases scientifically-based passages were rewritten for the same reasons.

Also used was the 'what if' technique mentioned briefly earlier. Here the students were asked, for example, to imagine different characters than those in the story being placed in the same circumstances. How, for instance, would

two Japanese or Chinese scientists have approached the same situation in a particular story, as opposed to how the Western scientists dealt with it in the actual story? Here, as usual, group responses were prepared and shared with the class. In some cases this meant asking how each group of students would have resolved the problem or conflict at the heart of the story being discussed if they had found themselves in the same situation.

This 'what if' approach was also useful in exploiting the ethical dimensions of the stories. One of the reasons for choosing the stories selected for the second term was that they posed challenging questions about the moral responsibilities of scientists. The students were asked, in essay assignments and group discussions, to determine how they would, or should, respond to such situations. In this way they were enabled to develop a more broadly-based sense of themselves as scientists.

These were the main types of techniques used in the literary sessions, and in each case they presented the students with specific tasks and problems which required effective language based work among the group members. That is, they had to use and explore the target language in order to express themselves while performing the tasks or solving the problems. They also had to develop or utilise already existing interpretive strategies in order to complete the tasks, thus reinforcing the learning-centred approach of the course. In the meantime, the researcher was monitoring their work, and asking questions and making comments where necessary

in order to plug any gaps which may have appeared.

On the whole, then, the tasks and problems set before the students were believed to help sensitise them to the language, both scientific and emotive or everyday, of the texts while at the same time giving them opportunities to explore and react to the imaginative and valuable content of the stories. The underlying idea was to help the students to see the stories as useful repositories of language resources beneficial to their own purposes at the University or in their future endeavours, and simultaneously allow them to experience the texts as literary texts. That is, the techniques employed in the literary sessions were also intended to help the students enjoy the stories as stories. In addition, it was hoped that the content of the stories, and the ways in which the activities-based approach tapped into it, gave the students new and deeper experiences of science.

In the literary sessions, then, there was a fairly restricted repertoire of types of tasks and problem solving activities, but within these types a fair amount of variation occurred. The same was true with respect to the practical sessions, where the focus was on the more orthodox side of ESP through the concentration on Thornley's collection of essays. A different essay from this book was normally used in each practical session, and the first classroom technique used in each case was the cloze procedure described in the discussion of the first term of the course. That is, the researcher would remove a passage from one of the Thornley

essays and construct a cloze exercise from it. Because the cloze passages were used as teaching/learning devices, rather than testing instruments (as is usually the case), the conventional fixed deletion pattern of construction was avoided. Instead, the passages were designed so that the words deleted by the researcher fit into particular purposes at hand in each passage. The students would then be given the cloze exercise prior to receiving the essay itself, and these would be completed in groups in some cases, and individually in others. The students then offered ideas on how the blank spaces could be filled in. Their choices were discussed, with the pros and cons of potential answers reviewed until the best choice had been identified. In this way the students were continually talking about language, with guidance from the researcher where necessary. The passages also created opportunities to discuss techniques of scientific expression by looking at how language functioned in the passages.

Once the students were given the complete text of the essays, other techniques were used. A common one was the rewriting of portions of the texts so as to explore alternate ways of using language to express the same ideas or information. Sometimes this was done by creating specific situations which would require a recasting of part of a text, such as simplifying it for an audience of laymen or students not yet familiar with all the concepts or the terminology involved.

The approach just described leads into another technique

used, where the same kind of 'situationalising' notion was applied. That is, a particular context was constructed and placed around the texts. For example, the students might be told to imagine that the essay at hand was a talk delivered at a scientific conference they were attending, and they were now going to discuss it casually with other scientists attending the conference. Here they would have to assume that these other scientists came from different countries and cultures, thus impacting on decisions made regarding how they would express their ideas. Each group would then write some of the dialogue used in the situation. These dialogues would be shared with the class, creating an opportunity for comparisons and discussions of them concerning their effectiveness, appropriacy, etc.

Furthermore, as with the literary texts, the scientific essays were often approached through sentence and comprehension questions, where the students were asked, in groups, to explain the meaning of individual sentences or larger portions of the texts.

The thrust of the tasks used with the Thornley essays was language-based work in which the students had to use English to discuss how the language was employed within a number of scientific contexts, thus enhancing their knowledge of, and ability to use, scientific English.

Summary

The classroom techniques described for both the 'literary' and 'practical' sessions were designed not only to focus on the language and content of the texts so as to

build the students' general and scientific knowledge, their language sensitivity and awareness, and their sense of themselves as future scientists, but also to provide ample opportunities to develop their abilities in all four language skills. The emphasis on group discussion and presentation, for example, required extensive use of spoken English. Reading, of course, was practiced through the reading of the texts, augmented by the close reading required in order to complete various tasks. Writing was practiced through a range of essay assignments connected, directly or indirectly, with the literary texts. As for listening, practice occurred when the students had to listen to English throughout the class sessions, both to themselves and the researcher. Additionally, the researcher sometimes read aloud portions of the texts to give the students further opportunities to work on their listening skills.

The main role of the researcher as teacher was, in addition to selecting the texts and tasks to be performed with them, filling in gaps where the students had insufficient knowledge or proficiency to complete the task or problem at hand. Quite often this involved providing guidance in the kinds of emotive or everyday language used in the types of situations created for the problem solving activities. In other cases it meant explaining complex uses of language in the texts.

On the whole, the texts selected and the methodological choices made in the second term (as well as the first term) were seen to be appropriate to the theoretical framework

devised for the course. The extensive use of literary texts, with a considerable amount of time devoted to the content and themes of the stories, put the overall approach followed within the realm of a wide-angle, educationally-based ESP course. Meanwhile, the constant use of task based, problem solving activities placed the course within a process and learning-centred orientation. The group-based nature of these activities, together with their regular emphasis on the language of the texts, ensured that there was a continual communicative emphasis in the course. At the same time, the dual focus on scientific and emotive language provided the students with extensive exposure to both kinds of language, thus strengthening their general and scientific communicative competence.

What we have now seen is how the course was approached. The next sub-section will discuss the effectiveness of the experiment and the insights gained from it.

D) Evaluation and Discussion of the Classroom Experiment

Results of a student survey

At the end of the second term, the students were asked to complete a questionnaire developed by the researcher to investigate some of the ways in which the course, and especially the second term, had impacted on their thoughts and feelings about literature and the literature-ESP link explored in the course. This was seen as one valuable way of determining the extent to which the general course and term objectives had been met by the theoretical framework

and first and second term approaches devised for the course. Given the small sample-just 15 students-the results of the survey could not be interpreted as significant in the sense of making firm proclamations about literature in the ESP classroom. It was expected from the beginning, however, that the student responses to the questions would shed useful light on the particular ESP-literature model developed by the researcher.

The questionnaire developed by the researcher employed different formats depending on the type of information being sought. The responses to the questionnaire will be discussed in the following pages as a way of leading into later discussion of the positive and negative indicators arising from the experiment, and the insights gained through the experimental experience.

The questionnaire began with a set of five questions designed to measure how the experiment had impacted on the students' attitudes toward English and toward literature.

The first three questions asked a) whether the students' interest in improving their English had changed during the course; b) whether their interest in studying English had changed; and c) whether their interest in reading English literature had changed. In each case the students were asked to choose between increased, decreased, and stayed the same. Their responses are recorded in Table 5:6.

Table 5:6Impact of Experiment on Interest in English and English Literature (expressed in frequency)

<u>variable</u>	<u>increased</u>	<u>decreased</u>	<u>same</u>
interest in improving English	8	1	6
interest in studying English	5	1	9
interest in reading English literature	8	1	6

These results paint a somewhat mixed picture of the experiment. There was a good deal of encouragement in the number of students (8) who reported an increase in their interest in English and in literature. This was reinforced by the fact that just 1 student reported a decrease in each case. On the other hand, 40% of the students (6 in each case) reported no change in interest with respect to interest in English and in literature. Furthermore, only 1/3 of the students (5) indicated increased interest in studying English. On the whole, the results could be interpreted as modest support for the experiment.

The next two questions were designed to follow up the three just reported on by looking further at the impact of the experiment on the students' interest in literature. Here the students were asked to rate the likelihood that they a) would read any English literature; and b) would read any science fiction short stories in their leisure time in the future. Table 5:7 reports their responses.

Table 5:7

Likelihood that English Literature and Science Fiction Short Stories will be Read in Future in Leisure Time (expressed in frequency)

<u>variable</u>	<u>very good</u>	<u>good</u>	<u>mild</u>	<u>weak</u>	<u>poor</u>	<u>very poor</u>
read English lit.	1	3	6	1	3	1
read science fiction	1	4	3	2	3	2

Before analysing these responses, it should be explained that a six point scale was used in these questions in an effort to avoid the clustering which often occurs among Chinese students if a neutral choice is available, as is usually the case on a standard five point scale. For cultural reasons, Chinese students prefer not to expose their feelings or attitudes in situations where others can note their responses, and this tendency must be noted in designing questionnaires.

As for the responses themselves, there is once again modest support shown for literature, hence suggesting that the experiment had a positive effect on the whole on the students. Regarding English literature, more than half the students (10) recorded a positive response, though slightly more than half of those were in the mild category. Also, just over half the students (8) showed some likelihood of reading more science fiction in the future. On the other hand, this response was a bit discouraging in view of the heavy dose of science fiction texts in the second term and the hypothesized relevance of such texts to the students' academic and

professional interests. That just under half reported that they were not likely to read such texts was discouraging for the same reason. Here there was perhaps some resentment against the exclusive reliance on science fiction in the second term. Still, there was a fair degree of overall interest in literature suggested in these responses, and relatively few strong reactions against literature.

The two questions which followed these began to look more specifically at the experiment itself by asking the students to comment on certain aspects of the approach used in the course. First, they were asked to indicate whether they preferred the first term general literature model or the second term's complete focus on science fiction short stories. Here the responses were:

3 first term 12 second term

That is, 12 students preferred the second term and the total reliance on science fiction stories. This was a surprising response in view of the results reported earlier in Table 5:7. It is possible, however, that some of the students were reacting against the first term, especially with its use of poetry, rather than in favour of science fiction. Nevertheless, this was an encouraging endorsement of the second term's streamlined model.

The related question which followed that discussed above concerned the distinction between literary and practical sessions in the second term. In this case the students were asked to state the percentage of time they felt should have been devoted to each type of session in the course. The

mean scores for their responses were:

46.07% practical sessions 53.93% literary sessions

Here the students opted, by average, for an approach quite similar to that followed in the first term, when the ratio of time spent on literary to non-literary materials was 55% to 45% as opposed to the 67% to 33% ratio of the second term. As a comment on the second term, these mean scores are disappointing. On the other hand, the fact that the students wanted more time spent on literary than on practical sessions lent support to the overall thrust of the experiment, and as such appeared to endorse the ESP-literature link notion. This statement is substantiated by a look at the range of responses for this question. For the practical sessions the range was 25 to 67; for the literary sessions it was 33 to 75. More importantly, 11 of the 15 responses were at the 50% or above level, indicating that most of the students felt that at least half of the class time should be devoted to literary sessions.

The next segment of the questionnaire consisted of six questions which examined the usefulness of the experiment from the students' point of view, rather than the impact on their interests, as has just been discussed. This segment utilised the same type of Likert scale arrangement seen in Chapter Four, where the students were given six choices to select from. These were: +3 (very useful); +2 (useful); +1 (slightly useful); -1 (slightly useless); -2 (useless); -3 (very useless). In the following pages, their mean

responses as well as their individual responses to each question will be reported and discussed.

Table 5:8

Responses to 'How useful were our science fiction short stories in increasing your knowledge of scientific English?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>very useful (+3)</u>	<u>useful (+2)</u>	<u>slightly useful (+1)</u>	<u>slightly useless (-1)</u>	<u>useless (-2)</u>	<u>very useless (-3)</u>
1	3	8	2	1	0

mean= +.87

This set of responses was discouraging in view of the importance placed on the science fiction stories in the second term. Though only 3 students found the stories useless to some degree, the mean response of less than +1 indicates that the stories did not achieve their full potential in the eyes of the students.

The next table adds an interesting dimension to the results just discussed, and to the experiment as a whole.

Table 5:9

Responses to 'How useful were our stories in increasing your knowledge of general English?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>very useful (+3)</u>	<u>useful (+2)</u>	<u>slightly useful (+1)</u>	<u>slightly useless (-1)</u>	<u>useless (-2)</u>	<u>very useless (-3)</u>
0	7	8	0	0	0

mean= +1.47

Here we see a more positive response to the literature-based dimension to the course, though the mean response is still not very strong, falling only halfway between slightly useful and useful. On the other hand, it is somewhat higher

than that recorded in Table 5:8; furthermore, no negative responses were made by the students. It would appear, then, that the students found some general language-based value in the short stories used in the course, but very little in the domain of scientific English where the science fiction stories were used. This may have been a reflection on the stories themselves, or on the ways in which they were used during the course. In either case, the suggestion seems to be that matching the texts quite specifically with the students' discipline and/or career interests is not essential in the selection of texts, and that learning techniques may not need to emphasise this dimension of texts either.

The next question is a follow-up to that just reviewed, and responses to it are recorded in Table 5:10.

Table 5:10

Responses to 'After spending two terms reading and discussing literature, how do you feel about the use of literature to improve English language ability and knowledge of English?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>very useful (+3)</u>	<u>useful (+2)</u>	<u>slightly useful (+1)</u>	<u>slightly useless (-1)</u>	<u>useless (-2)</u>	<u>very useless (-3)</u>
1	5	8	1	0	0

mean= +1.2

Here is a response which, given the literature-based orientation of the experiment, is mildly discouraging, with a mean response falling within the slightly useful range. There is a positive indicator in the fact that only 1 student cast a negative response against literature, and another in the fact that 1/3 of the students chose useful. There is

also some confusion regarding the fact that the students reported a lower mean score here than in Table 5:9. Though the difference between the two means is not significant, it may nevertheless cause some doubt as to the strength of the students' convictions regarding the questions asked. This, in turn, requires a cautious reading of the responses.

Looking now at responses to another question investigating the usefulness of the literature side of the experiment, we find the following reactions from the students.

Table 5:11

Responses to 'For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in increasing your interest in English?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>very useful (+3)</u>	<u>useful (+2)</u>	<u>slightly useful (+1)</u>	<u>slightly useless (-1)</u>	<u>useless (-2)</u>	<u>very useless (-3)</u>
1	6	4	3	1	0

mean= +.93

Here we see a rather low mean, albeit one on the positive side of the scale; we also see 4 responses falling within the negative domain of the scale. In this case, the students were responding to the activities associated with the literary texts, not the texts themselves, and on the whole, clearly, they were not very favourably impressed by the activities chosen. On the other hand, nearly half the students chose useful to very useful, so that it is just as clear that for some of the students the activities worked well. The researcher's impression from observing the students is that those whose English was stronger felt more positive toward the activities-based approach, because they were better

equipped linguistically to handle it. In contrast, the weaker students may have felt a strong need for more guidance from the researcher; for them a more teacher-centred approach may have been more beneficial, or at least more preferable from their point of view. The message here may well be that there is virtue in an activities-based use of literature, but that the nature and the extent of the activities must be linked closely with the language standard of the students involved.

The next two questions within this portion of the questionnaire continued the examination of the literature-based activities approach by looking at the students' perceptions of the usefulness of that approach on specific language skills. Table 5:12 records the responses to one of those questions.

Table 5:12

Responses to 'For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in improving the following language skills?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>variable</u>	<u>very useful (+3)</u>	<u>useful (+2)</u>	<u>slightly useful (+1)</u>	<u>slightly useless (-1)</u>	<u>useless (-2)</u>	<u>very useless (-3)</u>
reading	3	9	2	1	0	0
writing	2	6	7	0	0	0
listening	1	3	4	6	0	1
speaking	1	3	9	2	0	0
			mean= reading	+1.93		
			writing	+1.67		
			listening	+ .27		
			speaking	+1.07		

These results are very encouraging with respect to reading, and suggest that the close reading activities were somewhat successful. The writing responses are also positive, though not on the level of reading. The listening responses,

while very low, with a mean barely above zero, are not considered significant, in that listening was the one skill not directly addressed by the activities-based approach. Instead, as explained earlier, it was dealt with incidentally in the course of working on the other skills. On the other hand, the individual responses and mean score for speaking are a cause of concern, particularly since the activities-based approach relies constantly on the spoken skill. This skill should have been as favourably regarded as writing, given the nature of the activities employed in the course. That it wasn't may be accounted for by a factor frequently encountered by the researcher in Hong Kong, and by other teachers as well. This is a perception among students that they do not improve their spoken English by speaking with each other; to them, only practice with native speakers provides a real opportunity for improvement. This perception may have been reinforced among these students, in that their spoken skills were generally weak, a fact they seemed clearly aware of throughout the course. As a result, while they were speaking constantly during the course, it appears that they did not regard such speaking as meaningful practice. However, the more positive responses for writing, and especially reading, reflect well on the literature-based activities approach.

The next question looks at those activities in another vein, with the responses contained in Table 5:13.

Table 5:13

Responses to 'For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in increasing your confidence in the following language skills?' (expressed in frequency)

<u>variable</u>	very	useful	slightly	useless	useless	very
	useful		useful			useless
	(+3)	(+2)	(+1)	(-1)	(-2)	(-3)
reading	1	8	5	0	1	0
writing	1	4	9	1	0	1
listening	0	6	4	5	0	0
speaking	0	6	6	3	0	0
	mean=		reading	+1.47		
			writing	+1.27		
			listening	+ .73		
			speaking	+1.00		

Here we see responses lower than in Table 5:12 with respect to mean scores for each skill except listening, which increased but remained at a very low level on the positive side of the scale. These responses would seem to suggest that the literature-based activities failed to impact significantly upon the students. As we saw in Table 5:12, the activities seemed to have some value for the students, but not in the more meaningful ways the researcher believed they would. On the other hand, the rather low mean scores in Table 5:13 are misleading, and must not be the sole measure by which the students' reactions are judged. It is interesting to note, for example, that 12 of the 15 students found some use vis-a-vis confidence building through the activities, with 6 of the 15, or 40%, selecting a +2 response to the question. These figures are heartening.

The final section of the questionnaire measured changes in the students' attitudes toward English literature by including certain kinds of questions contained in the other

questionnaire distributed at the beginning of the course. Here mean responses for the beginning and end of course questions will be presented and discussed.

In the original questionnaire, the students felt that 19% of 'the time spent in secondary school English lessons should be devoted to studying English literature'. In the end of course questionnaire, the mean response for the same question was 22.67%, hence indicating a slight and insignificant increase in the time they would allocate to literature. Perhaps a more interesting indicator of the students' attitudes on these questions was the change in the range of scores recorded. The range for the original 19% figure was 5 to 30; for the 22.67% figure, it was 5-60. Here there is more encouragement; still, the exposure to literature during the course did not much alter the students' attitude toward the use of literature in secondary school.

The students were also asked, at the beginning and the end of the course, about 'what percentage of the time spent in university English lessons (for non-English majors) should be devoted to studying English literature?' The mean response at the beginning of the course was 18.67%, with a range of 0 to 40%. At the end of the course, the mean response was 36.67%, with a range from 10 to 75%. This was a very positive indicator of the impact the course had on the students' attitudes, with the mean score slightly more than doubling. There was also an improvement in the range, with the lowest point moving from 0 to 10, and the highest point shifting from 40 to 75. The 36.67% figure in itself is a heartening

sign, since it represents just over a third of class time. That science students would look at literature in such terms after the exposure they had experienced during the course is a meaningful indication of positive effects accruing from the experiment.

The same point can be made with respect to another set of duplicated questions. Here the students were asked to rate, on a scale from 0-10 (with 0 representing no interest, 5 representing medium interest, and 10 representing extreme interest), their 'interest in studying works of English literature'. The mean at the beginning of the course was 3.73. At the end of the course it had risen to 4.47. This change was another positive indicator of the impact the course had on the students. However, this change was tempered slightly by the final set of repeated questions. In this case the students were asked to rate their 'ability to understand works of English literature'. Here the mean response dropped from 4.67 at the beginning of the course to 4.2 at the end. A likely explanation here is that at least some of the texts selected for the course were more difficult than the researcher anticipated, leading the students to lose a small amount of confidence in their ability.

In summary, several points can be made concerning the survey results. These include:

1. On the whole, the student responses reflect a modest degree of success in the attempt to link literature and ESP. Particular encouragement is seen in the students' preference for literary over practical sessions by a 54%-46% margin and in their desire to allocate about 37% of university English lessons to literature, an important figure in itself and more than twice as high as

their original figure.

2. The students' fair amount of interest in literature at the end of the course indicates that their discontent expressed in certain responses was mainly with the type of literature used in the second term, and the way it was used, rather than with literature itself. In this sense the experiment offered overall encouragement with respect to the integration of literature and ESP and shortcomings regarding the second term model devised by the researcher.
3. The students' strong preference for the second term model over the first, by a margin of 12-3, suggests that the streamlining concept was a good one, and that a designation between literary and practical class sessions has value.
4. The primary weakness in the course, from the students' point of view, seems to have been that it treated them too consistently as science students. This is implied in their reaction against science fiction texts and the literature-based activities, which focused quite frequently on science-based aspects of the texts.

Having just seen the students' reactions to the experiment, we can now turn to an analysis of the experiment's positive and negative indicators, and the insights gained from the effort to connect literature and ESP on the basis of the researcher's observations of the experiment together with the assistance provided by the students' responses to the end of course questionnaire.

Positive indicators

The classroom experiment revealed certain strengths which demonstrated the fundamental value of the literature-ESP link and which can be built upon in future work of this type.

First, as we have already seen in the survey results, student interest in, and belief in, literature increased

during the course, at least with respect to short fiction. Therefore, the course basically succeeded in one of its main efforts: to stimulate student interest in literature and help the students feel more comfortable with literature. The latter point is especially worth noting. Because the students faced such a steady stream of literary texts during both terms of the course, the reading of literature became a common activity for them, and this in turn seems to have demystified it for the students. Instead of being something alien to them, as it presumably was before the course, literature became a regular fact of classroom life for the students. Furthermore, the constant performing of tasks and problem solving activities revolving around the literary texts gave the students a steady sense that they could work with literature, because they could regularly see themselves completing the tasks and solving the problems. This may not have endeared the students to literature, but it did seem to give them a sense that literature was something they could manage—a feeling they did not really have prior to the course. Though the survey results do not show growth in the students' confidence in their ability to understand literature, the researcher's perception was that literature had become more 'reader friendly' to the students by the end of the experiment.

Second, the literature-based activities approach employed in the course was successful to some degree, particularly in the second term. Here there is a difference in perception between the researcher and the students, since,

as we have already seen, the students were cool in their attitude toward that approach. The researcher's sense was that the students often seemed enthusiastic while completing the tasks, and that they opened up considerably in their use of English as the course progressed. Here the customary reticence of male Chinese students should be pointed out. In the researcher's experience (and in that of other teachers), female students at the University tend to be much more willing to work with English, especially to speak the language, while the male students generally remain silent in class. And in a class where, as was true in this case, all the students are male, such reticence can be a major problem, particularly in a language course. Indeed, it was disappointing to learn at the beginning of the course that all the students were male, since a very different classroom dynamic would have been created in the event of a coed class situation. As it turned out, however, the presence of male students only was a blessing in disguise, in that it made more significant and apparent the success of the course by virtue of the fact that the students loosened up considerably during the two terms.

A third strength concerns one of the problem solving activities: the writing of plot summaries. As already explained, the students were required, in groups, to prepare summaries of each story read during the second term within fairly small word limits. To do so effectively required a fair amount of skill in terms of solid, close reading of the stories, and precise use of language in summarising them in

order to meet the word restrictions imposed upon each such assignment. Here it was encouraging to see that the students' ability to write such summaries improved as the term moved forward. Interestingly, this was perhaps the least popular of the various literature-based activities assigned to the students, yet it was probably the most successful during the literary sessions. The writing of this kind of 'protocol' was thus seen as a strength of the course, and a technique to be developed further in future.

The use of cloze passages in connection with the scientific texts in Thornley's book, particularly in the teaching-based (as opposed to testing-based) context in which they were used, was another strength in the experiment. The students were generally quite enthusiastic whenever such passages were discussed, and even the quietest students seemed eager to contribute possible answers for the blank spaces being discussed. The discussions of language-both scientific and ordinary-which arose from this type of task were extremely valuable. In addition, the confidence the students gained from work with the cloze passages seemed to carry over into the literary sessions, where they gradually became more willing to verbalize about the texts. Interestingly, conversations with the students revealed that this technique, like the writing of the protocols, was rather unpopular-yet there was commonly a considerable degree of enthusiasm shown during the discussion of the passages.

Also, the streamlined model used in the second term was an asset in the course, though it had liabilities as well.

Its application was faulty, but as a framework from which to work it had considerable appeal, especially in the Hong Kong context. In this sense it may have been a culture specific strength of the experiment. That is, for Chinese (and perhaps other Asian) students it has some important face or surface validity because it compartmentalises and arranges the elements of a course neatly and clearly. In other cultural contexts such a factor may be of minimal or no importance; in Hong Kong it carries great weight, particularly since the students spend their school lives moving from one syllabus to another. Under such circumstances, they learn to expect, and usually to feel comfortable with, clearcut designations of what is to be learned, and how it will be approached. This may be why, in part, the students supported, by a large majority, the streamlined model used in the second term over the more spontaneous approach used in the first term.

One more major strength to be noted is the distinction between literary and practical sessions. As has already been observed, the students seemed to favour this approach. And from a teaching point of view it worked extremely well. In particular, it allowed ample time for work with the literary texts, which was especially important in view of the novelty of what was being attempted in the experiment. Also, by separating the literary texts from the non-literary materials, the students were always conscious of the fact that they were dealing with literature. This was considered important because literature was so much outside the students' educational experience in English, and as a result they may have felt

incapable of having 'literary' experiences in English. As such, keeping literature separate from the other texts continually reminded the students that they were having literary experiences to some degree-and having them with increasing success. This then helped develop their sense of comfort with literature. A blending of literary and non-literary materials may have negated that effect. Furthermore, the presence of practical sessions juxtaposed with the literary sessions kept a steady and more distinctly scientific focus in the course, in the process ensuring the students that their needs as science students were regularly being met. This may have minimized resentment toward literature which may otherwise have developed into a problem if there had not been a weekly practical counterbalance to the literary sessions.

Negative indicators

In addition to the strengths just cited, the experiment contained a number of shortcomings. Before looking at them, it should be pointed out that these flaws also contribute to the value of the experiment in terms of pointing the way to more effective means of implementing the type of literature-ESP link envisioned in this study.

One shortcoming which dated to the beginning of the second term was the crucial decision to use a 67%-33% ratio between literary and non-literary texts and class sessions. The end of course survey showed, as we have already seen, that the students preferred a ratio closer to 50%-50%, with a slightly greater emphasis on literature. The fact that this

ratio corresponds with the first term ratio lends credence to the belief that the second term ratio was too high on the literary side. The 55%-45% ratio appears more workable.

A second flaw was the decision to concentrate exclusively on science fiction texts during the second term literary sessions. The decision to switch solely to short fiction was perhaps a sound one in view of the resistance to poetry encountered in the first term, but the total focus on science fiction was too restrictive. Some of these stories were well received by the students, but clearly some variety was needed. It may well have been the case that, being science students, they wanted some respite from science, especially in a language course. In retrospect, a more effective approach may have been to allocate half the number of stories used to science fiction. The fundamental problem here was one discussed earlier: a too heavy concentration on science in the course, with the students always being treated as science students. In this sense the model adopted in the second term worked against the interests of generalized ESP, even though that was a crucial component in the theoretical framework developed by the researcher.

Third, too many stories were used in the second term. The total of 10 stories was simply too imposing to the students, even though many of the stories were rather short. Between a heavy workload in other courses and language problems encountered in the texts themselves, the students had difficulty at times in keeping up with the amount of reading assigned to them. A more workable total would perhaps

have been 7 stories, i.e. about one every two weeks of the term.

Fourth, the consistently serious tone of the stories was a problem. In particular, as has already been noted, one of the main attractions of the science fiction stories was the existence of an ethical dimension, and one connected to science, in each of them. This was felt to fit well with the generalized and educational orientation of the course framework and the subsequent decision to place some emphasis on the students' moral responsibilities as future scientists. While the researcher believes this was a commendable idea, and under the right circumstances a workable one, it created a situation in which the students were regularly dealing with very serious matters and questions. Conversations with them at the end of the course revealed that they had tired of this emphasis. What they would have preferred, and understandably so, was a lighter tone, one which would have provided a welcome diversion from the serious tone of some of the texts in a situation where serious and easy-going stories would have been mixed together. Also, the students needed a respite from the serious nature of their core courses in the science faculty, and some lighter stories would not only have helped in this regard, but might have increased their motivation in the English course as well. As they came to see it as an alternative to their science courses.

A fifth flaw relates to the fourth, and that is the nature of the tasks and problems assigned to the students.

These, like the literary texts, had a consistently serious air about them, and the atmosphere this contributed to detracted from the students' ability to enjoy the course, and/or the texts and the activities. This may well have accounted in large part for the dissatisfaction toward the literature-based activities they expressed in the survey. As with the literary texts, a mixture of light-hearted and serious tasks would have been a more effective approach to the literature-based activities orientation.

Another limitation concerns the streamlined model adopted for the second term. As has already been discussed, on the surface the model looked good, especially with the neat and clean division of the class time into the literary and practical sessions, accompanied by the focus only on science fiction stories and the essays in Thornley's collection. The planning and implementation of the course were simplified considerably by the streamlined model, but in practice, as the second term progressed, it created too tight a focus for the course, one which strangled any real possibilities for variety.

A particular problem in this context was the division between literary and practical sessions. A genuine value in this distinction has already been noted with respect to drawing the students' attention to the fact that they were having literary experiences in English-experiences which may have previously seemed beyond their reach. In the long run, however, such a division was perhaps a contradiction of the notion at the heart of the experiment: the linking

of literature and ESP. By breaking the class sessions into distinct literary and practical sessions, the model separated rather than connected literature and ESP, and the students may well have been unable to see how the literary texts fit with the scientific concerns of the course, even though the texts were science fiction stories.

It may be, too, that the literary sessions weren't in fact 'literary' enough, and as a result they may have lost some of their appeal to the students. This may have been another reason for the reaction against the literature-based activities. Here it is worth noting a point made in Chapter Three: that some literature specialists maintain that the use of literature in the language classroom must still be a literary experience for the students. In that way the rich imaginative nature of the texts is preserved-and in the final analysis it is this imaginative dimension of literature which separates it from other teaching/learning resources. In the case of the classroom experiment, the approach followed perhaps did not allow the students ample opportunity to engage themselves imaginatively enough with the texts. Here, in trying to relieve the students' expected anxiety about having to know a great deal about literature in order to understand the texts (and do well in the course), the model adopted may have gone too far in the opposite direction, in the process stripping the texts of their literary or imaginative appeal, and denying the students an important chance to exercise their imaginations.

Insights gained from the experiment

Having noted various positive and negative indicators associated with the experiment, as well as some concrete insights deriving from them, we can now look at a number of major insights gained from the effort to link literature and ESP.

One is that, if such a link is attempted, the ratio between literary and non-literary materials may be critical to the success of the endeavour. As we have already seen, the attempt described in this chapter was weighted too heavily in favour of literature, at least in the second term, and, while the students left the course with some desire to read more literature, they also felt burdened by the amount of exposure they received to it in the course. Thus they chose to lessen the gap between literary and practical sessions in terms of time devoted to each. This does not necessarily mean, however, that a high ratio of literature to other materials should always be avoided. Indeed, a second insight from the class experiment is one which is already central to ESP: that the needs and make-up of the students involved are critical factors in decisions such as how much literature to use in a course if a literature-ESP link is attempted. Science students may well be more suited to a lighter literary emphasis than was developed for this experiment; another group of learners, however, might benefit from and thoroughly enjoy the kind of heavy literary concentration employed in the classroom experiment.

A third major insight is that it is generally necessary

to provide at least some variety in the literary texts selected for use. This experiment attempted to follow what might be called a 'literature for special purposes' approach whereby literary texts were matched with the type of students involved and the purposes affiliated with those students- in this case, of course, science students. This is the approach used in standard ESP situations, where (usually) authentic texts from the same field or discipline the students belong or aspire to are used in the course. In the context of this experiment it was the researcher's belief that science fiction texts would work well with science students in the same way that orthodox ESP materials work. As we have seen, though, that approach did not succeed as much as it could have. The students felt too constrained- and perhaps simply bored-by literary texts associated with their own academic discipline, and as a result reacted somewhat against the texts.

Linguistically and content-wise, the science fiction texts did, at least superficially, fit the needs of the students, but that did not make them fully suitable for use, particularly to the extent to which they were employed. Perhaps the students had come to expect something different- something less relevant to their needs, or less practical- from literature, and so were more comfortable with the idea of literary texts as something separate from their field of study. Then, too, as pointed out earlier, the students seemed to want to escape from science to some degree- and probably expected literature to provide the means of that

escape, rather than binding them even more tightly to their discipline.

It may be, then, that the 'literature for special purposes' notion, which looks appealing on paper, takes away from literature much of what it has to offer students, especially aesthetically. Linking the texts too closely with the students' discipline or professional interests may deny them the full stretch of the imagination which is at the heart of literary experience, and which in the long run may be more valuable to the students than the practical benefits offered by the 'literature for special purposes' approach attempted in the experiment. Here, in keeping with the reader-based approaches to literature discussed in Chapter Three, it is important to leave the students sufficient room to become meaning makers while working with the texts. That is, they will enjoy and appreciate the experience of reading and reacting to the texts more if they are given opportunities to supply their own meanings and interpretations. A strictly applied 'literature for special purposes' approach may prevent them from tasting the joy, and the sense of achievement, which come from constructing their own meanings for texts.

A further insight produced by the experiment concerns the 'close reading' notion which was a major part of the approach used during the course. It is the researcher's belief that the adaptation of close reading employed in the experiment was moderately successful, but only in one domain, albeit an important one. It was explained earlier

that a commonly used task during the literary sessions was one in which the students answered, in groups, specific language based questions based on portions of the texts. This technique appeared to be helpful in terms of enhancing the students' language awareness and sensitivity, and in this respect the close reading required to complete such a task achieved its goal. On the other hand, the intense concentration required of this kind of close reading probably made the reading of the texts an arduous task, and in the process eliminated the pleasure that the reading of literature should entail. A better approach may be to alternate between 'close' and what might be called 'free' reading. In this scenario the students would sometimes engage in the kind of close reading practiced in the course; at other times, they would be released from that approach and be allowed, instead, to indulge in pure pleasure reading. This would also give the course more variety, an important consideration in view of the uniformity which too easily sets in within ESP.

The comments just made point to another insight arising from the experiment; this involves expectations for literary texts, particularly with respect to the use of the activities-based approach in exploiting them. As has already been pointed out, a problem in the experiment was that too much was attempted in the work with the texts. Short texts, especially, cannot be expected to serve too many purposes; such texts will quickly be drained of their potential, particularly if both language and content-based work are

attempted with them. We have already seen how the science fiction texts used in the second term tended to be rather short in length; as a result, their potential for meaningful language and content work dried up fairly quickly, leaving the students bored and frustrated with them. One way around this problem is to assign a very small number of tasks to short texts, perhaps one content-based task and one or two language-based activities. Another approach would be to focus exclusively on content work with one text, and language work with another.

Collectively, these insights suggest that, in forging an ESP-literature link, two crucial points need to be observed. First, the aims must not be too ambitious. The framework devised for this experiment attempted to serve both standard and educational ESP objectives at the same time, and the net result was that too much was expected of the literary texts, thereby spreading them too thin to leave room for meaningful exploitation of them by the students-though valuable experiences did occur during the course. Second, the model by which the framework will be implemented must not be too rigid in design. In the second term of this classroom experiment, the model constructed by the researcher became too narrowly-conceived in the process of being streamlined, so that there was no room for variety in terms of the selection of literary texts or the ways in which they could be utilised. In its rigidity as well as its ambition, the model strangled the literary texts to some degree and thus restricted the value accruing from them. This did not

prevent the experiment from being modestly successful, as the student surveys showed, on the whole, but it did preclude full development of the literature-ESP link envisioned in the study.

Conclusion

To conclude the discussion of the classroom experiment, we will now look at several key questions posed on pages 465-466. It was these questions which, on a larger scale, the experiment sought to answer, and in the following pages we will see how they were answered by the experiment and the researcher's perceptions of it.

1. Is there a useful role for literature in ESP?

The researcher's belief is that the experiment provided a definite 'yes' to this question; this conclusion generally seems to be supported by the students' responses to the end of course questionnaire. The methodology through which the framework developed by the researcher was implemented was faulty in certain respects, but this did not deter from the fundamental point that literature was useful in the course. For one thing, it opened the students up considerably in terms of their use of English, as indicated by the lively classroom atmosphere which generally obtained. For another, their ability to use English generally improved during the course. In addition, as noted earlier, the students seemed to feel more comfortable with literature as the course progressed. Thus, in the researcher's view, the question now is not whether literature can play a useful role in ESP, but the extent to which that usefulness can be expanded. In the

ELT 115/116 course literature could be said to have played a moderately useful role, as already stated. With a more effective methodology, that usefulness would have been greater.

Another question which the experiment raises is whether literature should play a lead or supporting role in an ESP course run along generalized, educational lines. In the experiment it played by far the leading role in the course, and in the final analysis that role was emphasized too heavily. The researcher's belief is that literature can play a leading role, but not the extent to which it did in the classroom experiment. As for a supporting role, there seems to be good reason, based upon the experiment, to believe that such a role can be performed by literature. And for some ESP students, such a supporting role might be enough; for others a leading role might be preferable. In either role, given an appropriate methodology, literature can be useful in the ESP context.

2. Which kinds of texts will work best in a literature-based ESP course?

Here it may be the case that there is no 'best' or 'worst' type of literature, though the experiment did suggest that trying to match texts too closely to the students' discipline may be counterproductive, despite looking like an attractive idea on paper. The more important factor seems to be how the texts are utilised in a course. As a general principle, though, short literary texts, especially short stories, seem ideal. If the students in the ELT 115/116 course were at all typical, poetry must be approached with

great caution. Another point to be made is that variety in texts is an important variable. Even if the same type of text is used-say, short stories-there should be diversity within the stories selected as to theme, tone, subject, etc. Furthermore, canonical texts should be avoided. In the ESP context, it is difficult to picture circumstances in which such texts would work well.

3. In what way(s) can literature be most helpful in the ESP context?

One important point which emerged from the classroom experiment is that literature may be especially helpful to ESP students as a counterpoint to their ESP concerns, that is, as a means of diversion from those concerns. This does not mean that there cannot be some overlapping of concerns, but too much of this may deprive the literary texts of some of their unique appeal.

Within the classroom experiment, the literary texts were useful in both language and content-based work, and this idea would seem applicable to literature-based ESP teaching in general. Through the activities-based approach they provided many excellent opportunities for the students to work with English while using the language. Well chosen literary texts will be valuable resources in both language and content type classroom activity but, as the experiment demonstrated, those activities must be approached very carefully. In particular, they need to preserve some of the 'literariness' of the texts. That is, the students need to be able to generate meanings and interpretations as they

work with the texts; they need to be given the chance to respond as readers of literature, rather than simply explaining the meanings of specific sentences or uses of language. Because of its practical nature, ESP is not prone to giving students free reign in the use of their imaginations, but the most valuable uses of literature fall within this imaginative domain. Here they can work with language in finding ways to express their interpretations, and they can work with content in analysing both the meanings of the texts and the character of their interpretations, i.e. what their interpretations reveal about themselves, their attitudes, and so forth.

In other words, while it has practical benefits to offer, literature can provide an important element of pleasure in an ESP course by giving students a chance to respond to interesting and perhaps entertaining situations, and by offering opportunities for self-expression which are another source of pleasure.

4. What is the best percentage of literary and non-literary
5. materials and the best ratio of time spent on literary materials in a literature-based ESP course?

Here two questions from the original list have been combined into one because the answers to both are essentially the same. That is, in line with the students' recommendation and the researcher's own belief following the experiment, an arrangement whereby literary materials slightly dominate over non-literary materials, and time spent on literature does the same, is seen as the best general configuration to work from. This would be roughly the 55%-45% ratio used in

the first term of the course, and reflected in the students' mean response on the questionnaire. However, as stated in the discussion of the first question, flexibility is necessary when deciding how much of a leading role should be assigned to literature both in terms of the proportion of literary texts used in the course, and the class time allocated to their use. The researcher's belief is that there must be enough of a literary presence in a course to make literature a viable means of language and content work; this would basically mean at least a 33% share of course materials and class time for literature. On the other hand, an over-emphasis on literature may overwhelm the students and work against the interests of the course; here it would generally seem wise not to exceed the 67% allocation used in the second term of the classroom experiment.

6. What can literature provide students that standard ESP courses/materials fail to provide in educational (as opposed to training) type ESP classes?

The main answer here is one offered earlier by Brumfit and Carter in Chapter Three: 'literature offers language resources being used to the full'. Their mixed success in the classroom experiment notwithstanding, the science fiction texts are a good example of this statement. Scientific and everyday uses of language can be found in abundance in them, and the same could not be said of the usual ESP-based materials used in a course catering to science students. Thus, ESP students can gain valuable exposure to different kinds of language use in literary texts, and this is not normally the case with non-literary texts.

Furthermore, as has already been commented upon, literature can activate and engage students' imaginative powers in ways not likely to be found in non-literary materials. And if properly approached, these imaginative powers can be tapped in ways which will make learning a more interesting and potentially more valuable experience for students. Perhaps, too, learning which takes place through literature will have a greater impact upon students because it arises from their own powers of imagination and interpretation, as an expression of their own meaning-making ability. That is, such learning is not simply rote memorization and mimicry of structural items or patterns; rather, it is a creative act formed through the interaction between the learners' imagination and the content of the literature.

Also, when used in conjunction with the activities-based approach, literature can expose students to each other in ways other materials cannot easily duplicate. The reading of literature is a deeply personal experience requiring various responses on the part of the reader. As a result, while completing various task-based assignments with their classmates, students will be revealing something of themselves to others and to themselves-as they simultaneously share their reactions to the literature assigned to them. Such experiences will be valuable in terms of personal expression and growth, and in the further development of language skills. Such a combination is difficult to achieve in non-literary materials.

7. How much impact will exposure to literature have on students' motivation/interest in studying English?

In a sense this is a simplistic and unfair question, since literature in this context cannot be looked at in isolation. Variables such as the teacher's attitude and abilities, as well as the methodologies employed in the use of literary texts, will also affect how the students react to and experience the texts. However, if literature is perceived by the students to be useful in their study of English, it seems reasonable to expect that their interest in English will be positively influenced by it. In the ESP context, especially, it is probably important to establish some instrumental value for literature. Still, motivation is a complex matter which also involves numerous variables completely beyond the teacher's, and the text's, control, such as why the students have joined the course, the purposes beyond the course, their language ability upon entering the course, and so forth. For the most part, then, there is not likely to be much correlation between literature and motivation.

8. To what degree will exposure to literature encourage students to continue reading literature after the completion of the literature-based ESP course?

This question is difficult to answer with respect to a particular degree, but both the students' responses to the questionnaire and the researcher's own sense after teaching the ESP course favour the idea that such exposure will be helpful in this regard. As we have already seen, the students' intention to read literature on their own increased

through the exposure to literature provided by the experiment- this despite their reservations toward some aspects of the course model and the methodologies employed. If these students, under such circumstances, still felt encouraged to read more literature, it would appear that exposure to literature has a positive effect on the desire to read more literature. This, indeed, was a particularly satisfying feature of the course experiment.

In conclusion, the classroom experiment, despite some shortcomings in design and implementation, demonstrated that literature can have a place within the educational domain of ESP. At the same time, the experiment revealed the complexity involved in trying to establish a literature-ESP link. In this sense the experiment's flaws are as of much value as its successes, in that they illustrate the nature of some of those complexities. In view of the complications which arose during the experiment, and the lack of precedents in the use of literature in ESP, it seems wisest at present to proceed cautiously in exploring connections between ESP and literature. However, the experiment showed clearly that such connections are worth investigating and pursuing.

As for the experiment itself, it apparently was too ambitious in certain respects, and erred on the side of excess in the use of literature. Again, though, there is considerable value in its errors as well as its achievements. It should also be pointed out that in some regards the experimental conditions were difficult to work under. In particular, a class comprised of 15 male students who have

spent the most important years of their educational lives studying in a science stream where literature in English plays no role was not likely to be enamoured of literature, and so the odds were difficult from the start. In this sense it would have been interesting and useful to have conducted the same experiment-especially at the same time-with a class comprising female as well as male students, in which the course dynamics would have been different in certain respects. Likewise, testing the same ideas about literature and ESP with students from another faculty would have provided a helpful means of comparison.

On the whole, whatever its specific achievements and faults, the experiment was a success in the sense that it created valuable ground upon which to begin evaluating and exploring the link between ESP and literature favoured by the researcher. In this regard much was gained through the experiment in terms of discovering some strengths in that link, as well developing an understanding of the problems which accompany such an endeavour. Hopeful signs supporting the literature-ESP link were produced by the experiment, and reasons for further experimentation in this context were also generated by the effort to bring literature and ESP together.

CHAPTER SIX

PROPOSALS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Introduction

Chapter Six concludes the study in two sections. The first puts the research conducted during the study into a final focus by identifying some concerns which arose in the course of the research, and by discussing a series of proposals aimed at addressing those concerns as well as reinforcing the relationship between literature and CLT explored in the previous chapters. The second summarises key points which emerged during the course of the study as well as the researcher's core belief with respect to directions the literature-CLT relationship should take in the future.

Section 6A: PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTEGRATION OF LITERATURE AND CLT

Overview

As the title of the study indicates, its fundamental purpose was to investigate the integration of literature and Communicative Language Teaching. There are four broad dimensions to that investigation, the first three of which have already been discussed. Those were: 1) to determine the degree of integration which already exists between literature and CLT; 2) to offer a critical analysis, where necessary, of the work done thus far in both fields; 3) to experiment with a new way of linking literature and CLT within the domain of English for Specific Purposes. We can now look at a fourth dimension, which is to make recommendations for

future directions in which work on the integration of literature and CLT could proceed. These proposals are in part a response to concerns about the current literature-CLT link, as well as an extension of insights arrived at in previous chapters. Before exploring these proposals in detail, it is important to note the concerns which have helped inform their development.

Chapter Three makes clear that, since the early 1980s, progress has been made in connecting literature and CLT. At the same time, however, there is a strong sense that resistance to, or at least hesitation about, the inclusion of literature in CLT remains in English Language Teaching. This is best reflected in two ways. First, scholarship on the literature-CLT link often makes reference to such doubts about that link. Second, such scholarship continually outlines the case for literature. That is, literature's presence in CLT is constantly justified before it is illustrated pedagogically. This ongoing effort at justification is aimed at removing the suspicions of literature which, as was explained in Chapter Three, took root during the structuralist era of ELT and led to literature's being banished to the fringes of ELT until the past decade. The continued presence of this perceived need to justify literature in ELT in general, and CLT in particular, is a source of concern, because it suggests that long-standing misconceptions about literature remain strong. These misconceptions are likewise areas of concern. They include such notions as: the language of literature is different from other uses of language, i.e. is 'literary',

and hence renders literature too difficult for many learners to work with or understand; the study of literary texts can only be a literary experience because literary texts are involved; literature means the canonical texts studied in orthodox university English department syllabuses, and it is therefore difficult to find suitable texts for students to read; and teachers must have formal literary training in order to use literature properly. Then, too, there is the common notion that literature is not 'practical'.

In part, then, proposals to strengthen the literature-CLT link must address these various concerns, because literature cannot assume the larger role in CLT the researcher believes it should until concerns such as these are cleared away. At the same time, the proposals are designed to enhance the foundations of the literature-CLT relationship which have already been set in place by the recent research reported in earlier chapters.

On the basis of the research conducted in this study, several proposals would speak to both of the conditions stated above. All of these proposals are aimed at enriching the integration of literature into CLT, and in that sense they overlap. They will, however, be examined in two separate sub-sections of Section 6A so that different focuses can be presented. First they will be stated very briefly, and then they will be explored in their respective parts of this section. They include:

- 1) Increased effort must be made to break down what has previously been referred to as the 'language-literature divide'.

- 2) Greater effort must be made to point out literature's properties as a language resource.
- 3) There must be a more overt attempt to connect the use of literature in CLT with the central notion of communicative competence.
- 4) More work must be done toward broadening teachers' concept of literature with respect to text suitability and selection criteria.
- 5) New ways of assessing students' use of literary texts must be investigated.
- 6) To ensure maximum utilisation of literature, allowance must be made for both the linguistic and literary aspects of literature.
- 7) Some provision must be made to draw teachers' attention to relevant areas of literary theory.
- 8) More opportunities must be created for teachers to formally study ways of teaching literature.
- 9) There must be an increase in opportunities to acquire literature-based ELT qualifications.
- 10) Resources should be made available for the creation of a literature-based CLT/ELT journal.

As noted earlier, these proposals overlap into both parts of Section 6A to follow. However, proposals 1-6 and 10 most directly apply to the first part of this section, while proposals 7-9 are most relevant to the second part, and so they will be discussed accordingly.

A) Proposals for further research and development

Here we will look at how the literature-CLT relationship can be strengthened and extended through the relevant proposals identified above. Each proposal will be discussed separately.

Proposal 1 is vital to the literature-CLT relationship because it directly addresses the problems ensuing from the misconceptions of literature described earlier. That is, it seems clear that for many ELT practitioners, a 'language-

literature divide' remains. Here the interests and nature of language and literature, and language and literature teaching, are perceived to be separate and not amenable to any form of bonding. As long as such a perception exists on a widespread basis, there can be no significant relationship between literature and CLT beyond the level of scholarship, that is, in the field itself, where teaching takes place.

Chapter Three demonstrated that considerable work has been done toward the end of removing this divide. At the same time, however, the cautionary note about literature in CLT which is sounded in much literature related scholarship on CLT implies a belief that the divide remains. To some degree this is an expected condition, in that the virtual exclusion of literature from ELT in the 1950s into the 1980s created an established or institutionalized view of literature which cast it into an unacceptable light, and such a view is not easily eradicated. To do so will involve a wider ranging effort than exists at present. To a large extent this is a matter pertaining to teacher training programmes, and it will be discussed briefly in that context in the next sub-section of Section 6A. There are, however, other ways in which the problem can be addressed. One way is for more scholarship dealing with literature and CLT to focus on literature in a manner different than that usually seen in scholarly materials.

Here we are encountering a paradox. On the one hand, given literature's long-time exclusion from ELT, it is necessary for literature-related materials to begin with a

focus on literature as a means of introducing it back into the language teaching equation. On the other hand, this approach draws attention to literature's separate existence from ELT, in the process reinforcing the language-literature divide these materials attempt to remove. A case in point is Collie and Slater's excellent Literature in the Language Classroom. Like other primary texts in the literature-CLT field, this book begins by discussing the removal of literature from ELT in the recent past. It then presents the case for literature's inclusion in ELT, and follows this with discussion and illustration of a wide variety of ways in which literature can be used in the communicative classroom. However, by the very nature of this approach, which is an unavoidable one under the circumstances, literature is seen as a separate entity from customary language teaching resources, hence subtly, and unintentionally, supporting the concept of literature as something outside language teaching.

The point here is not that such materials are at fault, or should cease to be produced, because they have performed invaluable service in introducing literature into CLT. What is needed now, however, is an accompanying type of scholarship where the primary focus is on CLT itself, and in which literature is subsequently discussed as a natural component within CLT. This is especially crucial in textbooks introducing CLT to teachers. At present, such texts generally avoid mention of literature, and literature is victimized by the 'out of sight, out of mind' problem. Should literature be included in their discussions of resources and methods

in CLT, literature in the language teaching sense would be subsumed into CLT, and in the process the language-literature divide would be dismantled.

A more natural integration of literature and CLT which removes the language-literature divide, then, would be one in which the focus is on CLT, where literature is seen as an accepted area of CLT not requiring any justification for its presence. This would supplement the current approach, in which literature may appear to be imposed upon CLT from the outside because the initial focus is on literature. It is essential, then, for primary sources on CLT to begin including some focus on literature as a means of unobtrusively integrating literature into CLT.

The language-literature divide can also be eliminated, or at least minimized, through the adoption of some of the other proposals introduced earlier, as will be evident in the following paragraphs.

Proposal 2 would also address the language-literature divide and some of the other misconceptions about literature mentioned earlier by shifting attention from literature's more distinctly literary qualities and stressing its linguistic properties and benefits. This is already a major, and very successful, thrust of much of the scholarship on literature and CLT--indeed, it is a primary thesis of such materials--yet there is a sense that many teachers remain sceptical on this point. It would appear here that the notion of a unique, separate 'literary' language, together with the awareness that there are properties which make literary texts literary

rather than something else, draws teachers' attention away from the 'language resources being used to the full' conceptualisation of literature common in literature-CLT scholarship.

The problem here may well be that not enough teachers are receiving the message, rather than that the message is not being communicated effectively. That is, many writers on literature have skilfully shown the language-based resources available in literary texts, as pointed out in Chapter Three. However, only those teachers taking the time to locate and read materials on this subject will be fully aware of this side of literature. Most are more likely to be impeded by a narrower, more traditional view of literature centring on its unique, and presumed complex, literary properties. There must therefore be a greater effort to make more teachers aware of the linguistic riches available in literature. In particular, this means demonstrating how 'everyday' language, the language considered appropriate for the communicative classroom, is present in abundance in literary texts. Again, this does occur in literature-related scholarship, but that scholarship does not appear to reach many teachers. Here, too, we can see where teacher training programmes have a valuable role to play.

Proposal 3 addresses a weakness in much of the material which deals with literature and CLT. These materials are useful and effective in their presentations of activities-based applications of literature, and in that sense help to forge the literature-CLT link, given the activities-based

nature of CLT. However, few of these materials draw firm connections between their illustrations of literature-based classroom activities and the acquisition of communicative competence. As a result, they fail to connect literature directly to the theoretical foundation of CLT. This connection is implied in the texts' proposals for uses of literature, but it is rarely pointed out overtly. Given literature's still tenuous status in CLT and the reservations toward it which persist, more effort must be made to demonstrate how, specifically, literature serves the theoretical framework of CLT, especially with respect to communicative competence. Doing so would support one of the purposes behind proposal 1 discussed earlier: making literature a natural part of CLT, rather than something forced upon it. At the same time, it could help to break down the language-literature divide by casting literature into a more distinctly communicative light.

Proposal 4 is aimed at the misconception concerning the canonical content of literature. As Chapter Three indicated, and as Chapter Five exemplified in practice, since the 1980s the boundaries for selection criteria for literary texts have widened considerably, in the process moving far beyond the English literary canon where the interests of language teaching are concerned. That is, teachers have been encouraged to look more in the direction of popular literature, as well as regional, non-native literature written in English. Once again, however, the message does not seem to be extending as far as it needs to if the majority of ELT practitioners are to move away from regarding the literary canon as the primary,

or even only, legitimate source for textual selections. One example of this problem was reported in Chapter Four in the discussion of literature in Hong Kong, where set texts continue to be taken primarily from the canon, despite the shift to a communicative approach several years ago.

Central to this problem is a condition which likewise was at the heart of the concerns discussed in the comments on proposals 1 and 2: a narrow, limited view of literature on the part of many teachers. Literature itself has to be redefined in terms which illustrate its suitability for CLT, including the wide range of texts from which teachers can choose. This is already taking place in published materials on literature and language teaching, but once again, those materials are not reaching enough teachers. The other forums in which ideas about ELT are communicated must therefore take up this task, including training programmes, seminars, conference workshops, etc.

What to do with texts is the primary emphasis in materials dealing with literature and CLT, and however helpful and essential that emphasis may be, it does not give full guidance to the teacher who is unsure about or relatively unfamiliar with literature. The natural inclination may be to look to the canon, and the approaches being developed today are not necessarily compatible with such texts, nor are they suitable for many students to begin with. Knowing what to do with texts is not a sufficient condition for the use of literature in the CLT classroom; teachers also need to know where to look to find appropriate texts.

Proposal 5 speaks to a very different need within the literature-CLT relationship: the need to investigate new ways of assessing students' use of literature in the communicative classroom. Such a need has received little treatment in the scholarship on literature and CLT, yet clearly there is a necessity to make assessments of some kind when students engage literary texts, whatever the purposes of the engagement. It is not enough to merely assign students communicative activities revolving around literary texts; at some point the effectiveness of those activities in furthering students' communicative competence must be measured. However, scholarship on literature and CLT focuses mainly on how to use literary texts, leaving teachers with only the traditional ways of assessing students' interaction with literature to turn to. These long-standing methods of assessment were created for different classrooms serving different, i.e. more purely literary, purposes, and so their relevance to communicative teaching is questionable at best. The activities-based approaches in which literary texts are employed in CLT cast literature in a very different light and as a consequence new, and relatively untested, conditions under which assessment must take place.

A good case in point here was the classroom experiment discussed in Chapter Five. Given the uniqueness of a link between literature and ESP, the use of literature in that experiment created novel circumstances under which to assess the students' work with the texts. This was not a problem when conventional assignments like the writing of essays

were involved, but most of what the students were asked to do did not fall within the tried and true literary bounds. For instance, how should the plot summaries be assessed? And would assessment via a standard measurement like grades inhibit the students in their writing of the protocols? Also, should the cloze exercises, which were designed to be teaching/learning devices requiring the active participation of the students as well as appropriate responses to the blank spaces, be assessed? Such activities are meant to stimulate communication in the classroom, and assessment may well interfere with that process.

A recent book edited by Brumfit (1991) takes up the issue of assessment and, especially in a series of papers by Spiro (1991), provides some valuable insight into the subject. On the whole, however, the area of assessment lags far behind that of methodology in the development of the literature-CLT relationship, and this lack of progress could be an impediment to a significant role for literature within CLT. Knowing what texts to select and then what to do with them in class, two aspects of literary use already commented upon, are vital skills for teachers to possess, but knowing how to assess what takes place within this new and different set of applications of literature is also essential if teachers are to feel genuinely comfortable with literature. Conversely, teachers who, out of a personally felt need or in response to institutional requirements, must assess the effects of literature on their students and find it difficult to do so are likely to be sceptical towards

literature. Teaching which lacks a reliable means of assessment or evaluation is missing a crucial variable in the pedagogical equation, and CLT's dearth of development in this area, as it relates to literature, could impair the evolution of the literature-CLT relationship.

Proposal 6 provides a different perspective on the literature-CLT relationship. What is being advocated here is further research into and adoption of a model offered earlier by Carter and Long (1987), which was briefly discussed in Chapter Three. Carter and Long, as we saw, call for a two stage approach to the use of literature in the language classroom. The first stage is communicative in orientation, and features the use of various communicatively-based activities to bolster students' language ability and at the same time help students to feel comfortable with literature. In this way students are simultaneously prepared for a second, more distinctly literary stage while their language proficiency is enhanced by the use of literature. In the second stage students concentrate on interpretation and analysis of literature and develop their literary skills.

The value of this model in the further development of the literature-CLT relationship is that it broadens the scope of that relationship. At present literature is basically seen as a means in the process of communicative language instruction, so that student involvement with literature after a course is completed is not an explicitly targeted end in the use of literature. Teachers advocating the use of literature in CLT presumably hope that students

will continue to read literature following the completion of a language course, but such a goal is generally not built into the course design. Instead, often only the first stage of Carter and Long's model may be pursued, with the second stage remaining in the background as a hoped-for but untouched domain of literary experience. Literature thus serves a fairly limited, albeit communicative, purpose.

In essence, this is a call for a return, on a modified basis, of the traditional belief in language teaching that reading and appreciating the literature of the target language are the ultimate goals and purpose of learning the language. This was true even in the ESP classroom experiment discussed in Chapter Five, where inculcating an interest in and desire to read more literature in English on the part of the students formed some of the course goals, despite the ultimately practical nature of ESP. The efforts being made to connect literature to means of improving language proficiency are applauded by the researcher, but at the same time there is a sense that something vital will be lost if the second stage in Carter and Long's approach is not accounted for by more teachers. As much as is possible, the reading of literature should be seen as an end as well as a means in language teaching, even if literature is not directly pursued as an end in the classroom. That is, students may not actually move beyond the first stage of the Carter/Long model in the language classroom, but provision can be made to prepare students for the second stage, though they may enter that stage on their own. Creative, enthusiastic

use of literature in the first stage, together with encouragement on the part of the teacher for students to continue on in their reading of literature after the course is completed, should position students to enter that second stage, where the reading of literature becomes a more distinctly literary experience. This is dependent, however, on teachers conceptualising that second stage and factoring it into their course planning and design.

It was stated earlier that the traditional literature based goal of language teaching should be resurrected, but on a modified basis. The qualifier is important because undue emphasis on a literary goal in CLT would create the same problems which occurred in the past when the literary goal was supreme. That is, students would once again be deficient in other language skills because the reading skill necessary to achieve the literary goal would be stressed at the expense of the other skills. The researcher's firm belief is that this should not be permitted to happen. To produce more language students who can read the literature of another language and yet not be able to speak or listen to the language, as happened so often in the past, would be a disastrous use of literature. On the other hand, not to make use of the literary dimensions of literature, of its 'literariness', would likewise be unfortunate, in that the true value of literature would be ignored.

Pursuing Carter and Long's second stage on a modified basis means, then, that the second stage should not take precedence over the first, communicatively-based stage.

The first stage would be the dominant one. Making some provision for a second stage would simply extend the aims of the CLT course in a way which does not usually occur at present. The function of this allowance for a second stage would be to prepare students for the deeper levels of personal enrichment and development available in the literary, rather than the communicative and language based, reading of literature. Here the emphasis would be on encouraging the meaning-making or interpretive skills of students through a reader-response type focus. Such an emphasis would not only help make possible meaningful reading and appreciation of literature, but would enhance the personal development of learners as well through their interaction with the texts.

It should also be pointed out that the degree to which the second stage would be accounted for or dealt with by CLT instructors would depend greatly on the particular teaching situation, and the kinds of students, at hand. With advanced students, for example, the first stage may require less emphasis, and the second stage could predominate. Where students are located at lower levels of the language learning process, on the other hand, the second stage may be unreachable in a direct sense, and therefore, as suggested earlier, may be borne in mind as a goal beyond the course which teachers prepare learners for. Thus, as in most matters dealing with literature, flexibility is the key, with the stress on the first and second stages determined by a host of important variables. Ideally, however, the second stage would be one students would enter during a course.

Moving ahead now to proposal 10, we will look at the development of the literature-CLT relationship in another context. At first sight, the recommendation for the creation of a 'literature-based CLT/ELT journal' may appear to contradict a concern expressed in the discussion of proposal 1, where it was feared that the language-literature divide is unintentionally reinforced by the current initial focus on literature rather than CLT in scholarship on the subject. If properly approached, however, such a journal would not have such an effect. This could begin with titles stressing CLT or language teaching before literature, such as 'The CLT-Literature Journal' or 'The Journal of Communicative Uses of Literature'.

The incentive behind the establishment of such a journal would be twofold. First, a journal of this kind would offer continuity and a systematic focus on the evolving CLT-literature link. At present much of the scholarship dealing with this link is scattered among a wide range of language teaching journals. This is a natural situation, and there is a virtue in it, in that it broadens the scope of people who will encounter the scholarship while looking for papers on other subjects. On the other hand, such a situation does not allow for effective correlation of this scholarship. A journal operating under the umbrella of CLT and literature would make possible such correlation in the way that several books cited in Chapter Three do. Such a journal would be a valuable supplement to those kinds of collections of papers. At the same time, it would provide an ongoing, collective

forum for such scholarship, as has been the case with the excellent journal English for Specific Purposes in the field of ESP.

Second, the creation of such a journal could add credibility and legitimacy to the effort to integrate literature into CLT in the same way that journals in other fields do. The existence of a journal devoted to a particular subject area implicitly acknowledges the value of that subject, and in the process draws further attention to it. A journal focusing on CLT and literature specifically, or ELT and literature in a larger sense, could have the same effect. Face validity would be given to the literature-CLT link (in addition to providing a useful forum for discussion on the subject of literature and CLT). This, in turn, could provide valuable assistance in addressing some of the concerns discussed earlier vis-a-vis reservations about literature. In the process, the counterproductive language-literature divide would be removed.

Collectively, the proposals discussed thus far can, with the exception of number 10, be pursued through scholarship on the respective subjects, and discussions or presentations at seminars, workshops, and conferences where CLT is the subject at hand. They can also be approached through teacher training programmes, as will be seen shortly. The thrust of each proposal is to extend the integration of literature and CLT which already exists, either by helping to eliminate current misconceptions and misgivings many teachers hold regarding literature and its inclusion in CLT, or by

expanding on work already completed in the service of that integration.

B) Teacher training programmes

Before looking at various proposals in the context of teacher training programmes and the role they can play in servicing those proposals, a few words about teachers themselves are in order.

Hawkins (1981:286) has observed of changes in ideas about language teaching that 'reform movements may come and go, but real progress in language teaching must depend on the quality of the teachers'. Brown (1982:50) comments along the same lines when he says that

Logically, our study of good language learners should lead us to a study of good language teachers. The teacher is the single most crucial determiner of language success in classroom learning...it is the teacher who, in the last analysis, makes the difference.

The emphasis on the language teacher in these two citations is central to the concerns of this chapter. This is true in two respects. First, if the integration of literature and CLT is to be strengthened and extended, it is teachers who will carry the ultimate burden of this process. That is, whatever the quality of the materials produced on the subject of that integration, the bulk of language teachers must embrace the notion of such an integration if it is to take firm root in ELT. Second, if this is to occur, teacher training programmes are likely to be more vital to that process than any other medium for the expression of ideas about literature and CLT, since the foundations of

language teaching are established at that point in teachers' development.

The one place where large numbers of teachers and future teachers can be exposed to the notion, and the particulars, of the literature-CLT link is the teacher training or INSET programme. It is here where the most significant work in promoting the literature-CLT relationship must take place, and so more provision must be made within the area of teacher training programmes for a literature related component. That is, at some point in the training or retraining process, participants must be exposed to ideas about and techniques for using literature in the CLT classroom.

However, as Chapter Four showed, literature in any context does not figure prominently in training programmes at present. The situation is especially discouraging in America, as the content analysis conducted earlier illustrated. British programmes are more encouraging, but on the whole, at least in the American and British frameworks, large numbers of participants pass through the training process without instruction in, or exposure to, literature.

Another sobering perspective on this situation is offered by Henrichsen (1983) in research on preferences among teacher trainers for different components within training programmes. Henrichsen conducted an international survey of such trainers, and reported on responses from 30 countries. The survey itself was in two parts. The first asked the respondents to rank order four general areas of coverage in training programmes on a scale from 0-3. The

four areas and their rankings by mean score were: 1. TESOL methods and materials (2.91); 2. linguistics (2.40); 3. education (1.93); 4. literature (1.28).

In other words, literature was ranked least important among an international group of teacher trainers, and with a mean score far below the first and second ranked areas. Such a result reinforces the concern expressed earlier that literature does not play much of a role in training programmes, and that as a result relatively few teachers are going to leave such programmes equipped to use literature in their classrooms or to be prepared to at least consider its inclusion.

The second part of Henrichsen's survey provides similarly disconcerting data regarding literature's place in the training process. Here the respondents were asked to rank order 60 specific items or components within the four general areas mentioned earlier. These included 10 literary items. Among them, only one-General Literary Background-was ranked as high as the middle third of the entire list of items. Furthermore, 7 of them were ranked in the bottom 10 of the list.

Once again, then, literature was seen as essentially insignificant as a subject to be dealt with in training programmes, thus casting doubt on the extent to which newly trained teachers entering the profession are likely to favour the literature-CLT link. The same could be said of experienced teachers participating in INSET programmes. The content analysis results reported in Chapter Four support

Henrichsen's data.

Whatever the degree to which literature figures, at present and in future, in teacher training programmes, there are certain essential services which these programmes can perform in further developing the literature-CLT relationship. These services include making provisions for several of the proposals discussed earlier. Proposals 1-4, in particular, could be well served in teacher training programmes. Here courses dealing with literature in ELT/CLT could present literature in a light which breaks down the language-literature divide, draws attention to the linguistic resources in literary texts, links literature explicitly with the concept of communicative competence, and redefines literature in a context compatible with the interests of language teaching. As noted previously, these areas are already being discussed to one degree or another in scholarship on literature and language teaching, but additional coverage of them in training programmes would, in the long run, be of far greater value in the integration of literature and ELT/CLT.

Proposals 7-9 are more directly linked to training programmes, though number 7, too, is also dealt with in scholarship to a certain extent, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Proposal 7 calls for courses in the area of literary theory, with the intention being to help teachers see how some knowledge of such theory could assist their use of literary texts, as well as presenting literature in a new,

and more accessible, light. Chapter Three has already commented on how areas of literary theory such as Formalism, New Criticism, Reader-Response Theory, and Deconstruction provide ways of looking at and working with literary texts in concert with the aims of communicatively based teaching. A focus on such perspectives within a course in a teacher training programme would both supply a teacher with a knowledge of how to apply appropriate literary theories in his or her teaching and help clear away some of the misconceptions of literature reported earlier. In particular, the four literary theories just mentioned help to demystify literature by removing the need for teachers to be specially trained in the complexities of literary study, and as such place literature in a more acceptable light.

We have seen in Chapter Two how theories about language and about language learning augment the language teaching process. One of the missions of teacher training programmes is to supply participants with such theories, since these theories inform a teacher's development of classroom approaches and the design of course materials. A useful way of adopting proposal 7 would be to provide opportunities for trainees to learn, on an applied or modified basis, about theories of literature as well so as to provide them with a means of looking at literary texts and their applications in the language classroom.

Proposal 8 follows from proposal 7 and indeed offers a wider perspective from which number 7 could be included in the training process. This proposal calls for more

emphasis on courses which instruct teachers in how to teach literature. As Chapter Four indicated, such courses are now offered, even in Britain, only on a rather limited basis. The general absence of such courses is criticized in Bretz and Persin (1987), McConochie (1982), Muyskens (1983), and Stern (1987) and can be seen as a major obstacle in the development of an effective literary presence in language teaching. Teaching teachers about literature, or simply exposing them to literature, will not properly prepare them to employ literary texts in their classrooms, though such training-based activities must also take place. Ideally, then, adoption of proposal 8 would include providing trainees with more courses dealing with literature in both a theoretical and pedagogical sense. Such courses would not be intended to dominate a training curriculum or syllabus, except where a literature qualification is the objective of the training, but in the best of worlds would be offered in the form of a required module or segment of a curriculum as a whole. In this way teachers coming out of such programmes would have some foundation in literature, a situation which is clearly not the norm at present. This need not be an extensive foundation; in the same modest context in which many of the proposals are offered, the idea would be to provide teachers with enough knowledge of literature in theory and pedagogical principles and techniques to prepare them to at least consider literature as a teaching tool as they move into or resume their careers. The objective is not to force literature upon them as a pedagogical device,

or to train them to be literary scholars, but rather to expose trainees to the possibilities now envisioned for literature in the language classroom.

The comments just made apply equally to proposal 9, which calls for an increase in the availability of literature-based ELT qualifications. It has already been pointed out that such opportunities do exist in some British ELT training programmes, while American programmes virtually ignore literature in this context. It would be particularly helpful to have various 'applied literature' type qualifications available. Such an approach would be especially helpful in the context of preparing a core of teachers/researchers who could concentrate on the continued development of literature in ELT and CLT.

Britten (1985) observes that teacher training programmes aim at providing trainees with appropriate knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Many of the proposals discussed in this chapter are intended to do the same within a literature-CLT context. Suitable literature-related courses can supply trainees with necessary knowledge about literature itself, especially through a modest focus on literary theory; demonstrate skills involved in the actual use of literature in a communicative classroom; and help teachers form enlightened attitudes toward language teaching, their students, and themselves because one of the key ingredients in literature is an effort to develop our humanity through a deeper understanding of the human condition. Adopting the proposals discussed in Section 6A would significantly assist in the

performance of these functions.

Section 6B: CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study we have seen that since the early 1980s, an integration of literature and Communicative Language Teaching has clearly taken place, as reflected in the fairly substantial number of published materials on the subject.

In fleshing out the observation above during the course of the study's research, a few particularly important points have emerged. One is that this integration is based heavily on the learner-centred nature of CLT. That crucial stress within CLT is relevant to literature in the sense that it allows for an emphasis on learner response, as opposed to a teacher-centred approach in which the teacher is the centre of classroom activity. In a learner-centred classroom, among other factors, students are expected to respond continuously so as to develop the ability to communicate fluently in the target language through the spontaneous generation of discourse appropriate to the situations at hand. Literature melds perfectly with this emphasis because the root of a reader's experience with a literary text is response(s) to it. Furthermore, literary texts provide numerous points from which responses can be generated, such as the theme(s) of the text, various dimensions of the text's characters, the way(s) in which the story is told, the language of the text, etc. Thus, the integration of literature and CLT has been made possible by, and is to a large degree characterized by, a focus on learner response. In this sense there is a

natural and mutually supportive relationship between CLT and literature: CLT provides the means by which responses to literature-the lifeblood of literary experience-can be devised and implemented in ways which benefit the reader/learner on a number of levels, and literature provides an invaluable means by which the goals and practices of CLT can be manifested in numerous useful ways.

A second important point regarding the nature of the integration derives from the first point. The response element which helps link literature and CLT is at the heart of the activities-based approach which is central to CLT and ideally suited to the use of literary texts in a language classroom. As we saw in Chapter Three, much of the recent work on literature in ELT has focused on applying the activities-based approach to the exploitation of literary texts. As this has occurred, literature has been increasingly seen as amenable to communicative teaching. And, as has already been demonstrated, particularly in Chapter Five, literary texts lend themselves to an extremely wide spectrum of learner and response based activities. Thus, the essential nature of the literature-CLT relationship is one in which both parties in the relationship are connected by response dominated activities which serve the primary needs of communicative teaching and open literary texts to meaningful pedagogical exploitation in ways which were not part of traditional uses in the past. Therefore, both literature and CLT have benefited as this relationship has evolved. That is, it is not simply a relationship in which literature

enhances the practice of CLT; at the same time, literary experience has been enriched by the new avenues for reader interaction with literary texts produced by the activities-based orientation of CLT.

The study also revealed, principally in Chapter Four, that there is a disparity between the degree and the strength of the integration between literature and CLT. That is, published materials on literature and CLT have established a definite link between the two, and that link has grown steadily through the 1980s and into the 1990s. Indeed, there is a sense that scholarship concerning this integration will continue to increase, and that this integration may well become a major focus within ELT in the 1990s. In terms of degree, then, there appears to be widespread interest in the literature-CLT relationship.

However, it seems that integration exists more on paper, in printed scholarship on the subject, than it does in the world of actual classroom teaching and in the training of teachers. In other words, the strength of the integration looks somewhat tenuous at this point. This was a key point which emerged from Chapter Four, and was discussed earlier in this chapter. For instance, the content analysis of teacher training programmes indicated that literature plays a very small role in American training programmes and a modest one in British programmes. Not only do training programmes offer a limited presence, at best, for literature; teacher training texts rarely mention literature, let alone discuss ways of using it in the classroom. Furthermore, as

the description of language teaching in Hong Kong revealed, literature was more widely used in the territory before the communicative approach was adopted than it has been since the switch took place. Many reasons account for that change-not all of which are related to CLT itself-and it is difficult to determine how representative the Hong Kong example may be, but it is nevertheless of some note that the territory has essentially abandoned literature.

We also saw, in this chapter, how misconceptions, and therefore doubts, about literature persist among ELT practitioners, as evidenced by the frequent presence of justifications of the use of literature in published materials on the subject. This suggests, again, that the strength of the literature-CLT link at what might be called the grass-roots level of ELT and CLT does not match the degree to which that link is discussed in scholarly publications.

At present, then, the situation appears to be one in which the literature-CLT relationship is gaining momentum and looks promising in view of the degree of research it is currently receiving, but at the same time significant breakthroughs vis-a-vis actual use of the scholarship produced have yet to occur.

The study has also showed, in the classroom experiment discussed in Chapter Five how, in the domain of CLT, the relationship with literature might be extended. That experiment, while modest in its actual success, was a valuable one through the number of useful insights into literature and ESP-and by extension CLT-it produced. In that

experiment ideas about literature and CLT were moved from paper to an actual classroom situation, one in which literature is assumed to be inappropriate, and encouraging signs about the use of literature in ESP arose during the course of the experiment. In this way the literature-CLT link was enhanced by a demonstration of new possibilities for literature within that link.

The concluding remarks made thus far have focused on important points which were generated during the course of the study. Another way of bringing the study to a close is to refer back to a comment by Alan Maley which introduced the study. Maley's observation was that 'Literature is back-but wearing different clothes'. This study has endeavoured, through different focuses in each chapter, to examine that statement and to clarify the nature of those different clothes. While doing so, particularly in the analysis of different approaches to the use of literature seen in Chapter Three, the researcher's belief is that the key question now is no longer whether literature has a role to play in ELT, and particularly CLT, but rather to what degree the literariness of literature should be emphasized as literature re-emerges in ELT. This is a reference to a question which was discussed briefly in Chapter Three: to what degree should an experience with literature be a literary experience? The researcher's belief is that this is a crucial question, especially now that, at least on paper, a viable role for literature in CLT has been established. In other words, a foundation for literature in CLT has now

been constructed.

The next step to occur, then, will be the consolidation of literature's place in CLT, and here, in the researcher's opinion, further progress may well be linked to the degree to which it is felt that an experience with literature must be a literary experience, i.e. must retain the 'literariness' of literature. Should the debate on this question swing too strongly in favour of literariness, literature may once again be seen to be something remote from the concerns of mainstream language teaching, where literature in the 1980s began to develop a place. Literature in this context would perhaps look threatening to teachers lacking training in literature itself and literature teaching. On the other hand, if literature comes to be seen almost exclusively in the light in which it is now often seen in CLT, a sense of its literariness will be lost. Should this occur, few ELT students would be encouraged to engage in the special, and perhaps undefinable, experience that reading a literary text entails if the purposes at hand are dominated by the practical ones so common in language teaching, because literature would have been stripped of the unique allure it holds due to its powerful imaginative character.

A symbol of this debate can be seen in the two stage model for the use of literature developed by Carter and Long and discussed both in Chapter Three and in this chapter. For some advocates of the literature-CLT link, the first stage is sufficient. Here literature plays a role in extending students' language proficiency through various activities-

based uses of the texts. Other advocates of the link envision the need for the second stage, where genuine literary experiences can occur, and feel that without that second stage, something vital is missing in the use of literature-and not for literature itself, but for the students.

The research conducted during this study, especially that in reported on in Chapters Three and Five, leads the researcher to believe that literature should generally be treated in a way which preserves at least some of its literariness. Here, while agreeing with Maley that literature wears different clothes in its current phase in ELT, the researcher maintains that these clothes should not be so different that literature becomes watered down to the point where its literary appeal is basically lost. In other words, as we have already seen, the researcher favours Carter and Long's two stage model.

What the researcher feels here is that the scholarship which has brought literature into CLT via the activities-based approach is of great value, but at the same time some of it is depriving literature of its deeper level appeal. The activities-based approach, which has enormous potential for the creation of meaningful literary experiences, can also shield learners from real encounters with literature in the sense of not allowing for or encouraging more substantial responses to texts to take place. As a result, learners may fail to gain any sense of the texts as literary works, and as a consequence may not feel any need or desire to delve further into the texts than the activities call for-particularly the more superficial kinds of activities. This,

as we saw in Chapter Three, is a criticism Gower (1986) makes of linguistic approaches to literature, in that students are kept so busy analysing the language of texts that they have no opportunity to experience them in a literary sense. In the communicative context-where such linguistic approaches play a role-the activities themselves, rather than the texts, may dominate the classroom, so that students move from one activity to another without really experiencing the texts. This was a problem which occurred to some degree in the ESP classroom experiment discussed in Chapter Five.

It must be stressed here that the researcher is not advocating a 'literature for literature's sake' approach in CLT. The primary purpose of the CLT classroom should not be to prepare the students to read literature. On the other hand, that can be a secondary goal of a CLT course, and this entails providing students with enough of a literary taste of texts to whet their appetites toward literature and the literary experience. And here it must be borne in mind that such experience, whether it occurs during or after the course, will always be a language as well as a literary experience, since the students will have to engage and negotiate the language of texts in order to get to the their meaning.

In summary, it is felt that by the researcher that literature should indeed be back in ELT, and should assume a place in CLT which involves a meaningful role for literary texts, rather than a minor supporting presence. This belief was encouraged, in particular, by three areas of the study's

research-each of which offered a unique contribution to the linking of literature and CLT. One was the review and analysis of scholarship on literature and ELT/CLT in Chapter Three. This scholarship featured numerous exciting possibilities for the use of literature in the language classroom, particularly with respect to CLT. Also, the survey of first year Chinese University students reported on in Chapter Four revealed encouraging results vis-a-vis their attitudes toward literature, despite the fact that they had essentially been separated from literature while going through school. Finally, the classroom experiment examined in Chapter Five confirmed, in many of the insights it produced, the researcher's firm belief that literature can serve valuable purposes even in a restricted teaching situation in which literary texts are usually deemed unsuitable.

Mention should also be made of the content analysis of teacher training programmes discussed in Chapter Four. While the results of the analysis reflected negatively on literature's presence in such programmes, the data produced nevertheless was helpful in the sense of pointing out where the integration of literature and CLT is not really taking place, and thus where it needs to.

To conclude, then, the study, in pursuing the objectives stated in Chapter One through reviews and analyses of work already done in the fields concerned, as well as through empirical efforts in the form of surveys and a classroom experiment, has described the integration of literature and Communicative Language Teaching which currently exists, and

has offered insights and ideas on how that integration can be strengthened and extended. Underlying these various efforts was the researcher's core belief that literature has viable roles to play in ELT, and especially CLT, and that in its unique combination of imaginative and narrative properties, it offers language teaching valuable features which cannot be found to the same degree in other sources of teaching material. As such, it is hoped that the research conducted in this study of the integration of literature and CLT will suggest new avenues for further research aimed at exploring and enriching the relationship between ELT, CLT, and literature.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLES OF DESCRIPTIONS OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH TESOL/
EFL/ESL PROGRAMMESA. American Programmes**MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY, Department of English**

Degree Offered: B.A. in English with a concentration in ESL.

Length of Program: 8 semesters. Students may be full-time or part-time and may begin their study at the beginning of any semester. The deadline for application for the fall semester is August 1; spring semester, December 1; summer semester, May 1.

Program Requirements: 24 credit hours for the concentration; 132 for the B.A. Competence in a foreign language is required for all students. Practice teaching is optional. Neither a thesis nor a comprehensive examination is required.

Courses Offered: Modern English Grammar; Introduction to Linguistics; American Language; Topics in English; History of the English Language; Language and Society; Practicum in ESL; Methods and Techniques in ESL; Skills Approaches and Assessment for ESL; 6 credit hours in American and British literature; 6 credit hours of electives.

Full-time Staff: Teresa Dalle (director), Charles Hall, Marvin Ching.

Requirements for Admission: The University's requirements for undergraduate admission are a high school diploma or GED and acceptable score on the ACT. In addition, for admission to this program, successful completion of the first college semester of English is required.

Tuition, Fees and Aid: For in-state students, \$55.00 per semester hour; for out-of-state students, \$1,999.00 per semester. The application fee is \$5.00; student activity fee, \$45.00. Scholarships, grants, loans, and student employment are available.

General: One American and one foreign student completed the program in 1987-1988.

The University has an intensive English language program for foreign students.

Summer Session 1989: June 2 to July 6; July 10 to August 11. Courses expected to be offered include History of the English Language.

Further Information: Teresa Dalle
Department of English
Memphis State University
Patterson Hall
Patterson Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee 38152
Telephone: (901) 678-4496

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY, Department of English

Degree Offered: M.A. in English with a concentration in ESL.

Length of Program: 3 semesters. Students may be full-time or part-time and may begin their study at the beginning of any semester. The deadline for application for the fall semester is August 1; spring semester, December 1; summer semester, May 1.

Program Requirements: 33 semester hours. Reading knowledge of a foreign language is required for all students. A comprehensive examination is required. Practice teaching is optional. A thesis is not required.

Courses Offered: Field Experience and Practicum for ESL; Theory and History of ESL; Principles and Skills Assessment in ESL; Methods and Techniques of ESL in K-12; ESL Grammar; Introduction to Modern English; English Syntax; Dialectology; Sociolinguistics; 6 semester hours of British literature.

Full-time Staff: See B.A. in English program listing.

Requirements for Admission: The University's requirements for graduate admission are a baccalaureate degree from an accredited institution with an acceptable GPA and acceptable scores on the GRE or MAT. In addition, for admission to this program, a minimum of 18 semester hours in upper division English courses with a minimum average of 2.5 for those courses is required. Students not fulfilling this requirement may be admitted with the provision that they complete additional studies in English.

Tuition, Fees and Aid: For instate students, \$76.00 per semester hour; for out-of-state students, \$2,140.00 per semester. The application fee is \$5.00; activity fee, \$45.00. Graduate assistantships are available.

General: Students may take courses in the program to complete requirements for the add-on endorsement in ESL for the state of Tennessee.

Nine Americans and one foreign student completed the program in 1987-1988.

The University has an intensive English language program for foreign students.

Summer Session 1989: June 2 to July 6. Courses expected to be offered include ESL Grammar; Methods and Techniques in ESL for K-12.

Further Information: Teresa Dalle
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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, Department of Teaching and Learning.

Degree Offered: M.S.Ed. in TESOL.

Length of Program: 4 semesters. Students may be full-time or part-time and may begin their study at the beginning of any semester. The deadline for application for the fall semester is July 1; spring semester, November 1; summer semester, April 1.

Program Requirements: 36 credits. Competence in a foreign language is not required. A practicum and a comprehensive examination are required. A thesis is not required.

Courses Offered: (*required) *Classroom Based Measurement; *Classroom Based Research; *Microcomputer Applications to Education; *Leadership in Curriculum and Instruction; *Effective Teaching; *Teacher in American Society; *Practicum; *Introduction to Theories and Practice of TESOL; *Advanced Techniques in TESOL; *Language Assessment; *Theories and Principles of First and Second Language Acquisition; *Problems of Culture and TESOL; *Curriculum Development in TESOL; *Applied Linguistics in Education.

Full-time Staff: Gilbert Cuevas (chair), Sarah Hudelson.

Requirements for Admission: The University's requirements for graduate admission are an acceptable undergraduate GPA, acceptable GRE and/or TOEFL scores and letters of recommendation. In addition, the program requires language proficiency examinations and recommendations of area faculty.

Tuition, Fees and Aid: \$435.00 per credit. Health, guidance and student activity fees for full-time students are \$21.00 per semester. All full-time teachers or teachers on sabbatical are eligible for a 50% teacher tuition reduction upon presentation of appropriate documentation.

General: This program combines professional preparation coursework with infield subject matter coursework. Action research projects are required of all students.

B. British Programmes (University of London)

b(i) Advanced Practical Certificates in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Co-ordinator: K.R. Cripwell

Length: One term

Content

1. Term 1: Contemporary approaches to ESOL teaching: classroom procedures and language learning; course planning and material; communicative language use
2. Term 2: ESOL practice: a choice of specialisms, including classroom management, teacher training, materials development
3. Term 3: ESOL theory: philosophical, linguistics and socio-linguistics foundations of communicative language teaching; ESP and functional/notional approaches; interlanguage, contrastive and error analysis; discourse analysis, classroom language and language teaching; materials evaluation

Assessment

1. Term 1: essay and file of work
2. Term 2: report
3. Term 3: essay and one-paper examination

General/special features

These courses may be taken as separate certificates, or they may be taken either consecutively or at different times in any order within four years; passes at appropriate levels accumulate as credits, qualifying for the award of the Diploma in TESOL (see 22b(ii) below).

Entrance qualifications

Candidates must be qualified teachers, normally with three years' experience.

Fees: On application

Applications to: The Registrar

b(ii) Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Co-ordinator: K.R. Cripwell

Length: Three terms

Content

As in 22b(i) above

Assessment

Report, essays and one-paper examination (see 22b(i) above)

General/special features

The Diploma is awarded to students who pass all three Advanced Certificates (see 20b(i) above) at the appropriate level.

Entrance qualifications

Candidates must be qualified teachers, normally with three years' experience.

b(iii) MA in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Academic Co-ordinator: Professor H. G. Widdowson

Course Co-ordinator A. Pincas

Length: One calendar year full-time (students may enrol in October, January and April)

Content

The course constitutes an enquiry into contemporary practices in language teaching methodology and the principles which they imply. It will enable a critical appraisal to be made of new developments in language teaching theory and practice, and provide a comprehensive framework for their evaluation. The basic organization of the course is modular.

The course consists of three core modules:

1. Module 1: Fundamental issues in language and teaching: approaches to curriculum development, syllabus design, and language description in ESOL.
2. Module 2: The social and psychological context of language teaching: the application of psycholinguistic and socio-linguistic research to the understanding of language competence and performance.
3. Module 3: Either a dissertation of 20,000 words or a report of 10,000 words.

Options from the following additional modules: Teacher training theory; Teacher training practice; Materials development; CALL and video; Communicative language teaching; Stylistics and literature teaching; Language, culture and ideology; Statistics, computing and research; the English language; English for specific purposes (ESP); Language and learning; Discourse and pragmatics; Bilingual/minority language education; EFL management.

Assessment

Two three-hour written papers on the core modules and either a dissertation of approximately 20,000 words or a report of approximately 10,000 words, and assessed coursework from the option modules. There is an oral examination at the discretion of the examiners.

General/special features

This MA is designed to provide a high-level professional education in the field of ESOL, see content above. It is possible to register for one or more modules of the MA, providing opportunities for specialist professional development. The MA programme is also offered on a part-time basis in conjunction with the Mediterranean Summer Institute and under the regulations for the part-time MA in Education Studies. For further details contact the Course Co-ordinator.

Entrance qualifications

Candidates should be good honours graduates of an approved university, and possess qualifications in education beyond initial training. They are normally expected to have several years' teaching experience.

Fees: £2,104 (full time EC students) part time students £205 per module
 £5,000 (non-EC students)
 Prices correct for 1991-92; subject to review

Applications to: The Registrar

APPENDIX B

Survey of Students in First Year English Courses

Directions: Please answer the following questions as honestly and accurately as possible. The survey is being conducted for research purposes only.

1. Major Subject: _____
2. Age: _____ years of age
3. Sex: () male () female
4. Stream studied in secondary school: () arts
() science
5. HKCEE results:
Chinese: _____ Chinese Literature: _____
English: _____ English Literature: _____
6. Usually, how many hours per week do you spend reading English language newspapers and/or magazines for pleasure or language improvement (i.e. not to complete school assignments)?
() 0 hours () less than 2 () 2-4 () 4-6
() 6-8 () 8-10 () more than 10 hours
7. Usually, how many hours per week do you spend reading Literature (short stories, novels, poems, plays) in English for pleasure or language improvement (i.e. not to complete school assignments)?
() 0 hours () less than 2 () 2-4 () 4-6
() 6-8 () 8-10 () more than 10 hours
8. Usually, how many hours per week do you spend listening to English language radio programmes and/or watching television and movies in English?
() 0 hours () less than 2 () 2-4 () 4-6
() 6-8 () 8-10 () more than 10 hours.
- 9a. In your opinion, can studying works of English literature help improve the English language skills of lower secondary school (Forms 1-3) students?
() Yes () No

- 9b. If you answered 'Yes' to question 9a, what percentage of time spent in lower secondary school English lessons should be devoted to studying English literature for language improvement purposes? (Please select a number from 0-100.)
- _____ % of time should be devoted to studying English literature
- 10a. In your opinion, can studying works of English literature help improve the English language skills of upper secondary school (Forms 4-5) students?
- () Yes () No
- 10b. If you answered 'Yes' to question 10a, what percentage of time spent in upper secondary school English lessons should be devoted to studying English literature for language improvement purposes? (Please select a number from 0-100.)
- _____ % of time should be devoted to studying English literature
- 11a. In your opinion, can studying works of English literature help improve the English language skills of First Year English students at Chinese University?
- () Yes () No
- 11b. If you answered 'Yes' to question 11a, what percentage of time spent in First Year English lessons should be devoted to studying English literature for language improvement purposes? (Please select a number from 0-100.)
- _____ % of time should be devoted to studying English literature
12. If English literature was included in First Year English at Chinese University, how would you rank the different types of literature in terms of your preference for studying them? (Please use 1 for your first choice, 4 for your last choice, etc.)
- ___poetry ___short stories ___plays ___novels
13. In your opinion, how should the following English language skills be ranked in order of importance for teaching and learning in First Year English at Chinese University? (Please number from 1-4, with 1 as most important, 4 as least important, etc.)
- () Reading () Writing () Listening
() Speaking
14. In your opinion, what percentage of time spent in First Year English at Chinese University should be devoted to studying English grammar? (Please select

a number from 0-100.)

_____ % of time should be devoted to studying English grammar

15. If you have a Chinese (i.e. Cantonese) speaking teacher in your First Year English course, would you prefer that at least some of the teaching be done in Chinese rather than in English?

() Yes () No

16. How important is English in the type of job or career you hope to enter after you complete your university studies? (Please answer by selecting a number from 1-6, with 1 representing 'Not at all Important' and 6 representing 'Extremely Important'.)

Importance of English in future job/career: _____

Please respond to the following statements by selecting below the number which best represents your opinion on each statement. Please record your answer in the space to the left of the number for each statement.

+1=slight agreement	-1=slight disagreement
+2=moderate agreement	-2=moderate disagreement
+3=strong agreement	-3=strong disagreement

- _____ 17. During my four years as a student at Chinese University, I would take an English course even if I was not required to do so.
- _____ 18. Studying English literature is a useful way to improve a Chinese University student's ability in English.
- _____ 19. I enjoy reading newspapers and magazines in English.
- _____ 20. I enjoy reading English literature.
- _____ 21. I enjoy watching movies, videos, and television programmes in English.
- _____ 22. In the First Year English course, English literature would be more suitable for students in the Arts and Social Science faculties than for students in the Science faculties.
- _____ 23. Only students who studied English literature in secondary school can understand it well in First Year English at Chinese University.
- _____ 24. Detective stories, ghost stories, science fiction stories, and love stories can be considered part of English literature.

_____ 25. Students at Chinese University should not be required to take any English courses.

_____ 26. It is usually more difficult to understand English literature than English newspapers and magazines.

--Thank you very much for your cooperation--

APPENDIX C

Survey of Student Attitudes

Directions: Please answer the following questions as honestly and accurately as possible. The survey is being conducted for research purposes, and to assist in course design.

1. Name _____
2. Student Number _____
3. Sex () Male () Female
4. Major Subject _____
5. Type of secondary school attended:
 () Chinese () Anglo-Chinese
6. HKCEE Results:
 Chinese _____ Chinese Literature _____
 English _____ English Literature _____
7. Secondary school stream:
 () Arts () Science
8. In your opinion, how should the following English language skills be ranked in order of importance for teaching and learning at university level? (Please number from 1-4, with 1 as most important, 4 as least important, etc.)
 () Reading () Writing () Speaking
 () Listening
9. In your opinion, what percentage of the time spent in secondary school English lessons should be devoted to studying English literature? (Please select a number from 0-100.)
 _____ % of time should be devoted to studying English literature
10. In your opinion, what percentage of the time spent in university English lessons (for non-English majors) should be devoted to studying English literature? (Please select a number from 0-100.)
 _____ % of time should be devoted to studying English literature

11. How do you regard your spoken English?
 very good good fairly good
 barely acceptable fairly poor poor
 very poor
12. How do you regard your written English?
 very good good fairly good
 barely acceptable fairly poor poor
 very poor
13. How do you regard your ability to listen to English?
 very good good fairly good
 barely acceptable fairly poor poor
 very poor
14. How do you regard your ability to read English?
 very good good fairly good
 barely acceptable fairly poor poor
 very poor
15. How do you regard your overall ability to use English relative to your classmates?
 top 10% of the class
 top 25% of the class
 top 50% of the class
 somewhere within the bottom 50% of the class
16. How do you rate your interest in studying works of English literature? (Please select a number from 0-10, with 0 representing no interest, 5 representing a medium degree of interest, and 10 representing extreme interest.)
_____ amount of interest in studying works of English literature
17. How do you rate your ability to read and understand works of English literature? (Please select a number from 0-10, with 0 representing no ability, 5 representing medium ability, and 10 representing excellent ability.)
_____ amount of ability to read and understand works of English literature
18. How do you rate your ability to understand English poetry? (Please use the scale from question #17.)
_____ amount of ability to understand English poetry

19. How do you rate your ability to understand English drama?
(Please use the scale from question # 17.)

_____ amount of ability to understand English drama

20. How do you rate your ability to understand English short stories? (Please use the scale from question #17.)

_____ amount of ability to understand English short stories

21. How do you rate your ability to understand English novels? (Please use the scale from question #17.)

_____ amount of ability to understand English novels

22. How do you rank your interest in different types of English literature? (Please rank on a scale from 1-4, with 1 representing most interest, 4 representing least interest, etc.)

___poetry ___drama ___short stories ___novel

APPENDIX D

End of Course Survey

Directions: Please answer each of the following questions as honestly and accurately as possible. Your responses will be used for research purposes only.

1. Name _____
2. Since the beginning of the school year how, if at all, has your interest in improving your English changed?
 - () My interest in improving my English has increased
 - () My interest in improving my English ha decreased
 - () My interest in improving my English has remained the same
3. Since the beginning of the school year how, if at all, has your interest in studying English changed?
 - () My interest in studying English has decreased
 - () My interest in studying English has increased
 - () My interest in studying English has remained the same
4. Since the beginning of the school year how, if at all, has your interest in reading English literature changed?
 - () My interest in reading English literaure has increased
 - () My interest in reading English literature has decreased
 - () My interest in reading English literature has remained the same
5. How would you rate the likelihood (possibility) that you will read any English literature in your leisure (free) time in the future?

() very good	() very poor
() good	() poor
() mild	() weak
6. How would you rate the likelihood that you will read any science fiction short stories in your leisure time in the future?

() very good	() very poor
() good	() poor
() mild	() weak

7. In the first term we studied different types of literature and different kinds of short stories; in the second term we concentrated strictly on science fiction short stories. Which approach did you prefer?

_____ first term _____ second term

8. Our course was arranged so that on Mondays (1 period) we did 'practical' work in class, and on Wednesdays (2 periods) we did 'literature-based' work in class. In other words, we spent 33% of our time on practical lessons and 67% of our time on literature-based lessons. What proportion of practical lessons to literature-based lessons would you prefer?

_____ % practical lessons _____ % literature-based lessons

For questions 9-14 below, please use the following scale to answer each question:

+3=very useful

-3=very useless

+2=useful

-2=useless

+1=slightly
useful

-1=slightly
useless

9. How useful were our stories in increasing your knowledge of scientific English? _____
10. How useful were our stories in increasing your knowledge of general English? _____
11. After spending two terms reading and discussing literature, how do you feel about the use of literature to improve English language ability and knowledge of English? _____
12. For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in increasing your interest in English? _____
13. For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in improving the following language skills?
Reading _____ Writing _____ Listening _____
Speaking _____
14. For you, personally, how useful were our literature-based activities in increasing your confidence in the following language skills?
Reading _____ Writing _____ Listening _____
Speaking _____

15. In your opinion, what percentage of time spent in secondary school English lessons should be devoted to English literature? (Please select a number from 0-100.)

_____ % of the time should be devoted to studying English literature

16. In your opinion, what percentage of the time spent in university English lessons (for non-English majors) should be devoted to studying English literature? (Please select a number from 0-100.)

_____ % of the time should be devoted to studying English literature

17. How do you rate your interest in studying works of English literature? (Select a number from 0-10, with 0 representing no interest, 5 representing a medium degree of interest, and 10 representing extreme interest.)

_____ amount of interest in studying works of English literature

18. How do you rate your ability to understand works of English literature? (Select a number from 0-10, with 0 representing no ability, 5 representing medium ability, and 10 representing excellent ability.)

_____ amount of ability to understand works of English literature

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