

The Non-native Modern Language Teacher: Language Practices, Choices, and Challenges

by

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Abstract

Previous research exploring the issues and challenges facing non-native language teachers has predominantly studied teachers of English. However, due to the status of French as an official language and waves of European and Asian immigration within the Lower Mainland of British Columbia there are many other modern languages of interest and relevance being taught besides English. The question then arises: What are the issues and challenges facing non-native teachers of languages other than English, and what is their unique contribution to modern language teaching? Do the findings and theories developed from previous research conducted mainly in English language teaching contexts, particularly with respect to language use practises, choices, and challenges, apply to other language teaching contexts?

In this qualitative study of 22 non-native modern language teachers, participants teaching various Asian and European languages were interviewed with the subsequent interview and questionnaire data subjected to a cross-case analysis. Four participants were selected as focal cases for greater in-depth analysis. Participants' perspectives on the 'native speaker' construct were also explored in relation to their non-native status.

It was found that most participants were challenged in their attempts to maintain and improve their target language proficiency. Many teachers viewed their bilingual or multilingual identity as a strength, though this was sometimes in conflict with the views of stakeholders. Much of the previous research concerning language use, barriers faced by non-native teachers, and reflections on the term 'native speaker' was confirmed by this study. In terms of the principal theme of L1-L2 use, this study further valorised teachers' selective and strategic use of the L1, particularly in late-entry programs, while continuing to focus on maximising L2 use. Extensive individual and contextual factors also had an impact on participants' language use though the use of L1-L2 boundaries or zones was a useful strategy. Findings have implications for the hiring, training, and professional development of language teachers. Although some of the experiences of non-native teachers of Asian languages were similar to those of their counterparts in other languages, these teachers faced some particularly unique challenges which present avenues for future research.

Preface

The Behavioural Research Ethics Board issued a certificate of approval numbered B03-0669 for the research in this study.

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Dedication

Dla moich kochanych dzieci Beata i Karol.

This study is dedicated to the accomplishments and contributions of non-native speakers. A special mention is made to the many non-native and native language teachers and speakers who have shaped and promoted my development professionally and personally, particularly Thérèse Evans and Lucie Lapointe who exemplified the native as a resource and native-non-native collaboration in practice.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

There has often been the danger of an automatic extrapolation from competent speaker to competent teacher based on linguistic grounds alone, without taking into consideration the criteria of cultural, social and pedagogic appropriacy (Seidlhofer, 1996, p. 69).

1.1 Study Background and Significance

The experiences of non-native speakers, predominantly of English as a second or foreign language, has been an ongoing area of interest in the literature as part of the native speaker (NS)-non-native speaker (NNS) dichotomy. The meaning and significance of the term ‘native speaker’ and language use issues including code-switching, ownership of the target language (TL), acceptance, and fossilisation are current and ongoing areas of interest. With the current and increasing status of English as a lingua franca, research in this area continues to grow and evolve in various international and professional contexts.

In the modern language education field, the experiences of non-native-speaking modern language teachers, predominantly of English as a second or foreign language, has also been a recurrent interest within the same NS-NNS dichotomy within the context of teaching and learning (Medgyes, 1999). Notably, Braine (1999) has presented the perspectives of competent professionals voicing their experiences as non-native language teachers.

Though much has been studied concerning non-native teachers of English and, to a lesser extent, French and Spanish, the experiences and perspectives of non-native teachers of various *other* languages have been very minimally addressed in Canada and the Western hemisphere.¹ Yet the teaching and learning of modern languages other than English has an important role to play around the world to promote and facilitate intercultural understanding and interaction and to enable heritage language learners to maintain and continue their acquisition of their heritage language. Numerous modern language learning opportunities are offered at universities and colleges as well as in schools and institutions across North America and internationally with both native and non-native teachers at the helm. Bilingual education programs such as French Immersion in Canada, Spanish bilingual and foreign

¹ Turnbull and Dailey-O’Cain (2009) more recently dealt with language use issues. Recent graduate dissertations concerning non-native teachers similarly address language use in English and Spanish language teaching contexts and, to a lesser extent, Asian language contexts.

language immersion programs in the U.S., and new dual-language programs involving Japanese, Chinese, and other languages, are thriving and receiving international recognition, and their success is inspiring interest and emulation world-wide. The demand for such programs has increased together with the growing recognition of the benefits of acquiring an additional language. Locally, in the Lower Mainland, though demand for French immersion remains strong, Mandarin and Japanese are offered in the system at the elementary and secondary level. The high level of interest in Mandarin is evident in local discussions taking place as well as in the advocacy of grass-roots parent-community groups.

The literature has presented the voices and perspectives of language learners who have gone on to apply their acquired linguistic abilities in second and foreign language teacher training and/or other target language programs (Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Kubota, 2001; Llorca, 2005; Thomas, 1999). Researchers such as Braine (1999), Medgyes (1994; 1999), and Kamhi-Stein (1999) have articulated the experiences, challenges, and perspectives of non-native speaking English language teachers. Even less represented overall have been the voices of visible minority non-native language teachers though Amin (1997) and Kubota and Lin (2006) have presented these from an EFL and ESL perspective respectively and non-native issues related to gender have been increasingly highlighted (Amin, 1999; Lin, Grant, Kubota, Motha, Sachs, Vandrick, & Wong, 2004). However there has been virtually no research conducted on the experiences, challenges, and perspectives of teachers of modern languages *other than English*. This gap in the literature suggests that we know little about their experiences including challenges, preferences, or teaching conditions. Through work experience and professional relationships with both native and non-native language teachers, and as a non-native teacher of French myself, I have found that there is much to discuss, share, and learn from with respect to our collective experiences, challenges, and perspectives.

Teachers play an instrumental role in second and foreign language acquisition, since they are the primary—and sometimes only—source of target language and culture input. With the average L2 learner rarely having access to natural and extensive engagement in a target language environment due to social, economic, or geographical isolation from L2 speakers, it has been argued that “...the potential value of instructional access to the L2 increases by default” (Chaudron, 1988, p. 4).

L1-L2 use in the classroom has been discussed as an issue in applied linguistics and it has also been discussed to varying degrees by non-native teachers sharing their experiences (Braine, 1999; Medgyes, 1999). Within the Canadian French as a second language context, concerns over the excessive use of English has been a continual theme in the literature and teachers' proficiency, (inextricably) linked to their non-native status, has been raised as an issue of concern and, hence, recommended area for improvement (Carr, 2006; Turnbull, 1999a & b; 2001). However, of late, the strategic use of the L1 has generally not been considered as part of language teaching practice, particularly in language immersion contexts². Language use issues related to those mentioned above have also recently been raised with respect to mainly non-native teachers of English and French (Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009).

It is hoped that this study will contribute to modern language education and related research given its focus on non-native speaking teachers of languages other than English who are positive role models in the language learning process. In addition, the relationship between language teachers' proficiency and their students' learning was identified by the International Research Foundation for English Language Education as its number one international research priority in 2001 which illustrates the widespread concern with non-native speaker issues in applied linguistics and L2 pedagogy. A more comprehensive understanding of non-native teacher issues is also highly relevant to resolving tensions between native and non-native teachers given the potential for professional collaboration in teaching and research. There has also been insufficient attention paid to these issues in teacher training programs. In addition to contributing to higher teacher attrition and anxiety levels, this lack of discussion and attention consequently and ultimately affects the language learner and the modern language teaching field overall.

² The B.C. Provincial curriculum website generally refers to the target language as the language of instruction for modern languages (www.bced.gov.bc.ca accessed 11/20/08). For French immersion, language use is discussed in terms of the proportion of French to English instruction. English instruction, however, refers to English language arts as well as other subjects taught in English (both from grade 4). In Early FI programs, it is stated that "Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 should be taught totally in French." For late immersion "it is recommended that the first year be taught totally in French" and that from the subsequent year, "English Language Arts and other courses taught in English should not exceed 20 per cent of instructional time" (www.bced.gov.bc.ca/policy/policies/french_immersion.htm accessed 11/03/03).

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Overall, this study seeks to understand the experiences, perspectives, and challenges of non-native teachers of Asian and European languages. Doing so will address the gap in the research described above and explore issues pertaining to linguistic and cultural identity and affiliation, confidence, competence, and teaching philosophies and preferences. The over-arching research question investigated in this study is: What are the specific issues and challenges facing non-native-speaker teachers of languages *other than English* in terms of linguistic and cultural identity, competence, and confidence? The study explores the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, and socio-political contexts of modern language teachers who teach their second- or third-acquired language.

Insights garnered from this study will add to the existing applied linguistics research literature pertaining to non-native speaking teachers generally in both commonly and less commonly taught modern languages. As well, understanding these teachers' experiences will contribute to debates regarding the NS-NNS dichotomy and further clarify the contributions they offer, at least from their own vantage point. It is hoped that by addressing these objectives, further discussion and knowledge about second and foreign language teaching and learning will result. Such knowledge is particularly useful, considering that "the majority of the world's language teachers are teaching what is to them a foreign language." (Davies, 2003, pp. 163-64).

This is not to say that modern languages other than English have been ignored. Indeed, studies of L1-L2 use, teacher training, and proficiency have examined vital issues in the teaching of modern languages other than English, particularly in French-language contexts. However, this study aims to provide non-native language teachers with a means to voice and articulate their experience. With this purpose, non-native teachers of Mandarin, Korean, Japanese, French, Italian, German, Russian, and Spanish were selected to participate in this study from a larger pool of prospective non-native language teachers.

My personal interest in this research stems from a lifelong exposure to non-native speakers both personally and professionally as a learner and teacher. I have taught both French immersion and FSL as well as EFL.³ Growing up in a Polish immigrant family

³ I am a Polish-L1 speaker who learned English and French and then went on to teach both of them as described.

provided a first-hand account of many of the issues faced by non-native speakers related to their confidence and identities when using their L2. Having acquired English academically in early primary school after my L1, Polish, has impacted my identity. Working in Poland later as an EFL teacher highlighted aspects of my Canadian identity that went beyond language use and accent.

Growing up in Toronto, Canada, I was surrounded by bilingual and multilingual non-native speakers both in my immediate and extended Polish family as well as in my neighbourhood, also known as 'little Poland.' Playing with the children next door from a French-Southeast Asian family as well regularly spending time with Mrs. Bialas, a trilingual neighbour who had immigrated from France, in particular, inspired an interest in languages and their speakers. After admiring the sound and overall beauty of the spoken French of my neighbours, my goal was to break the code and one day more fully understand and respond to what was being expressed so beautifully beyond the familiar, recognisable cognates. Some aspects of grammar and pronunciation were somewhat familiar given that my L1, Polish, had similar structures and nasal characteristics respectively.

L1 versus L2 use has been a pervasive issue in my experience both personally and professionally. Once at school I remember the conversations and questions about my English proficiency including pronunciation and recommendations from the school that my parents read to me in English rather than Polish and that I participate in supplementary English language speech sessions. They complied and placed me in Polish heritage classes a year later than planned to allow my English to progress further and focused on reading in English.

A core language use belief remained that a significant mark of a 'good' language teacher was sole, deliberate use of the language. My non-native status, later as a teacher, seemed to exacerbate this belief resulting in efforts of self-discipline and habit to solely use the language as a goal as use of the L1 was indicative of a lack of target language proficiency and affiliation. I exported this goal and belief when teaching EFL to college students in Poland though modified it when little progress was being made in the course consisting of learners with varying experiences with the target language, English. Also, developing rapport with learners had become problematic. I eventually accepted that in this context taking advantage of my bilingual identity was both necessary and practical for my adult

learners who were emerging in the same way. The importance of sole English use and its importance had been conveyed to my students.

I solely used the language when later teaching FSL to adolescents and found that they were surprised at the fact that there was no English. Their acceptance and progress reinforced the notion that sole use of the language was workable depending on context and the learning culture.⁴

Though French was the lingua franca in the French immersion classrooms I taught, at times, I found that using English to explain more abstract aspects of the language and other concepts was effective and efficient to allow learners to progress. Comparing concepts in the French language to those in English also brought the latter into the French classroom. Like some participants, I used visual aids and other strategies to maintain use of the language and to not unnecessarily switch to English.

These and other experiences have made me question the use of learners' L1 or dominant academic language in some contexts and for some purposes, and the impact of the teacher's proficiency on language choice and use. Along the way, the insecurity of having proficiency and qualifications questioned to teach French as a non-native *at times* has given way to the selective use of the L1, English, as a tool.

Reading Medgyes's (1999) and Braine's (1999) work addressing the challenges facing non-native teachers made me question to what extent these teachers experience similar anxiety related to their target-language use and maintenance. Duff and Polio (1990) and Polio and Duff (1994) and other subsequent research into the role of the L1 inspired further reflection on my L1-L2 use in teaching and related topics in the applied linguistics literature overall.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions this study investigates are:

What are the experiences, perspectives, and challenges of non-native speaking modern language teachers of Asian and European languages *other than English*, and what is their unique contribution, as non-natives, to modern language teaching?

⁴ Also, this teaching context was within a(then) newly-opened middle school in the public system that offered supplementary FSL courses *in French* for subject areas such as textile arts and drama and, as part of this program, I taught textile arts in addition to FSL.

More specifically:

- i) What are their beliefs, policies, and practices concerning language use in the classroom and what factors influence this?
- ii) What are the key challenges, concerns, and issues in their language teaching context which are specific to non-native modern language teachers?
- iii) How do participants address the target culture in their context with respect to language use?
- iv) What are the pedagogical beliefs and practices guiding non-native speaking modern language teachers' language practices?
- v) What does 'native speaker' (NS) mean to participants and how do they perceive themselves in terms of proficiency/competence and ownership of the target language? What strengths and advantage(s) does the non-native speaking teacher bring to language teaching? Limitations? How do proficiency and confidence impact their L1-L2 use and practices?

In addition to my desire to seek answers to these questions, this study offered participants the means to voice their perspectives on significant issues related to their experience as non-native language teachers.

1.4 Outline

Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature on the NS-NNS dichotomy as it relates to non-native speaking teachers of an additional language. The remainder of the chapter surveys research on L1-L2 use in classrooms. Chapter 3 outlines the study's research methodology, the participants and the criteria for their selection. Chapter 4 describes the context of the participants' setting in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

Chapters 5 through 8 respectively outline the case of each focal participant: Anne, Kathleen, Nancy, KD, with each chapter presenting the case context, participant profile, and case analysis. This is a qualitative multiple-case study of four language teachers from a larger sample of 22 teachers who participated in the study.

Chapter 9 presents the principal theme of language use that emerged from the cross-case analysis. Chapters 10 examines secondary themes related to identity, strengths and

advantages, challenges, perspectives on native speaker, as well as those related to Asian and European language teaching and learning.

Chapter 11 summarises the significant findings which relate to the experiences and challenges of teachers of selected Asian and European languages, including their contribution to modern language education. Findings relating to their beliefs, policy, and practices concerning L1-L2 use in the classroom are presented as are their perspectives on the construct of 'native speaker', their sense of language ownership, and how they address the teaching of culture in their contexts. Findings related to teaching heritage language learners and native speakers versus non-heritage learners (true beginners) are also outlined. The chapter concludes with implications for policy, theory, practice, and teacher education.

Chapter 2: THE NON-NATIVE TEACHER AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES

2.1 Introduction

Given the emphasis of this multiple case study on the language practices, choices, and challenges of the non-native modern language teacher, a review of pertinent perspectives and issues surrounding the non-native language teacher, and, subsequently, language use and practices is in order.

2.2 The Native versus Non-native Dichotomy for Language Teachers

Although discussions about the native vs. non-native dichotomy encompass a broader, more general sphere outside of language teaching, the native-non-native issue is an important part of the ideological context in examining the perspectives and practices of non-native modern language teachers in this study. The native-non-native issue and the related issue of L2 proficiency levels required for qualified, competent language teachers have been topics of discussion and study in the applied linguistics research literature (Davies, 2003; Hedge & Whitney, 1996; Paikeday, 1985; Rampton, 1990; Widdowson, 1992). Paikeday (1985) has equated the term ‘native speaker’ with a ‘proficient user of a language’. Davies (2003) proposed a “reality definition of the native speaker” where one could be defined as a native or native-like speaker by virtue of: 1) birth (i.e. early childhood exposure); 2) being an exceptional learner; 3) education using the target language medium (the lingua franca case); 4) being a native user; 5) long residence in the adopted country (Davies, 2003, p. 214). This definition exists, in addition to the mythic or idealised definition, as a positive step in highlighting the linguistic and experiential diversity amongst native speakers and native-like speakers, the latter of which include many highly proficient L2 educators. His definition, therefore accentuates the ‘blurring’ of the line of distinction between the native and non-native speaker.

Other references related to this ‘blurring’ include Kachru (1992) and Rampton, 1990 who view the traditional distinction between native and non-native speaker as non-functional and advocate a displacement of terms such as ‘native speaker’ and ‘mother tongue’ altogether. They perceive these as no longer accurate and appropriate, given the multidimensional links which exist between people and languages today, including multilingualism across borders. Davies (2003) asserts that the distinction between them is,

basically is determined by non-native speakers' assumption of confidence and of identity. Despite the ongoing debate and controversy over definitions, the terms native speaker and non-native speaker continue to be widely used and the discussion over their meaning and use (including alternatives) continued (Cook, 1999, 2003; Medgyes, 1992; Rampton, 1990). Focusing on the need to consider the abilities and goal of the multicompetent user (Cook, 1999; 2003) has been emphasised by these scholars.

2.2.1 Language Teaching Models as Goals in Modern Language Education

Concerns about the role of the native speaker in language teaching and second language acquisition (SLA) research have been highlighted (Cook, 1999, 2005; Medgyes, 1999; Phillipson, 1992). It has often been assumed that native speakers make better educators than non-natives. Researchers were concerned about how the acceptability of the native speaking teacher ideal has occurred without critical evaluation or questioning (Phillipson, 1992). The sociocultural turn in SLA research and increasing number of multilingual, multicultural speakers internationally continue to challenge the validity of the native speaker only model for foreign language study (Kramsch, 1997). Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of English language teachers worldwide are non-natives and their ratio to that of natives has grown steadily (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Widdowson, 1994). Nearly a decade ago, Cook (1999, 2005) called for the need to look beyond the native speaker model in teaching and, rather, shift the focus to becoming a competent L2 user. He argued that successful and competent L2 users are undermined by the sole use of natives for language teaching and that this practice can potentially present learners with an unattainable model as L2 learners are becoming L2 users rather than native speakers.

Native teacher advantages, linguistically and in terms of cultural knowledge, have been examined by Davies (2003) and others (McNeill, 1993; Inbar, 2001; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Seidlhofer, 1996) with fluency, creative use of language, and a subconscious knowledge of rules and intuitive sense of meanings being consistently cited as core advantages for teaching and modelling the target language to non-native speaking colleagues. Native speaker teacher advantages are attributed to both the trained and untrained native speaking teacher.

Concerns and challenges in relation to the native speaking language teacher pertain to their varying levels of conscious knowledge of grammar and thus perceptions of their

linguistic expertise and unfamiliarity with the local teaching context in the foreign language contexts (Arva & Medgyes, 2000). Widdowson (1994) further argued that the approaches they advocate and use, though effective in some second language contexts, may not necessarily be best suited for foreign language contexts. Though acknowledging the value of native speakers as useful models in language teaching, Cook (1999) argued that native speakers are sometimes unaware of the formal aspects of their first acquired language and can be inappropriate and unqualified for the L2 teaching context as a result.

Arva and Medgyes (2000), though supportive of non-native teachers, propose that natives and non-natives are “two different species” and that they differ in terms of language proficiency and teaching behaviour. Not to belittle this issue as one of semantics, the power and influence associated with terms used as part of the native vs. non-native dichotomy and the tone conveyed by the terms native *versus* non-native seem to have had a negative impact on how non-native teachers have been perceived with implications for credibility, identity, and self-concept.

2.2.2 Language Teacher Effectiveness

Native and non-non-native teachers can be effective teachers in their own way and Arva and Medgyes (2000) speak of each being equally good on their own terms. Professional competence, including an appropriate/threshold level of language proficiency, should be the means for selecting teachers rather than birth affiliation. Language proficiency is important and, if applicable, shortcomings as L2 user (Cook, 2003) should be rectified by the non-native teacher as a professional responsibility. However, proficiency, while a key factor in teaching effectiveness, is not the sole factor in determining L2 teaching effectiveness and success. Non-native teachers can be highly effective though a threshold level of proficiency for teaching needs to exist. The purpose and outcomes of courses of study will help to define the range of the acceptable level of proficiency. According to Arva and Medgyes (2000), the proportionate role of variables at play is difficult to determine: language background, ELT qualifications and relevant teaching experience.

The perception that native teachers make good English language teachers lacks a pedagogical foundation. Rather, a lack of teacher training is of concern as this is “the key element” in teacher effectiveness (Soriano, 2004). Teaching credentials - or equivalent evidence of teaching effectiveness and preparation - should be required of all teachers

regardless of language background. Among the qualifications of a good language teacher are: target language pedagogical training, in-depth understanding of the target language and culture, and knowledge of the SLA process; nativeness is not included (Kamhi-Stein, 1999). Within EFL, Medgyes (1994) cites a teacher's reflective ability as being a more vital prerequisite factor for language teaching success than any other, including language proficiency.⁵ Communicative language teaching and its emphasis on proficiency of the native speaker has led to the following caveat: "There has often been the danger of an automatic extrapolation from competent speaker to competent teacher based on linguistic grounds alone, without taking into consideration the criteria of cultural, social and pedagogic appropriacy" (Seidlhofer, 1996, p. 69). Although competent speaker, native-speaker expertise has been extended to mean competent teacher (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Widdowson, 1994), this has not worked to the benefit of the profession in that the strengths of non-native English speaking teachers have gone unrecognised and teachers lacking sufficient L2 teaching pedagogy background and experience have been favoured and promoted based on linguistic skills alone. A native-non-native continuum configuration has been proposed and favoured by teachers (Liu, 1999, p.175). He continues: "If we perceive all ESL professionals on a NNS-NS continuum, then it is competence and professional growth that will define their professionalism" (Ibid, p. 175).

Given these discussions and repeated calls for shifts in perceptions, a focus on what non-native speakers accomplish pedagogically and linguistically as teachers is in order after briefly considering native-non-native teacher relations and cooperation.

2.2.3 Native and Non-native Teacher Relations and Cooperation

Native and non-native relations have direct implications for the advantages and potential synergy of teacher cooperation (Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Medgyes, 1999). Though qualifications and competencies may vary between these categories, they have much in common and the need to work together. Collaboration between native and non-native language teachers continues to be an area of interest (e.g., Tanaka, 2008). Soriano (2004) emphasises how each can complement the other in teaching and advocates for either. Though he disputes sole reliance on the native speaker as model for learners who are becoming L2 users, Medgyes (1999) recognises their value as linguistic models. Providing

⁵ Medgyes and Kamhi-Stein are acknowledged as very highly proficient non-native English speakers.

means to build a mutually beneficial relationship, based on their respective strengths, is recommended (Gill & Rebrova, 2001). Forms include: collaboration in planning and preparation, team teaching, and giving workshops based on areas of expertise and interest. It has been shown that students who have been team-taught respond very positively (Thomas, 1995). The most frequent existing forms of cooperation in Reves and Medgyes's (1994) study were in-service training courses, workshops, seminars, and conferences. Interestingly, Reves and Medgyes (1994) found that hardly anyone in the study mentioned the possibility of native-non-native cooperation at the school level.

2.3 The Non-native Speaking Teacher: Strengths and Advantages

The value of the non-native teacher, predominantly in English as second or foreign language contexts, is well documented and many non-native teachers have voiced their perspectives as a non-native speaker and teacher (Amin, 1999; Liu, 1999; Medgyes, 1999; Soriano, 2004; Thomas, 1999). Non-native teachers bring a number of potential pedagogical and linguistic strengths and qualities to the profession and classroom, as noted in the literature (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Bebawi, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 2003; Jenkins, 1998; Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Kramsch and Lam, 1999; Maum, 2002; Medgyes, 1992; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Seidlhofer, 1996; Sheorey, 1986; Tang, 1997; Thomas, 1999; Widdowson, 1992).

Deeper insight into and better metacognitive knowledge of grammar was perceived to be the strongest area for and by non-native teachers themselves in two related studies (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Native English teachers acknowledged this perception and the efficiency with which non-natives were able to communicate grammatical concepts (Arva & Medgyes, 2000). In Reves and Medgyes' (1994) study, grammar was found to be non-native English teacher's favourite area of teaching. This metacognitive knowledge means that non-native English teachers teach about the language (Reves & Medgyes 1994). They can provide learners with more information about the target language given their vast knowledge of how it works which may make them "better informants" than native teachers (Medgyes, 1992).

2.3.1 Non-native Teacher as Bilingual/Multilingual Role Model

Non-native teachers provide a model and example of a proficient L2 user in action in the classroom and if they share the students' L1 this would include a bilingual model as well

(Cook, 2003). Medgyes (1992) argues that only non-natives can serve as imitable models of the successful learner and unlike native teachers who are not learner role models. The non-native teachers' deliberate efforts to improve their linguistic proficiency (e.g., Arva & Medgyes' (2000) study) exemplify their dedication and commitment to language and learning.

A common L2 experience is a key advantage and source of strength because a non-native teacher has had the experience of language learner of "coming to terms" with the target language as an L2 (Widdowson, 1992), and has travelled the same path as their students (Seidlhofer, 1996; Tang, 1997; Cook, 2003, 2005). Phillipson (1992) suggests that minimal requirements for language teachers include success in learning and using a second or foreign language and familiarity with learners' language and culture. Thomas (1999) speaks of the advantage that non-native teachers bring in having experienced the high stakes of acquiring the target language (English) in stating: "Having been there, we cannot only empathize with the students but share our stories as well" (p.12). Canagarajah (1999) asserts that non-natives, because of their second language learning experience, prove to be more responsive and sensitive to their students' linguistic, affective and academic needs and this experience helps foster a high level of metalinguistic awareness with resulting advantages for the implementation of teaching strategies.

Cook (2003, 2005) extols the positive characteristics of multicompetent language users who proficiently speak more than one language and may have linguistic and cognitive advantages over monolingual native speakers. Linguistically, Cook (2003, 2005) presents multicompetent language users as using the L1 when having vocabulary gaps in L2, switching languages more efficiently (than L1 users), more readily understanding direct translations, and switching between L1- L2 according to context. Cognitively, Cook argues that they are usually more interested in language and culture, more readily recognize cultural attitudes and customs, are more aware of grammatical properties of L1 and L2, are often better readers, and possess creativity and reasoning advantages. Based on their traits, he advocates for the inclusion and acceptance of these users in arguing that they are effective models for the language learning context.

2.3.2 Other Strengths and Advantages

Knowledge and awareness of the needs and goals of local students including language examinations and educational goals that the students were working towards (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Tang, 1997) has also been found to be a highly significant attribute of many non-native language teachers. Therefore, non-native teachers are able to use this knowledge in planning and implementing teaching that is arguably more relevant. Tang (1997) speaks of the bridging role that non-native teachers are able to play between authority figures and students given their familiarity with the local environment. A sense of ownership, bordering on protectionism, could be detected in Arva and Medgyes (2000) with non-native teachers insisting that natives ought not take responsibility for a group until they were aware of the needs of Hungarian students and knowledgeable about language examination requirements. Tarnopolsky (2000) argues that some non-native teachers may have an advantage in that sharing students' L1 and culture renders them better prepared to cope with problems that arise from L1-L2 and first and second culture (C1-C2) differences. Sharing the L1 and C1 of learners has been argued to be a key advantage in learning contexts (Widdowson, 1994; Cook, 2003).

Competence in students' L1 and perceptions of student L2 needs and communication are indicated as positive non-native teacher traits in terms of establishing positive student rapport (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Medgyes, 1992; Tang, 1997). Using the L1 for class management and explaining more abstract concepts particularly with beginning students has also been noted (Gill & Rebrova, 2001). In addition, non-native teachers can recognise and are more likely to understand forms of interlanguage which others may dismiss as not target-like or not recognise (Bennett, 1994; Seidlhofer, 1996).

2.4 Issues and Challenges of Non-Native Teachers

Concerns and challenges faced by the non-native teacher stem predominantly from the common strand of linguistic competence (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Thomas, 1999; Amin, 1997, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1996). Many scholars have explored various non-native teacher issues in English as a second and foreign language context (Benke and Medgyes 2005; Cots and Diaz, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra 2005; Liu 2005; McNeill, 2005; Rajagopalan 2005).

According to non-native teachers, their challenges include improving their linguistic command and problems with almost every aspect of competence as well as non-spontaneity in using the language as a learnt language, and out of date usage, resulting in textbook-like language in some cases. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and colloquial expressions were especially seen to be problem areas by some non-native teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000). The teaching of vocabulary, including idioms and appropriacy, was the most common area of difficulty for them (Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Speaking skills and fluency were also frequently defined as areas of difficulty followed by pronunciation (Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Concerns about passing mistakes and inappropriate usage to their students were expressed by teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). From their awareness of linguistic limitations, self-perception and self-image may be poorer with further effects on language performance leading to further perception of inferiority (Reves & Medgyes, 1994).

Thomas (1999) and others depict some non-native teacher experiences to show how the “native speaker fallacy” has deflated their professional credibility at various levels both in and outside the classroom. Of the effects of these challenges Thomas (1999) states: “This makes me apologetic, nervous about my ability to succeed and even lead to a kind of paranoia born of experience (p.9). She also states: “This lack of confidence is one of the unfortunate results of these challenges to credibility. The same type of uncertainty follows me as I encounter some of my native speaker colleagues and as I enter every class. It is my baggage” (p.10). Issues of credibility and confidence seem to be common in both EFL and ESL contexts though the extent and nature of these varies. Based on the review of the literature, EFL teachers working in their ‘home’ environment, though they may be typecast with respect to their characteristic features, still command a sense of pedagogical credibility and authority though in linguistic performance (communicatively) they are acknowledged as non-native to varying degrees. However, ESL teachers in majority language environments seem to have to deal with both linguistic and pedagogical challenges to their credibility. Amin (1997) speaks of incessantly being challenged on English grammar rules by students and the difficulty for minority teachers to negotiate a teacher identity. On the issue of self-perception of proficiency and based on his work with the native-non-native issue in ten countries, Medgyes concluded that “...we suffer from an inferiority complex caused by

glaring defects in our knowledge of English. We are in constant distress as we realize how little we know about the language we are supposed to teach” (Medgyes, 1994).

Visible non-native teachers often have an additional barrier to acceptance (Amin, 1997, 1999; Thomas 1999). Thomas and Amin discuss how they and other non-native English teachers are judged negatively by students and colleagues whether based on their speech, and physical appearance (Amin 1997). Amin (1997) speaks of how the participants in her study “...felt disempowered by their students’ stereotype of an authentic ESL teacher” (p. 580). Other non-native teachers in other contexts find it challenging to be considered for employment. For example, the non-native Mandarin teacher below comments on how being a visible non-native teacher impedes her search for a Mandarin teaching position despite her qualifications.

I know that in Japan, schools prefer not to hire English teachers who are of East Asian ancestry, even if they were born and raised in the U.S.A., because they "look non-native." I suppose that looking Chinese would be an advantage in getting hired as a Chinese teacher. However, having learned Chinese as a teenager in China, my pronunciation is indistinguishable from a native on the telephone. Not seeing my face, the listener is sure I'm a native Chinese (Blog, 2008).⁶

2.5 Language Use in the Modern Language Classroom

Given the language use of non-native language teachers was a key focus of this study, the research concerning language practices in the classroom is presented.

2.5.1 The L1-L2 Issue

The issue of L1 vs. L2 use in the modern language classroom has been an ongoing, relevant one in the literature with perspectives on L1 vs. L2 use in the classroom ranging from those promoting sole target language use to those advocating for the use of the L1 in target language teaching and learning (Atkinson, 1993; Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Castellotti, 1997; Chambers, F, 1991; Chambers, G., 1992; Cook, 2001; Duff, & Polio, 1990; Franklin, 1990; Macaro, 2001; Turnbull, 2001; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002; Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009; Wells, 1998).

Ongoing interest and debate in the issue of language use is testimony to its relevance in modern language education (Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009). This interest is reflective

⁶ Blog Re: Native vs. Non-Native Mandarin Teachers!! Retrieved March 13, 2008 from <http://www.chinese-forums.com/showthread.php?t=17296&page=2>.

of the conflict and struggle that continue to exist on many levels: the inner struggle resulting in some teachers experiencing feelings of self-guilt; the conflict and tension amongst teacher and researcher colleagues having diverse positions on this issue; and varying policy guidelines with respect to language use from modern language to immersion and bilingual programs. For non-native teachers, there is the added belief and complication that their choices and practices with respect to L1-L2 use are attributed to proficiency and sense of ownership of the target language.

L1-L2 practice varies considerably even amongst teachers who agree that maximising L2 use is optimal for students' language acquisition. However, practice also varies due to diverse perspectives of the theoretical basis for L1-L2 (i.e. code switching as a tool versus maximum exposure to L2 with 'no L1'). There seems to be agreement, however, that L2 use is important, yet disagreement exists over how to go about using the L1 and L2 in the classroom and to what degree. Sole use of the L2 is a principle promoted by methodologies particularly the communicative approach and some modern language program contexts such as French immersion in Canada, though, despite this, classroom practice reveals the use of L1. Some have stressed the need for maximum L2 exposure (Duff & Polio, 1990; Polio & Duff, 1994) while others suggest there is a useful place for the selective use of the L1 (Cook, 2001; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002).

As well, the proposition that, rather than "potential native speaker," students are emerging bilingual or multilingual individuals (Castellotti, 1997; Causa, 1996; Cook, 2001; Kramersch, 1997; MLA, 2007; Py, 1997) impacts further discussions on L1-L2 use. More recently, translingual and transcultural competence has been presented as a goal that "places value on the ability to operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, pp.3-4). Adding the aspect of the non-native teacher here as a bilingual or multilingual model by default, provides further rationale for the use of the L1 as a tool. As well, with a bilingual or multilingual goal to which to aspire, it is argued that immersion and bilingual programs which have been considered somewhat external to the L1-L2 debate now be included (Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain, 2009, p.16).

The literature shows that "...there seems to be a lack of awareness on the part of teachers as to how, when and the extent to which they actually use English in the classroom" and it has been suggested that although L1-L2 use may be studied, affective factors play a

role in language teaching practice (Polio & Duff, 1994, p. 320).⁷ It can be argued that the lack of an objective day to day measure of L1-L2 use for purposes of reflection makes it difficult, if not impossible, for teachers to be cognizant of their actual levels of L1-L2 use.

2.5.2 Perspectives on Target Language Use

Earlier research and teaching in the 1960's and 1970's supported more or less exclusive teacher use of the target language in L2 programs (Turnbull, 1999a and others) and this use has been directly correlated to positive student outcomes and has provided a persuasive rationale for maximising L2 use by the teacher (Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Researchers recognized that in many cases the teacher and target language class were the predominant or only source of exposure to the L2. For example, it has been argued that "...the potential value of instructional access to the L2 increases by default (Chaudron, 1988, p. 4).

Diversity in perspective is also found with respect to the role of the L2 as a subject of study versus simultaneously being both the means and ends in a meaningful context. Researchers such as Brooks (1993) assert that L2 educators need to understand that "...language is used to teach language" (p. 234) in contrast to the L2 being an object to be looked at, talked about, and studied. Therefore, besides pedagogical considerations, teachers' view of L2 will certainly affect how they approach and use it to interact and work with students. A noteworthy view of the potential effect of teacher L2 use is one that students may not be aware of their entitlement to and potential benefit from greater L2 exposure from their socialisation as learners (Polio & Duff, 1994). However, research on language use has more recently been informed by identity and multiliteracies and has emphasised validating linguistic resources and identities (i.e. the L1 and learners' background knowledge) in the classroom (e.g., Cummins, 2007).

2.5.3 Perspectives on L1 Use

The role and use of the L1 in the classroom continues to generate much discussion in the literature (see studies reviewed in Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). The use of students' L1 in target language instruction is presented as advantageous and beneficial (Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007; Medgyes, 1992, 1999; Soriano, 2004). This has included

⁷ One teacher (of language M) with the lowest amount of L2 use (10%, Duff & Polio, 1990) underestimated his use of L1 by 35% in that he perceived his L2 to be 45% and English 55% when in fact these were 10% and 90% respectively).

suggestions that the L1 has a role to play in enhancing or ensuring accurate student input and making input comprehensible (Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie, 2002; Castellotti, 1997). The use of the L1 as a tool for student expression is cited (G. Chambers, 1992; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002) including the concern that: “To deny pupils the opportunity to express ideas and ask questions in the mother tongue could lead eventually to the silence of non-participation” (G. Chambers, 1992, p.67). Medgyes (1992, 1999) elaborates on the advantages of student L1 use with his reference to L1 use as an EFL advantage, in the sense of teachers and students having a shared (non-target language) language, Hungarian in his context.

Code switching is presented as a ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ use of language both within and outside the classroom that can be considered a strategy, rather than be discouraged, particularly given that learners are emerging bilingual or multilingual individuals (Castellotti, 1997; Causa, 1996; Cook, 2001; Kramsch, 1997; MLA, 2007; Py, 1997), just as teachers are in many cases (e.g., Soriano, 2004).⁸ Reflective of Cook’s (1999, 2003) concept of the multi-competent user, Soriano (2004) recounts being able to “easily switch from one language to another”. As well, he attributes his high level of proficiency in both Spanish and English as enabling him to use students’ L1, English, for explanations such as with respect to Spanish grammar.

Cummins (2007) contributes to the discussion on classroom L1-L2 use by questioning the use of monolingual instructional strategies in the classroom to the exclusion of students’ other language(s). He argues that there is “no empirical justification for any absolute exclusion of students’ L1 from TL instruction” and that monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms need to be critically rethought (p. 227). He offers three theoretical perspectives to further his argument; these are: engaging prior understandings, interdependence across languages, and multilingualism as a qualitatively different system from monolingualism (Cummins, 2007). He asserts that “students’ L1 is not the enemy in promoting high levels of L2 proficiency; rather, when students’ L1 is invoked as a cognitive and linguistic resource through bilingual instructional strategies, it can function as a stepping stone to scaffold more accomplished performance in the L2” (Cummins, p. 238). The

⁸ Castellotti (1997) presents the view of code switching as a potentially effective teaching strategy though emphasises that conscious decisions about the deliberate and planned use of L1 need to be made.

arguments presented in Cummins' (2007) reflection illustrate the need to consider the pedagogical implications of the reality and goal of students as emergent multilingual individuals with implications for teachers' having a prerequisite range of linguistic and cross-cultural knowledge particularly when not sharing a common L1 with students.

In terms of teacher L1 use, the Polio and Duff (1994) study found that vocabulary for classroom administrative purposes was cited as the most common use of students' L1, English, to ensure that important information was communicated and to capture students' attention. As well, all teachers made use of English to some extent to help explain grammar concepts and Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) found that contrasting L1 and L2 forms was a strategic use of the L1. Teachers in Polio and Duff's study also viewed the use of English for class management and discipline as efficient and useful to maintain classroom order. In the Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) study, managing the class was also indicated as a use of the L1. Building rapport, including showing concern or empathy and making jokes, were instances of L1 use as well (Polio & Duff, 1994). Instructional time spent helping teachers with their English was the case in three of the six classes in the Polio and Duff study (1994). Teachers attempted to use vocabulary at their students' level or would provide English translation for L2 vocabulary believed to be unknown to students (Polio & Duff, 1994). The Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie study (2002) found that the translation of L2 words into the L1 was a strategic use of the L1. To aid a lack of student comprehension, core French teachers' use of the L1 in the form of translation was observed in varying degrees (Turnbull, 1999a&b).

2.5.4 Factors Influencing Classroom L1-L2 Use

Various factors are outlined as influencing the amount and balance of L1-L2 use. Teacher training pedagogy and education (Duff & Polio, 1990), including training in and exposure to the complex skills needed to interact in the L2 (Atkinson, 1993), and particularly doing so *in the target language itself* to achieve professional competence in the L2 and the sense of classrooms as "domains" of target language use (Hébert, 1987). Teacher proficiency and fluency, particularly as perceived by teachers themselves, is seen by some educators and researchers as resulting in increased target language use (Turnbull, 1999b) with the related factor of low levels of L2 comfort and confidence resulting in lower levels of L2 use (Chambers, 1991; Franklin, 1990). Though L2 teaching experience was found to be

unrelated to L1-L2 use (Duff and Polio, 1990), discussion in Polio and Duff (1994) cites lack of teacher experience or awareness of strategies as possible reasons why teachers deal with student lack of comprehension in the L2 by reverting to the L1.

Teacher beliefs, values, and attitudes about L1- L2 use were found to play a role in guiding classroom L1-L2 decisions and are discussed in the literature (Duff & Polio, 1990; Atkinson, 1993; Franklin, 1990, Macaro, 1997).⁹ The belief that learners need to have the language explained to them before it can be learned or understood (Lee, 1987), was noted as leading to a teacher overreliance on the L1. Another study found that though a majority of teachers viewed use of the target language as an important part of a program, most reported “that it was impossible and undesirable to use the target language exclusively with all but the most motivated classes”(Macaro, 1997).

Policy and guidelines is also shared as a variable that may still play a role in the amount of L1-L2 use (Duff & Polio, 1990; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002). Factors of uniform department policy favouring the ‘immersion’ (no English) approach and shared practices could have contributed to the quantity of L1 being low with a narrow variation of L1 use and their findings support Duff and Polio’s (1990) conclusions concerning variables affecting the variability of L1 use. Similarly, within Duff and Polio’s study, teachers in three departments instructed to use ‘no English’ found that this significantly impacted the decision to use the L2¹⁰; those encouraged to use the target language as much as possible had a wide range of L2 use (i.e. 33-96%, p. 157). It can, therefore, be argued that in the absence of such directional guidelines, teachers decide the focus/impetus and priorities of L1-L2 use.

As well, language use policy external to teachers’ immediate department can have an effect on teacher L2 use (Macaro & Erler, 1998). In the context of this study, provincial Integrated Resource Package (IRP) curricular expectations outlined in Chapter 4 with respect to target language use for virtually all target languages impacting secondary level teacher-participants convey the need to use (and perform) in the target language rather than study it as well as the supporting role of grammar to facilitate communication.

⁹ For example, the belief of one teacher “Language I) that the foreign language class is unlike the second language one in the sense that students lack sufficient linguistic and cultural exposure to the L2, influenced his L1-L2 decision-making and he believed that a lack of student L2 comprehension would result if he exclusively spoke the L2 (Duff & Polio, 1990).

¹⁰ It is noteworthy to this study that these teachers taught Western European target languages.

The factor of meeting curriculum objectives and covering content on a timely basis via the L1 is raised in the literature as a perceived obstacle to maximum L2 use in the classroom (Calman, 1988; F. Chambers, 1991; Duff & Polio, 1990; Gearon, 1997). Polio and Duff (1994) suggest that in addition to the techniques recommended in their 1990 study, there may be the need for teachers to discuss the quantity of material expected to be covered and student evaluation with supervisors. The pattern of the majority of teachers using more English (L1) in their classes than the curriculum guidelines proposed (Calman, 1988 ; Calman & Daniel, 1998) is believed to be driven in part by the practice of reverting to L1 to cover course objectives in a limited amount of time. Teachers reported that the use of the L1 enabled them to cover the required curriculum faster (Gearon, 1997). F. Chambers (1991) reports teachers' perspective on the need for efficiency and saving time and being understood by all students has resulted in L1 use for class communication.

According to Duff and Polio (1990), language type is a variable that plays a role in the amount of L1-L2 use and the data reveal consistent patterns. From the thirteen L2 teachers interviewed, six listed English/L2 differences as a factor influencing the quantity of L2 used. The teachers were generally found to be reluctant to teach grammar in the L2, particularly in cases of those languages lacking cognates in the L1 and perceived as being most unlike English (Polio & Duff, 1994). Duff and Polio (1990) observed that "several of the languages falling in the bottom half of the amount of L2 use have writing systems different from English" (p.161). Yet for all the patterns noted, two teachers, teaching non-Indo-European linguistically related L2s, used drastically different amounts of L2 (94% versus 10%), indicating there were other factors at play in L1-L1 use (Duff & Polio, 1990, p.161). Meeting curriculum guidelines in learning contexts where the L1-L2 are of diverse language families was also noted in the Duff and Li (2004) study. The Mandarin teacher of focus in their study used the students' L1 to 'get through' the course program in the students L1, English. Duff and Li (2004) call for more classroom research in non-European language courses to determine if other studies' findings in European language contexts are applicable to non-European language classrooms.

2.6 Other Non-native Language Teacher Voices and Language Practices

Acknowledging the voices and experiences of non-native language teachers has been addressed by several scholars (including Braine, 1999; Llurda, 2005; Medgyes, 1999). As

indicated, adding to this research by focusing on the diversity of teachers of commonly and less commonly taught modern languages is in order.

Understanding teachers' beliefs and practices better with respect to language use practices will continue the discussion about the role and use of the L1. Although Spanish teacher language practices have been studied in the U.S. (e.g., Fraga-Canadas, 2008) and those of French in Canada (e.g., Turnbull, 1999a&b), other than Polio and Duff's (1994) study of L1-L2 use of various language teachers, the research on language practices has mainly focused on English language teachers. Consequently, there is a lack of wider representation of other teachers' experiences and perspectives. This study attempts to address this gap in the literature and further explores the language practices, choices, and challenges of non-native teachers of languages *other than English including those in non-European language teaching contexts*.

As well, investigating teacher language practices in Asian languages is of interest, given the growing interest in these languages and the relative higher proportion of heritage language learners enrolled. Duff and Li (2004) have called for more research into non-European language classrooms and this study contributes to the discussion surrounding the teaching of non-European languages in terms of language use practices and non-native teacher experiences. Studying the reported experiences of non-native teachers in Asian language classrooms also addresses the issues of visible non-native speakers such as those associated with teaching the relatively higher proportion of heritage language learners enrolled.

2.7 Summary

The native-non-native dichotomy as well as language terms used to refer to teachers teaching their L2 or L3 is relevant as these form part of the broader ideological context and have shaped perceptions with implications for teachers' credibility and professional identity. Language teaching models as goals in language education were surveyed and the bilingual/multilingual model was discussed in terms of its impact on language use, that is further acknowledgement of the role of the L1 in teaching and learning. In addition to bilingualism or multilingualism, other non-native teacher strengths and advantages were outlined as were some of the major issues and challenges they face. Perspectives on language use in the modern language classroom from the literature, specifically the L1-L2

issue, were presented as were the main factors influencing classroom L1-L2 use. This study was positioned as one with the objective of contributing to the discussion and voices of non-native teacher experiences and their language practices.

Chapter 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology for this study, including study design, data collection and analysis methods, are outlined. A general profile of all participating teachers and an introductory overview of the four focal participants are then presented. Finally, criteria for the selection of, the 22 as well as the 4, focal participants are specified.

3.2 Study Design and Method

This study qualitatively explored the teaching and linguistic experiences of 22 non-native speaking modern language teachers but focussed primarily on the experiences of four focal participants representing different target languages, both European and East Asian. All participants were asked to share their professional and linguistic experiences as non-native speakers of the modern language they teach. Recruitment began in January 2004, following thesis proposal and ethical review approval. Data was collected using qualitative research methods consisting primarily of semi-structured interviews with the teachers. In addition, a background questionnaire was used to obtain a profile concerning their linguistic and pedagogical practices. The following overarching research question was investigated:

What are the experiences, perspectives, and challenges of non-native speaking modern language teachers of Asian and European languages (other than English), and what is their unique contribution, as non-natives, to modern language teaching, according to them?

Participants' perspectives on language use (including choices and challenges) and the 'native speaker' were also investigated as outlined earlier as part of the more specific research questions in chapter 1.

Addressing these questions through this study provides increased representation and recognition for non-native modern language teachers, who, with the exception perhaps of teachers of English as a second or foreign language, are underrepresented in educational research.

Questions used for the interviews are outlined in Appendix A. Though handwritten notes were taken, interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed to allow for detailed reflection, analysis, and verification of data accuracy. Transcription conventions helped to convey non-verbal aspects of the digitally-recorded interviews into textual form

(Appendix B). Data from these sources were subsequently analysed qualitatively for recurring themes and patterns. Follow-up questions, if necessary, were conducted by e-mail or telephone. Given the varied educational contexts and diversity of participants, as well as in-depth questions required further reflection, some interviews were conducted on more than one occasion.

Data from these sources were analysed participant by participant and then used in the cross-case analysis before findings were reported and presented. Interviews took place at mutually agreed upon locations including: participants' teaching sites or offices, community libraries, or in local university classrooms.

3.3 Recruitment

Modern language teachers in local university modern language departments and graduate programs, and members of modern language professional associations such as The British Columbia Association of Teachers of Modern Languages (BCATML) and Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT) were recruited and presented with the opportunity to participate. A sample of teacher-participants was recruited through a brief presentation of the study by the researcher in modern language education-related graduate courses with permission of the course instructor. Advertisements were placed in publications of the BCATML and CASLT as well as on professional association list serves. Posters were placed in modern language departments as well as in Faculty of Education departments. At the conclusion of their first interview, each participant was offered a gift certificate of \$15 to a local store as a token of appreciation for their participation and contribution.

3.4 Methodological Limitations

Although the methodology used meets the core research objective of voicing participants' perspectives as non-native teachers of languages other than English, some methodological issues arose. This study relied mainly on interactive interviews and as such did not include a triangulation of methods, such as observation of their teaching or interviews with their students and colleagues about their perspectives. In addition, there were methodological considerations associated with self-report and the nature of interview research itself which could encourage interviewees to state information that would put them in a more favourable light or align with what they perceived to be the interviewer's own philosophy of teaching. Given the exploratory and comparative nature of this study and

carefully designed interview questions, the in-depth, qualitative data generated helps offset these concerns. However it is acknowledged that the perspectives and practices reported were in a particular interview context and were not verified by observation. In addition, the diversity and quantity of target languages and participants helped to generate patterns in terms of reported beliefs, experiences, and practices with respect to L1-L2 use and their histories as non-native modern language teachers. Reflections on the interview process and related research (e.g., Talmy, 2010) are discussed in the concluding chapter.

As well, participants' perception of question clarity is always a potential concern, which was addressed by piloting the interview questions with four non-native language teachers who did not participate in this study and with whom I had had no prior professional colleague relationship. In some cases of ambiguity, questions were revised.

3.5 Procedures

3.5.1 Informed Consent

The researcher requested written consent from participants through a formal consent letter after describing the study (Appendix C). As a competent, professional adult, each participant provided consent on her/his own behalf and had at least 24 hours before their interview to consider their participation in this study, following UBC's guidelines for ethical research. Participants' participation was entirely voluntary and they were given the option of withdrawal without penalty.

3.5.2 Data Collection and Storage

Interviews were audio-recorded for later transcription and notes were taken. Data from the questionnaire forms were collated into tables and matrices for analysis. As well, curriculum documents relevant to the case contexts were reviewed prior to and during data collection and analysis.

3.5.3 Instruments

Participants' modern language teaching and learning experiences, perspectives, and challenges as well as teaching and linguistic backgrounds were sought and ascertained through in-depth interviews and a questionnaire. A description of these instruments follows.

3.5.3.1 Background Questionnaire

This consists of a series of largely close-ended questions, designed by the researcher to obtain a profile of participants' linguistic and teaching experiences (Appendix D). It was

administered at the beginning of the study with the purpose of assisting the researcher in framing interview responses and later thematic analysis. The questionnaire required about 10-15 minutes of participants' time and they were asked to respond to it after giving their consent for participation, though prior to their interview.

3.5.3.2 In-depth Interview

The interview relationship was “a research partnership between the interviewer and the respondent” (Weiss, 1994, p.65) and a “collaboration” (p.78). I shared that my role was that of peer and guest with a modern language learning and teaching background who wished to listen to that which participants wished to share. Simultaneously, my role as an anonymous outsider encouraged participants to voice their experiences and perspectives.

The set of interview questions encouraged participants to share and discuss their experiences, perspectives, and challenges as non-native teachers with the goal of documenting these for analysis. It was orally administered and required approximately 1.5 to 2.5 hours. Some of its most important aspects were contained in questions 3, 13 and 14 which encouraged participants to express and reflect on factors related to their effectiveness and success in modern language teaching (Appendix A). Participants were briefed about the interview questions prior to their interview, during which time any questions or concerns about the interview were addressed. To maintain anonymity, at the conclusion of the interview, participants were asked to select a pseudonym for themselves.

3.5.4 Data Analysis

Given that this was a multi-case qualitative study related to diverse linguistic and instructional contexts, careful contextualiation (Duff, 2008) and cross-case analysis (Stake, 2006) were guiding principles in analysing the data. Miles and Huberman's (1994) book on qualitative data analysis as well as Weiss' (1994) and Seidman's (1998) work concerning interviews were instrumental in designing and carrying out the procedures described below.

Though my initial interest was primarily related to the L1-L2 issue and native versus non-native language teacher status, other significant related secondary themes emerged. Drawing largely from Seidman's work (1998), the procedures below illustrate how themes came to be defined.

3.5.4.1 Data Organisation

Transcribing the data and examining the questionnaire results for each of the 22 cases in this study involved revisiting and reflecting on each participant's data multiple times in an iterative fashion. Questionnaire data was summarised and collated into tables of data and used to supplement the profile of each participant and construct tables of linguistic and contextual data.

3.5.4.2 Data Immersion and Reduction

Following an initial reading and review of interview transcripts, notes of significant interview highlights were made alongside highlighted sections based on the audio recording and checking of the transcript. Significant passages were highlighted during the second reading of the transcript based on their relevance to the research questions. In what Seidman (1998) describes as the winnowing process, the data were reduced by marking data chunks/passages of interest and significance based on the research questions and researcher judgment. Criteria for winnowing and sorting the data were as follows: a connection to the research question(s), significance to the native-non-native debate, and frequency to some extent.

3.5.4.3 Coding/Categorising Passages

Highlighted passages/excerpts were labelled or coded and a preliminary list of codes emerged. A notation system was established to enable the researcher to locate or trace each passage to the original transcript. For example, a passage marked B8AI where B8 represented binder eight of the original transcript, A language type (Asian or European), and I the code (identity). The marked passages were then categorized or classified by participant in chronological page order into file excerpts in code-labelled binders (with some excerpts being filed into more than one binder). Page numbers and participant pseudonym on each page from the original transcript were maintained. An unmarked hard copy of the original was also kept and organised into files by participant. Initially, codes were based on key concepts from the research question though others, based on issues that emerged from the interviews, were added. After reviewing all transcripts file by file, the question of what each category defined or illustrated in relation to the research questions was addressed to refine the name of each file, if necessary (files were named and based on the categories at this stage e.g., L1-L2 Beliefs, L2 Use-Students, Impact, Pronunciation). These categories were

recorded in the research log. Categories for coding and an example of a coded page transcript are provided in Appendix E.

3.5.4.4 Defining the Themes

The categories were studied for thematic connections within and among them (Seidman, 1998). How categories intersected or were interrelated was reflected upon and attempts were made to account for the connections. At this point new categories were constructed or former ones renamed. These were then listed by participant to provide an overview of significant issues per case. After reviewing the categories individually and by participant, preliminary themes were defined. Some themes, such as challenges and issues in the teaching of culture as a non-native teacher, were apparent from the category names and category files. Other themes arose based on concepts across categories. The themes at this point are outlined below in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Preliminary Themes

Theme 1	L1 versus L2 use in the classroom: Policy, Practices, Values, Beliefs, and Rationale
Theme 2	Non-native Teacher Contributions
Theme 3	'Legitimacy' and Ownership of the Language
Theme 4	Affiliation and Identity
Theme 5	Native Speaker: Linguistic and Cultural Resource and Model versus Authority and Judge/Gatekeeper
Theme 6	Addressing Culture
Theme 7	Language Use: Maintenance/Improvement versus Fossilisation
Theme 8	Challenges to and Questioning of Proficiency and Qualifications
Theme 9	Is There a Linguistic 'Glass Ceiling' for Non-native Teachers in Terms of Levels Taught and Opportunities, and Access to the Language?
Theme 10	Teaching Heritage and Native including ESL Learners versus 'True Beginners'
Theme 11	Asian and European Language Contexts

Appendix F outlines the categories that were relevant for each of the above themes.

3.5.4.5 Composing Profiles and Analysing Individual (Focal) Cases

The specific criteria for selecting the four focal participants in this study are outlined below in the section on Participants. Amongst others, one of these criteria was that based on discussions during interviews, cases needed to be highly relevant to the research problem and question with the potential for "thick" description. This criterion proved challenging, however, as it yielded more than four potential focal participants. To help resolve this, Stake's (2006) suggested methodology which involves ratings was used to establish the

prominence of each cross-case theme and as one indication of a case's relevance (Appendix G). The criteria together with this system of ratings resulted in selecting the four focal participants for individual case study: Anne, Kathleen, Nancy and KD.

As part of the groundwork in analysing and presenting each individual focal case, a profile was composed for each participant using their original words. Seidman's (1998) steps in crafting a profile provided guidance here. Passages relevant to the research yet which highlighted key issues in participants' linguistic and teaching context were chosen for the profiles.

These profiles and the research questions were used to analyse each focal case. As well, Duff's (2008) work on case studies in applied linguistics and Duff and Uchida's (1997) case study in EFL classrooms were key references in analyzing individual cases in this study. Each case's context was considered. The categories and preliminary themes were revisited and some were chosen as areas of emphasis for the focal cases. In addition to language practices and use, these areas were: perspectives on the native speaker, pedagogy and practice (including the role of grammar), teaching culture (in terms of content and language use), and challenges relating to teaching and using the language such as incorporating culture and locating appropriate language learning opportunities, amongst many others.

3.5.4.6 Cross-case Analysis

A cross-case analysis emphasising the focal cases, though noting relevant and significant examples and counter-examples from other 18 cases, was carried out for this study. The utility of the cases for further developing each theme was assessed (Stake, 2006) (Appendix H). This strategy has been used effectively in other theses in applied linguistics (e.g., Kouritzen, 1999) providing a greater sense of representativeness or typicality of the focal cases and issues that emerged or, rather, the uniqueness of certain aspects of their reported experiences, especially considering the selection criteria, reported on in the following section.

Steps taken to ensure the credibility of data analysis included: spending time with the data, re-reading transcripts, reflecting on the research questions, and keeping a research journal of current categories, themes, and reflections.

3.6 The Participants

3.6.1 Participants in the Larger Study

A purposive sampling method (seeking intensity and maximum variety) was employed for this study. The criteria for recruiting the sample of participants for this study consisted of the following:

- Order and means of target language acquisition: language taught was participant's second or later acquired language (L2+), and was not acquired in a bilingual/multilingual home context
- Target language: *non-English*
- Type of language: an equal number of European and Asian modern languages with a variety of languages within each group
- Target language teaching experience: at least two years
- Context: various teaching environments: elementary/secondary and university/college
- Levels taught: various (beginning, intermediate, and advanced)
- Gender: female and male

An equal number of Asian and European language teachers were recruited to represent and reflect the diversity of languages taught as well as to take into account the factor of language family or type in shaping teaching and learning experience. Furthermore, diversity within the Asian and European language categories was sought so that data would reflect perspectives across various language teaching contexts rather just privileging one. A minimum amount of teaching experience was specified so that participants would have enough modern language teaching experience on which to draw and share in the interviews. Diversity of teaching contexts and levels was sought to generate a diverse sample and data not tied to any one particular context. The participation of female and male teacher-participants was sought in the spirit of diversifying the sample of participants involved in modern language education. As well, involving both was done with the goal of yielding a broader range of perspectives on teaching the language and culture, potentially including those relating to gender issues and language modelling.

A general profile of participants is provided here and the four focal case participants are introduced briefly and then presented individually in Chapters 5 to 8. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below provide profiles of participants for European and Asian languages respectively.

Table 3.2: Profile of Participants – European Languages

Participant (gender)	Target Language (TL) taught (experience years)	Age of TL exposure	L1 (first language)	Nationality/ ethnic background	Context and grade level	Level(s) taught
Kathleen (f)	Italian (14)	18	English	American (German & Swedish)	University (100 level)	Beginner
Anne (f)	French (14)	12	English	Canadian	Secondary 9-10	Beginner
Evelyn (f)	French (26)	9	English	Scottish (6 th generation Canadian)	Secondary 9-11	Intermediate
Maria (f)	Spanish (3) French (3)	14, 13	Greek	Greek	Secondary 9-11 Secondary 8	Advanced Beginner
Jerez (f)	Spanish (15) French (15)	13	English	Canadian	Secondary 11-12 Secondary 8-9	Beginner Beginner
Linda (f)	Spanish (10) French (10)	19, 12	English	Canadian half British, half German	Secondary 9-11 Secondary 9-12	Beginner, Beginner & Intermediate
Bernadette (f)	Spanish (10) French (10)	18, 5	English	Canadian	Secondary 9-12 Secondary 8-9	Beginner-Advanced, Beginner
Willa (f)	Spanish (6)	22	English	Canadian	Secondary 10-12	Beginner-Advanced
Hans (m)	German (3)	6	English	British	Secondary 9-12	Beginner-Advanced
Jan (m)	German (4)	13	Polish	Polish	First Year University Courses	Beginner
Pavel (m)	Russian (26)	10	Slovak	Slovak	University All Levels	Beginner- Advanced

Table 3.3: Profile of Participants - Asian Languages

Participant (gender)	TL Taught (years of experience)	Age of First TL Exposure	L1 (first language)	Nationality/ Ethnic Background	Context	Level(s) Taught
Nancy (f)	Mandarin (9)	15	English	Canadian	Secondary 9-12, 11-12 Mandarin	Beginner-Advanced
KD (m)	Korean (14)	19	English	USA Caucasian	University summer Immersion Ages 7-18	Intermediate-Advanced, Various levels
Pedro (m)	Korean (3.5)	19	English	USA/Brazil	University level	Beginner-Intermediate
Laura (f)	Chinese (15)	18	English	British/ Canadian Caucasian	University Level	Beginner-Advanced
Clover (f)	Mandarin (3) Japanese (3)	14 15	Now English, Cantonese	Chinese	Secondary 9-10 Secondary 9-12	Intermediate
Sally (f)	Japanese (10) French (10)	24	English	Canadian (Ukrainian & German)	Elementary 6-7 Elementary level?	Beginner-Intermediate Beginner
Naomi (f)	Japanese (12)	29	English	Ethnic European (Nationality U.S & Canada)	Secondary 9-12	Beginner-Intermediate
Doreen (f)	Japanese (14)	18	English	Canadian (Anglo)	Secondary 10-12	Beginner-Advanced
Kage (f)	Japanese (4)	15	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese	University level Private Tutor	Beginner Beginner/ Intermediate
Erika (f)	Japanese (3)	21	English	Canadian	Secondary 8-9 Secondary 10-12	Beginner Intermediate
Frank (m)	Japanese (5)	30	English	Canadian/ White/ Finnish	Secondary 10 Secondary 11-12	Beginner Intermediate

As reflected in the tables above, participants in this study consisted of 22 modern language teachers residing and teaching in the Lower Mainland of B.C. with four participants teaching outside the Greater Vancouver area. Eleven participants taught a European modern language: French, Spanish, German, Italian, or Russian.¹¹ Eleven other participants taught an Asian modern language consisting of: Japanese, Mandarin, or Korean.¹² Sixteen female and six male participants were part of the larger sample with the total for each gender (16 female and six male) evenly represented amongst the European and Asian languages.

The overall average length of teaching experience for participants was 10.2 years. Amongst European language teachers, teaching experience varied between three and 26 years with an average of 11.9 years. Amongst Asian language teachers, teaching experience varied from 3 to 15 years with an average of 8.4 years.

Seven participants taught in a university context (three European, four Asian) and 14 at the secondary school level (8 European, 6 Asian). One participant (Sally) taught (Japanese) at the elementary level. As reflected in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, participants taught at various levels with the majority of participants (16) involved in teaching at more than one level.

Just over half of the participants (12) taught their third or later acquired language (L3+), reflecting a multilingually diverse sample. The age of first exposure to the target language varied from age 5 to 22 for European and 14 to 29 for Asian language participants. Seven European-L2 and seven Asian-L2 participants began to acquire their target language in their teens. Just one European language participant (Willa) began to acquire the target language in her twenties, whereas as many as four Asian language participants began to do so in their 20s or 30s during this decade and later.¹³

¹¹ Some European language teachers such as Maria, Jerez, Linda, and Bernadette taught two European languages, i.e. French and Spanish, a reportedly common combination. These participants ranged from being bilingual with respect to both languages (e.g. Bernadette), to having some working knowledge of one of the languages taught e.g. Maria. The latter are commonly referred to as generalist teachers in that are asked to teach a modern language outside their training/background to add to their teaching load/placement at a school.

¹² Two Asian language teachers (i.e., Clover and Sally) taught two languages. Clover taught Mandarin and Japanese while Sally taught Japanese and French. Sally taught core French to her own classroom and indicated that she was required to do so as an intermediate teacher at her school.

¹³ One Asian language teacher, Frank, began to acquire Japanese at 30 while in Japan teaching English through the JET program.

Eleven participants identified themselves ethnically as Canadian, two as American, two as Chinese, and one each of European, Greek, British, Polish, and Slovak.¹⁴ Two Asian language participants indicated a dual identity, one through American and Brazilian parentage and the other, by means of becoming a naturalised Canadian after immigrating from the United Kingdom. Five participants reported an L1 other than English which consisted of Greek, Polish, Slovak, or Cantonese. Overall, in relation to English, all participants were native speakers *or* had become English dominant speakers in their daily professional activities. Nevertheless, all participants shared the trait of being non-native speakers of the language(s) they were teaching, a key criterion for participation in this study.

3.6.2 The Focal Participants

Anne (French), Kathleen (Italian), Nancy (Mandarin), and KD (Korean) are the four focal participants selected to highlight the experiences, perspectives, and challenges of language teachers in this study. The criteria used to select them are outlined below. They are briefly introduced here since their experiences with teaching their L2 were so important in selecting them as focal cases. Much more elaboration and analysis of their data is contained in Chapters 5-8).

Anne, a transplanted Manitoban who taught grade 9 and 10 French at a large regional secondary school east of Vancouver, believed she was effective in guiding students in understanding and using French grammar while maximising the use of French socially with students for rapport and modelling the language.

An American of German and Swedish descent who also speaks French and German, Kathleen taught first year university Italian and freelanced as a translator-interpreter (Italian-English). Describing herself as “an Italian at heart” who aims for exclusive use of Italian by the end of her course, Kathleen viewed it as imperative to use the language in teaching and for students to do so as this was how she became engaged with it at college and linguistically progressed in and out of the classroom.

Locally born and raised in Vancouver in an English-speaking family of teachers, Nancy had taught Mandarin for nine years at the secondary level at all levels. Though readily able to teach at various levels, she sometimes reported having to pause and think

¹⁴ Of the 13 who identified themselves as Canadian or American, half included information pertaining to their European heritage.

about or look up certain aspects of Mandarin, particularly concerning orthography, but believed that she possessed ‘good knowledge’ of Mandarin and could relate to most adolescent-students’ challenges in grammatical, orthographic, and other aspects of Mandarin.

Born and raised in the U.S. and an English native speaker, Hong Kildong (KD for short) found most languages he encountered “fairly easy and not that challenging” but reported that Korean, his ninth additional language, was “definitely a challenge” both initially and at the time of the interview (Interview: KD, 04/21/04, p. 19). Given this challenge and his interest in Korean and linguistics, becoming a professor of Korean was the means to being a lifelong learner of the language. KD had taught university-level Korean for 14 years and though he had previously taught beginner first and second year levels, at the time of this study he preferred to teach at the intermediate-advanced levels.¹⁵

These four focal participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- Target language group: an equal number of European (2) and Asian (2) language participant-teachers
- Target language: two different target languages within each group
- Teaching context: two participants from each of the key elementary-secondary and university level contexts
- Case relevance to research problem and question: highly relevant
- Interview data: potential for “thick” description
- Teaching level: a mixture of beginning, intermediate, and advanced level teachers
- Teacher’s self-reported L2 proficiency: various levels
- Length of teaching experience: majority of focal participants with a minimum of five years of language teaching experience with as many as 14 years.
- Gender: at least one male

Diversity was the main criterion in pursuing a balance of perspectives and to reflect the breadth of data across the 22 cases in the larger sample. Choosing two European and two Asian language teachers reflected the two larger categories of target languages in this study: European and East Asian. Aiming for linguistic diversity within each set of languages reflects the diversity of languages taught by teachers in the larger sample within each of the

¹⁵ KD is also involved with Korean within an intensive summer immersion program for learners 7-18 where he acquired Spanish, Russian, and German as a student villager.

European and Asian language sets. The resulting pool of French, Italian, Mandarin, and Korean represents a cross-section of the overall sample and its diversity is reflective of the language teaching and learning opportunities in the Lower Mainland. In terms of each larger set of languages, one commonly and one less commonly taught language was sought. One French participant was selected because of the importance and pervasiveness of this modern language in the school system at all levels, since it is one of Canada's two official languages. A second less commonly taught language (Italian, German, or Russian) was sought, as these too are offered in various Lower Mainland contexts but clearly have a different status and visibility than French. Mandarin was selected based on its popularity which continues to increase, while Korean was selected due to its status as a less commonly taught language though a local language of high interest, representing recent demographic trends (immigration from Korea, especially). Over time, there has been a growing interest in East Asian languages and culture which has been reflected in heightened demand for related programs and courses of study. For example, German, a previous commonly taught language, is offered in fewer contexts, and Mandarin in more. Additional information about the context of modern language education in B.C. is presented in Chapter 4.

In terms of teaching context and course level, one goal was to avoid an emphasis on any one particular teaching context and level hence the criterion of two elementary-secondary and two post-secondary participants while taking into account other criteria.

Based on a review of the interview transcripts and notes, cases that were both highly relevant to the research problem and question(s) and included thick qualitative data were preferred. For example, the *tension between native and non-native speakers* and simultaneously the concept of the *native speaker as a resource* were most vivid in Anne's interview. The *questioning and rejection of the concept of native speaker* in KD's interview contrasted with his use of it as a point of reference. Kathleen's identity as a bilingual writer of fiction in Italian and English in addition to her teaching role was striking. Finally, Nancy's personal anecdotes based on her learning and working experiences in China and Taiwan as a non-native learner of Mandarin strongly illustrated how these teachers' non-native status enable them to draw from their language learning experience in the classroom and identify with students, as L2 learners, and with their particular difficulties in L2 learning.

A variety of proficiency levels was sought by avoiding participants with too similar a level of proficiency. The focal participants chosen reflect four different levels of reported proficiency, with two veering toward native-like, one mid-range and the other at the low end of the 5-point scale that was used.

The criterion of language teaching experience, though noted, was not weighted as heavily, other than to limit the number of focal participants with somewhat limited L2 teaching experience (i.e., less than 5 years) for two reasons: 1) to attempt to ensure sufficient breadth of experience on which to share in the interviews and 2) so that inexperience would not emerge as a dominant reason for participants' challenges.

Participation from both genders was welcome and this equally applied in selecting focal participants. Of the 22 participants overall, six males were evenly distributed across both sets of languages. Given this fact and in an attempt to be representative of the overall sample population, at least one male focal participant was included. Although gender differences was not the main focus of the study, it was anticipated that participants' gender might impact findings.

3.6.3 Choice of Pseudonym

Participants were invited to choose a pseudonym for themselves and most did so. Some pseudonyms reflect participants' target languages and cultures such as: Jerez, Maria, and Willa (Spanish), Hans and Jan (German), Pavel (Russian), or KD's full pseudonym, Hong Kil Dong (Korean). Others such as Pedro (Korean) chose one related to their own heritage rather than the L2.¹⁶

3.7 Summary

This is a qualitative multiple-case study focusing on four non-native teachers' experiences in modern language. The research methodology, as outlined in this chapter, included a series of explicit principles related to case selection and data analysis. The following chapter provides more information about the context of modern language education in British Columbia (BC, and especially in the Lower Mainland of the province), where all case participants worked.

¹⁶ Pedro is the participant's Brazilian mother's surname.

Chapter 4: THE CONTEXT OF MODERN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

4.1 Introduction

This context of this multiple-case study, the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, is described in this chapter. After an overview of the region, its various modern language learning opportunities, including rationale and goals at the elementary/secondary and post-secondary levels, are outlined.

4.2 Lower Mainland Context

The Lower Mainland is the name commonly used for the region surrounding Vancouver in the southwest corner of the province of British Columbia and is home to over half of the province's population and is comprised of the Greater Vancouver Regional Census District and the Fraser Valley census district. The population in the Lower Mainland was 2.2 million in 2001, when the study was first conceived, up 8.3% from the 1996 Census figures.

About 90% of the Lower Mainland's population is concentrated in the 21 communities of the Greater Vancouver Regional Census District (now known as Metro Vancouver). Major communities of Greater Vancouver include: Burnaby, Coquitlam, Delta, Langley (both City and District), Maple Ridge, New Westminster, North Vancouver (City and District), Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, Richmond, and Surrey. The area also includes First Nations territories and unincorporated territories. More than half of the residents in each of Vancouver, Richmond and Burnaby reported a mother tongue other than English in the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2004). Surrey has a high concentration of residents who reported Punjabi as a mother tongue (15% vs. 5% average for the Lower Mainland), while Richmond had a high concentration of Chinese speakers (36% vs. 14% average).

The Fraser Valley Regional District consists of the municipalities of Abbotsford, Chilliwack, Kent/Agassiz, and Mission. Abbotsford has a concentration (13%) of residents who reported Punjabi as a mother tongue (compared to 5% average for the Lower Mainland) and German (6% in Abbotsford vs. 2% overall in the Lower Mainland) according to the 2001 Census. The percentage of residents reporting English as their mother tongue is greater in the Fraser Valley (80%) compared to the more urban Greater Vancouver district (62%).

4.3 Modern Languages in the Lower Mainland

4.3.1 Opportunities and Learning Contexts

Elementary and secondary school systems offer a range of modern language learning opportunities from established programs such as French immersion and Mandarin bilingual programs, to individual language courses offered at various levels with beginner entry levels at various grades. A second language course is mandatory from grades 5 to 8 and is elective in grades 9 to 12. The following modern languages, also referred to commonly now as *international languages* in BC, are taught within the provincial school system and supported by the provincial Integrated Resource Package (IRP) curriculum documents for Grades 5 to 12: American Sign Language, Core French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin Chinese, Punjabi and Spanish.¹⁷ Various aboriginal languages are also taught in the province, which this study does not address, because they have a different status in the BC Ministry than the international languages described here.

Post-secondary institutions, including universities and colleges, offer opportunities for learners ranging from study leading to a major or minor in a modern language to taking individual credit or non-credit courses. The University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University are the two major universities in the Lower Mainland. The modern languages offered are similar to those offered in the school system, but with a much larger selection (including Indonesian, Hindi, Russian, and Swedish, for example) and though some students continue their language study at the post-secondary level, others begin in the many beginner entry level courses offered. Many such courses have online components and resources as well. Due to high levels of interest of heritage language learners at the post-secondary level, some institutional departments stream learners (e.g., Korean and Mandarin at UBC). Some local institutions, often run by volunteer groups as weekend community language programs for heritage language learners, offer modern languages such as Mandarin and Cantonese for children at various levels due to strong parental interest.

The Ministry of Education provides support for French study under the Canada-BC Official Languages in Education Protocol and this includes funding for French immersion and Francophone programs for public and independent institutions (K-12), and some post-

¹⁷ Korean has had a provincial IRP as of 2006 (www.bced.gov.bc.ca accessed Nov. 20, 2008).

secondary institutions. As well, the Ministry of Education administers: the Summer Language Bursary Program, Official Languages Study Fellowship, Official-Languages Monitor Program, BC-Quebec Six-Month Bilingual Exchange Program, and the French Teachers' Bursary Program. French literature and French language courses are available at several post-secondary institutions and a Bachelor of Arts with a major in French can be pursued at any of the two major universities. As well, Collège Educacentre provides education and training services in various areas to French-speaking adults in many locations in the province. The Alliance Française and Le Centre Culturel Francophone de Vancouver offer French language courses and cultural activities in Vancouver.

Other language and cultural-specific institutes in the Lower Mainland include the Italian Cultural Centre and the Goethe-Zentrum at SFU for German, which offer language and culture-related courses for professional and personal interest or recreational purposes.

Commonly referred to as Saturday or after-hours schools, heritage community-based organizations offer instruction in the heritage community's language at local venues such as schools and community or religious centres.

Private sources for hire are also available ranging from individuals offering language tutoring and instruction, to established private language schools such as Berlitz and numerous ESL colleges/schools.

4.3.2 Rationale and Motivation for Modern Language Education in BC

The rationale or motivation for pursuing modern language study in the Lower Mainland varies amongst the diverse population of learners. The fact that acquiring a language enhances the learning of first and additional languages is promoted.¹⁸ There are also intrinsic purposes such as the challenge or intellectual and social enjoyment of doing so.

A grade 11 second language course is required for admission to both universities in the Lower Mainland and this is a major motivation for students to take these courses. Instrumental purposes for modern language learning include obtaining access to post-secondary education, business or other work or career opportunities, such as in the foreign service. Differentiating oneself with knowledge of another modern language(s) is also advantageous in international marketing and finance.

¹⁸ Per www.bced.gov.bc.ca accessed Nov. 20, 2008

Increasing interest in acquiring or maintaining one's heritage language drives many to enroll themselves or their children in some form of study. In fact, though post-secondary modern language enrollment in parts of North America, such as in the U.S., has decreased, heritage language learners are increasing demand for classes in certain languages due to their interest in studying their parents' or grandparents' native language.¹⁹

Some students at advanced academic levels such as graduate school benefit from knowledge of a modern language related to their field of study: e.g., majors in translation and interpretation; students of vocal music studying Italian or German; students of literature wishing to read works in the original language; or political science students wishing to research documents or works in languages other than English.

Pursuing a modern language for purposes such as international travel is a source of motivation for some who choose to enrol at the secondary or university level or in non-credit courses. In addition to the above reasons, the rationale for acquiring some specific modern languages in this study is outlined below.

4.3.2.1 French

French is studied because it is a world language with 128 million speakers worldwide and is one of Canada's official, founding languages with approximately one quarter of the country's population speaking the language.²⁰ Instrumentally, building communicative competence in the core French program is advocated for expanding career opportunities in Canada and internationally in many areas such as business, tourism, and hospitality. Greater awareness of one's culture, as well as developing positive attitudes toward Francophones and other cultural groups, are also included in the rationale for learning French.

4.3.2.2 German

With approximately 100 million native speakers and a further 20 million non-native speakers, the status of German as being among the ten most-spoken languages worldwide, one of the working languages of the United Nations, and an official language of the European Union has resulted in a broad range of personal, educational and career opportunities becoming available in Germany and other German-speaking countries.²¹ Its importance in the fields of science, engineering, and music provide another rationale for its study. German

¹⁹ BCATML newsletter summer 2007 per site www.bcatml.org accessed Nov20, 2008

²⁰ Per www.bced.gov.bc.ca accessed Nov 20, 2008 .

²¹ Per www.cenes.ubc.ca/index.php?id=germanlanguage

is a common heritage language for many Lower Mainland residents whether from Austria and Germany, Switzerland or Liechtenstein.

4.3.2.3 Spanish

The status of Spanish internationally and economic advantages associated with learning Spanish are just two of the reasons why people choose to learn Spanish. It is spoken by more than 417 million people worldwide (Austin, 2008). Various opportunities arise due to this province's proximity to Spanish-speaking countries (including the U.S., where Spanish is now widely spoken by its large Hispanic immigrant population) and strong economic ties here. Spanish is a common heritage language for many Lower Mainland residents from Spanish-speaking regions of the world. Expanded national and international career opportunities are available in areas such as hospitality, tourism, and commerce.

4.3.2.4 Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Punjabi

As with some European languages, the rationale for studying Mandarin Chinese includes extensive worldwide use of this language. Mandarin Chinese is spoken by 1.055 billion people worldwide, Japanese by 122 million, Korean by 75 million and Punjabi by 93 million people (Austin, 2008). Economic opportunities in different areas, especially in trade with East Asia, is also a practical rationale for acquiring both Mandarin and Japanese. Furthermore, B.C. has longstanding ties with countries of the Pacific Rim as well as the long-established presence and contribution of people of Asian origin in this province. As well, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, and Punjabi are the mother tongues of at least 20% of Lower Mainland residents and acquiring these means being able to use this language in various areas for personal and professional reasons within the local community and internationally.

4.4 Goals of Modern Language Education in BC

Though acquiring a language is a general goal based on various sources of motivation as outlined above, the context-specific goals of modern language education for the languages in this study are described below.

4.4.1 Elementary and Secondary Contexts

Modern language programs of various lengths are offered within the public and private school systems in the Lower Mainland with later entry as a commonly-offered option.

The majority of participants in this study, 15 out of the 22 teachers interviewed, teach in contexts where the BC provincial IRP is a pedagogical guide and resource with prescribed learning outcomes, and instructional and learning strategies. A brief overview of the goals for international (modern) language education according to the IRP documents follows.²²

The components of B.C's IRP for each international language are arranged under four curriculum organizers based on common reasons people have for wanting to learn a language. These organizers have been used to group the prescribed learning outcomes, suggested instructional and language-learning strategies, suggested assessment strategies, and recommended learning resources for each applicable grade level. They consist of:

- *Communicating*: to communicate with other people
- *Acquiring Information*: to acquire information for a purpose
- *Experiencing Creative Works*: to experience creative works for enjoyment
- *Understanding Culture and Society*: to interact with and appreciate another culture

The IRP documents outline that these organizers allow teachers to focus attention on the most important purposes for studying a second language. In the “overriding aim of ... communication” the documents emphasise that suggested instructional and assessment strategies underline the practical use of the language and “de-emphasize the analytical study of grammatical theory as an end in itself.” Reference is again made to grammar in the recommendation that “[a]ssessment and evaluation do not focus on the mastery of grammar for its own sake.” The role of grammar instruction is described as supportive and “only to provide some useful strategies to facilitate communication and comprehension.” In accomplishing the overall goals above, the IRPs for many languages indicate that “teachers should use and encourage the use of target language” in most student activities whenever this is possible.

With the goal of inclusion in mind and recognising that many ESL students make up the student population, the French, German, and Spanish IRPs indicate that when teachers use the classroom target language then “ESL students are placed on an equal footing with their classmates.”

²² IRP documents can be found at www.bced.gov.bc.ca accessed Nov 20/08

4.4.2 Post-secondary Contexts

Seven participants of 22 in this study are university-based modern language teachers of German, Italian, Russian, Mandarin, and Korean. For that reason, a short description of the postsecondary teaching/learning context for those languages, particularly at the University of British Columbia (UBC), is provided in this section.

4.4.2.1 German

The largest in Canada in terms of enrolment, according to its department website, the German Program at UBC aims to expose students not only to the German language, but to German culture, literature and history.²³ Goals of the German language program at UBC are: 1) proficiency in writing, reading, listening, and speaking German, 2) development of cultural understanding and awareness and 3) development of autonomous learning skills.²⁴ According to their website, the German Language Program promotes autonomous learning and the development of critical thinking skills through learner-centred approaches. Learners are expected to acquire communicative competence in what are considered the five proficiencies of language learning: listening, reading, speaking, writing and culture.

German language program courses are “designed to develop active and creative communicative skills in listening, reading, speaking and writing. All levels of instruction deal with authentic language from many different areas, registers and periods”.²⁵ Other language courses for specific purposes such as German for Reading Knowledge and Business German are also offered by the department.

4.4.2.2 Italian

In terms of goals and objectives, the Department of Romance Languages at UBC aims to study, teach, and experience Italian from a multidisciplinary perspective and to go beyond the “language-leading-to-literature” model while simultaneously contributing to UBC’s commitment towards global citizenship through courses that expose students to the richness of the languages, literatures, films, cultures and civilizations of Italy.²⁶ Many of the department’s Italian courses are also of interest to non-specialists who wish to learn a second language or expand their knowledge of other cultures.

²³ germ dept www.cenes.ubc.ca/index.php?id=germanlanguage

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Per www.fhis.ubc.ca/fhis-home.html

4.4.2.3 Russian

The traditional concept of philology is applicable here: students will learn any language better when they understand the people who speak it and study their literature, history, and culture.²⁷

The goals and objectives of Russian at UBC, which is taught in the Department of Central, Eastern and Northern European Studies, are both academic and practical. Courses provide background for the common goals of students who, according to the Department Web site, “aim for an academic career and choose either a graduate school in Russian, Comparative Literature, or Modern European Studies” however “other career choices” include journalism, politics, government, as well as broadcasting, translation, or work with international agencies. As well, reading courses which meet the linguistic needs of some students are offered.

4.4.2.4 Asian Languages: Chinese, Korean, and Japanese

In order of enrolments, the Department of Asian Studies offers courses pertaining to Asian Studies, Chinese Language Studies, Japanese, Korean, Punjabi, Hindi, and Indonesian. More than two-thirds of all enrolments are in Asian Studies and Chinese Language Studies courses, and just under one-third are in Japanese. Korean represents approximately 3% of all enrolments.²⁸ The department’s enrolments as a whole have grown threefold relative to 1995 and fivefold relative to 1990.²⁹

The goals and objectives for Chinese at UBC are embodied in the mission statement of the Chinese Language Program, which is posted on their web site.

It is our ultimate mission to serve all our students (both heritage and non-heritage) well by maintaining the highest standards of teaching and learning, in order to provide a learning environment that will inspire and enable individuals to grow intellectually, be prepared to live and work in a global environment, and achieve personal fulfillment.³⁰

Meeting the needs of learners with diverse linguistic backgrounds is also a goal as separate courses are offered for heritage and non-heritage language learners.

²⁷ Department Website www.cenes.ubc.ca/index.php?id=9216 for Russian

²⁸ 2005 data per site www.asia.uwc.ca accessed 11/29/08. Approximate percentage of 3% is calculation performed based on data provided on this web site.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Per www2.asia.ubc.ca/faculty/li/departement/front.htm accessed 09/7/07

Korean is also offered at the post-secondary level and learning opportunities relevant to its study is elaborated upon in chapter 8 pertaining to focal participant KD.

As with Chinese Studies, UBC's Asian Studies Department is considered to be in the top tier of North American programs for Japanese as well.³¹ It offers Japanese at multiple levels, which, like Chinese, remains in extremely high demand attracting numerous linguistically diverse learners from within and outside the department, as well as from outside the Faculty of Arts.

4.5 Summary

A multitude of modern language learning opportunities are available in the Lower Mainland of B.C., only some of which have been profiled here. Language education is offered in many forms and for a variety of purposes, ranging from academic and professional to conversational and personal. Trends such as the growing interest in studying heritage languages by immigrants and their children, in Lower Mainland Asian communities especially, and global citizenship figure in shaping learning opportunities and motivating language study.

The following four chapters describe each of the four focal participants in turn—Anne, Kathleen, Nancy and KD. Each chapter provides a profile of the teacher-participant and an individual case analysis for in order to provide insight into their experiences and practices in light of this study's research questions. Chapters 9 and 10 provide a cross-case analysis and discussion of language use and secondary themes respectively, noting commonalities and differences across these four cases in light of their experiences with relevant examples from the additional 18 participants in the larger study. Finally, chapter 11 concludes with a summary of major findings from this study including their implications.

³¹ www.asia.ubc.ca/department/about-us/our-department.html accessed 03/18/10.

Chapter 5: FOCAL PARTICIPANT: ANNE, FRENCH TEACHER

I think that because I'm teaching FSL I have a good grasp of the grammar ... ³²I know there's probably a lot of mistakes being made, uh, whether or not that's important when you're just speaking conversationally [with adults] or not, uh because we do it in English as well. But I think as a teacher ... I'm, conscious of that and it is important to me...So I try to make sure that - and I think because of that, I speak slower and I am processing more things in my mind that just speaking off the top of my head (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 10, 16-17).

5.1 Introduction and Case Context

Anne was a French teacher in a teaching site within a large regional secondary school of over 1400 students in a city in the Lower Mainland. The school took pride in its multiculturalism and over 35 language groups were represented at the school. Anne described the majority of her students as fluent English speakers. Many students also spoke Punjabi at home as their native language and she viewed them as bilingual individuals who were studying French as an additional language. Anne observed that she was able to associate French with students' knowledge of English in the classroom since English was the dominant academic language for these and other students. In addition to French, German was offered by the Modern Languages Department at this school. Anne was one of six modern language teachers and she followed the provincial Integrated Resource Package (curriculum guidelines) to meet the provincial curriculum objectives for her French language program.

5.2 Profile

I cannot see myself doing anything other than teaching...and I mean teaching French is it... I've been...going wherever the French is just to have the FSL...French is the area I want to be in...because my whole love is teaching the language. That's why I'm not immersion based. I don't want to teach math or science in the language. I just want to teach the language...and all about the language (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 85, 87).

Anne's vision of her role as a non-immersion teacher of French as a second language was reinforced throughout the interview and through her actions of transferring to schools to enable her to focus on teaching French throughout her 14 years of experience. Born and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Anne initially taught French at the kindergarten to grade 3 level and described informally serving as the district French resource teacher prior to relocating to Lower Mainland B.C. She taught grades 9-10 at the time of this study. Anne

³² Appendix C outlines the transcription conventions used. In this case, ... refers to deleted material and underlined text to spoken emphasis by the participant.

shared that her first elective study of French had begun at age 12 in grade 7; however, upon further elaboration later in the interview, Anne indicated that her first language experience had been much earlier, from kindergarten through to grade 6 though she considered these earlier French classes to have been "...sort of an exposure. It wasn't really a formal lesson or anything like that" (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 63). Grade 7 was when she first felt truly engaged in French language learning.

Anne defined her level of proficiency as "adequate though needing some development." She identified a basic and limited range of vocabulary as a factor influencing her level of proficiency and for this reason was limited in her ability to modify her language in different contexts other than with respect to rate of speech. On the other hand, Anne attributed her early interest and participation in French speaking poetry competitions as a contributing factor to what she believed was good pronunciation. In terms of identity, Anne viewed her affiliation as Canadian and defined her accent as probably sounding "more Anglophone than not" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 6). Her last meaningful formative language learning experience was participation in a month-long intensive language program for teachers at a college in Winnipeg, Manitoba just prior to relocating to British Columbia seven years ago.

Overall, Anne viewed herself as an effective teacher of grades 9 and 10 French who was able to guide students in understanding and using French grammatical structures while maximising classroom use of the target language. She placed a high priority on relating to students and showed a high level of empathy towards them as language learners, according to her interview:

I'm finding that it really helps to be able to ... communicate with the students on their level and...make them feel comfortable with who you are. And I think that might be even more so, for FSL, because...you're speaking in another language, you're making them take risks and do things that they wouldn't necessarily do and if they don't feel that comfort level, then they're not going to want to do that... Some... teachers...not necessarily [in] FSL, immersion as well, are not as open about their background or wanting to share information, or get down [to] their level. And the kids kind [of] shy away from them...because they don't feel like they know or trust the person in charge...It's really important for us to put ourselves out there on the line and...just make the kids feel really comfortable...and that we're all taking risks. And it's all about risks...I can tell the kids are trying to use [more French]...I know the comfort level...is there for them (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 84).

Anne reported that she greeted and briefly chatted with students in French outside of the language classroom between classes to relate to them as individuals as well as to model

use of the language outside the classroom. From her experience, Anne intellectually and emotionally appreciated the role of risk-taking and comfort in learning and using an additional language.

5.3 Case Analysis

Anne associated “native speaker” with length and frequency of language exposure within the familial and cultural context in which one was raised and socialised.³³ She emphasised that the use of “idioms or things familiar to the culture” as highly connected to being considered a native speaker (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 7). In terms of how she positioned herself relative to this concept Anne reflected that:

I'd be more at the other end of the scale than near the native speaking [end] because, again, just with...vocabulary and...not necessarily with...accent or...proficiency of using the language but just in terms of what you know about the language and the culture...I would definitely say because I haven't travelled, I haven't been involved in any of those kinds of opportunities, that I wouldn't be able to identify truly with someone. I wouldn't know everything in terms of background and knowledge, other than what I've just learned through the school system...So [I'm] definitely at different ends of the scale in regards to that (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 13).

Anne viewed herself as an effective user of French with sound metalinguistic knowledge but as an outsider who lacked background and inside cultural knowledge due to her experience of studying and working with French in a primarily academic Anglophone setting. She cited spontaneous use of oral French as a challenge to which her focus on using correct grammatical usage contributed.

Anne positioned herself as a former learner who was able to communicate in French effectively. She shared her status as non-native French learner with her students particularly after an incident in which parents' associated her with being a native, complaining that she was “...speaking with this accent and it was too hard ...[for students] to understand...and they need more English instruction to help them along you see ((chuckles))” (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 5). Although Anne was somewhat proud of this mistaken impression of native status, she shared the changes she subsequently made in presenting her background to the class:

³³ Participants were asked to describe the term ‘native speaker’, how they perceived themselves as a speaker of the language(s) they taught, how they presented themselves to learners, as well as how they compared themselves to the ‘native speaker’ including the term’s significance for language teaching .

I now make a conscious effort to let my students know early on that I learned this language in the way they are now learning it...Up until that point, I never used to. I would just say that... I've taught in Manitoba, I've taught here, I've been teaching French...But I never said anything about my own personal learning. And since that incident...due to my speed and fluency..., I actually do put that [out] on my first day - a little explanation that I give to the kids and I actually say to them: "I am an FSL learner, just like you. I only took it in school from grade 7"...When they first come in, I give them a little French: "Hello, how are you?"...And they all kind of look at you: "Oh my goodness, what's this course going to be? And then that's when I say to them: "I'm just an FSL person like you. I learned it only in school... [I] have no background. If I can do it, you can do it. If I can speak like this at this point, if you continuing to do your schooling, you'll be able to do it too" (Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 11-12).

Anne's purpose in sharing her non-native status and background yet continuing to model greetings and conversation in French was to establish student trust and rapport as well as to motivate them. She viewed her roles of target language role model and learner as overlapping and reinforcing each other. Using anecdotes and aids such as mnemonic devices from her own experiences provided ongoing modelling for her students.

Interactions with native Francophone teacher colleagues were generally described by Anne as unpleasant and that there was a general lack of acceptance of her and other non-natives as legitimate French speakers or teachers.³⁴ She described herself as "looked down upon" when speaking to native French teacher colleagues at school and expressed her dislike of being judged (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 14). Anne contrasted this with her comfort level when she was with other non-natives of French and accounted for the polar difference in not having to worry about what another non-native was thinking whereas with native Francophone teacher colleagues she reported being preoccupied by their judgement of how she used French. Overall, Anne attributed her discomfort in speaking with native Francophone colleagues to some specific in-school experiences involving lack of acceptance and critical correction by colleagues.

A few of us in the same district...have discussed this in regards to the same grouping of people...The people in charge of the French program at the school were native-speaking...and when they found out there were just straight FSL learning ... teachers coming in to teach the FSL program ...they were not very pleased...Anytime we would speak in the staffroom or in a meeting, we would get corrected all the time with our grammar and words...and we just learned not to say anything because it was rather embarrassing to have another colleague correcting you. I mean you wouldn't do that to someone in English. So why is it okay to do that in French or any other language? And it really put a lot of the

³⁴ In her interview Anne reported that the native Francophone teachers at her school mainly taught in French immersion and the cadre (Francophone) programs but that a few FSL classes, from time to time, would be taught by these native teachers.

people off in that district in terms of...just wanting to speak, outside of the classroom situation.... (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 14).

Anne also relayed how her avoidance of being judged negatively by a native speaker was a contributing factor to her reluctance to present at professional workshops or meetings as she enthusiastically used to do in Manitoba. She found interactions between native and non-native teachers there to lack the animosity of her experiences in British Columbia, reflecting the recognition of both French and English as official languages in Manitoba. However, Anne also believed that the wide range of proficiency amongst non-native FSL teachers (which commonly included generalists) in the Lower Mainland also heavily influenced native-non-native relations in that: 1) native Francophones became frustrated with the lack of satisfying professional development outcomes at regional and provincial conferences when less proficient non-natives who required linguistic support participated resulting in the use of extensive English and 2) natives expressed concerns about French language teacher professional credibility and status given the wide proficiency range.

While acknowledging the value of being corrected, Anne emphasised that the manner in which it was done as impacting how she received this feedback.

[On the other hand] if you don't get corrected you're going to always say it the wrong way... I have no problems with people correcting something that they know is blatantly wrong and it's going to cause problems with communication....It's always been a sort of sharp [criticism]. And I mean this is true of our area anyways in terms of Immersion and the...Cadre programs ...[Those] French programs are elitist groups and everything else, any other languages like FSL or German or Spanish, we're down at the bottom and we're to be looked down upon. [Sometimes] if we tried to initiate in French they would just switch over to English too because I think they felt it was just easier for them or...they didn't like the pace of the conversation... We really...felt like we were looked down upon because we weren't at that level of proficiency that they were (Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 19-20).

Anne also perceived the negative tone of correction and code switching by Francophone native teacher colleagues to be reflective of a 'hierarchy' where modern language teachers and programs were given less priority and viewed as less important in contrast to French immersion subject teachers who tended mainly to be native Francophone. Overall, she attributed language proficiency and cultural affiliation as the key dividing factors between native and non-native teachers.

On the other hand, the potential of a native colleague to serve as a mentor or resource person resonated in Anne's depiction of a native colleague at her previous Lower Mainland school who promoted and strongly encouraged French language use amongst Anne and other

FSL non-native teacher colleagues. Anne's tone changed to one of gratitude in her narrative account of how this individual regularly interacted with Anne and other non-native French teachers in French and encouraged them to use French with French-speaking adults in that doing so represented an opportunity. This interaction extended to monitoring her language choice. If Anne began using English, the teacher would kindly remind her to speak French. As a result, Anne reported being able to comfortably speak French with this teacher and started corresponding in French via e-mail with him as well as eventually with other non-native and a few native French colleagues. With this positive experience Anne became open to the idea that successful interactions with natives depended on the situation and individuals involved. In addition to her positive depiction of this experience, Anne went on to provide her criteria for using French with natives which encompassed: a lack of their critical judgement, a positive reaction to her use of French, and her perception that she was not being "talked down to" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 19).

Outside of school Anne explained that her experiences with other natives varied and that her comfort level in interacting socially with them outside of school was similarly low. She described trying to speak to natives in French and explained her discomfort at the thought of making mistakes and how classroom-like or bookish she sounded. With her FSL background and knowledge, Anne recognised that she possessed very solid grammatical knowledge but found it hard to be able to readily apply this to interacting in French. Various strategies were adopted in anticipation of these social interactions. Anne described 'thinking before speaking French' and speaking more slowly as well as lowering the native expectations by informing them of her background in French. Emphasising her FSL teaching status was also used to encourage conversation that was contextually familiar to Anne about her career and to provide the opportunity for her to elaborate on how her experience with French had been largely academically-based. Anne found that using these strategies facilitated her comfort level so that she could speak and use what she knew.

5.3.2 Pedagogy and Practice

The role of grammar in communication-oriented teaching in this context was clearly expressed in Anne's statement that:

The whole purpose of giving them that grammar-based instruction is so that they can then use the language themselves and be able to communicate in the language...I definitely think I am for a communicative approach...It's really hard to do that effectively if you don't understand

what you're trying to say in a sentence...Getting them to use it as much as possible [is the goal]...But...the grammar is always there, it's always the underlying factor... (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 61).

Understanding grammar was thus presented as the key to facilitating students' understanding of the language for Anne. She also related her own analytical bias and the focus on grammar in her French language training to her present affinity. Imparting the rules of grammar was important to Anne because they provided a sense of order and organization.

Grammar was also emphasized to counter the perceived improper and incorrect use of French in a communicative context by students. Anne reported how teachers in her district strongly felt "the need to bring grammar back in as a focus" in their teaching and learning materials due to their finding that materials have almost deemphasised grammar and focussed on using the language (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 41). According to Anne the result has been that "...the kids are not...using it properly because they don't know the grammar basis... We need to focus on the grammar and make sure that they are learning their grammar first" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 41).

Anne also viewed the teaching of grammar as a priority in her present secondary school teaching context with older learners who were past the optimal period in their lives for additional language acquisition. Her experience of teaching younger learners was presented as a point of contrast where it seemed that more language exposure spontaneously occurred, without a focus on grammatical structures and principles.

I have [taught] kindergarten and K to 3 was sort of altogether, and I found...it was more about...vocabulary words and just trying to get a sense of the word or a meaning of the word through things like songs or little interactions. And so it was more about the conversational part of the language. It wasn't really about ... structure of sentences and that type of thing...[It was] just doing vocab, in that sense...and then letting them hear how sentences might sound but not having them put sentences together (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 61-2).

In contrast, with older students Anne's most effective strategy was associating French with their English to talk about grammar which involved making comparisons with English. She justified the use of English as an occasional tool to help students gain a conceptual understanding of French grammar in the belief that this understanding would enable them to effectively speak French over time. Depending on their stage of proficiency, Anne, however, found herself limited in using English as a tool with ESL students in her classroom.

Despite this penchant for grammar, Anne valued and acknowledged the significance of communicative language teaching. Her concern was "...making sure that...[students] understand where the basis of the language comes from" and that an understanding of grammar is integrated amongst the themes and concepts taught (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 41). Five percent of students' total mark was allocated for spontaneous language use in the classroom outside of lessons and Anne integrated many opportunities for speaking to reflect the 50% oral component of the course as well as her goal of maximising French use.

Anne's pedagogy and practice was also guided by the student population in any given year as well as the teaching she was exposed to as a student. Anne described adjusting and revising strategies and methods that would work for the students she had. She attributed this practice to an increase in comfort and confidence in terms of her French language and overall teaching ability. For example Anne had greatly revised the current grade 10 course and was combining the grade 9 and 10 programs this year due to a her perceived lack of student preparedness. In addition to her training and increasing experience, some of Anne's strategies were modelled after teachers she had had in junior high and high school and her positive association with those learning experiences.

5.3.3 L1-L2 Use

Anne stated that she used French "...probably 90%" of the time in class and summed up her policy as: "That's what we're expected to do and that's what I try to do" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 43). The message Anne relayed to her students was: "You're getting this language, you should be using it. And if you don't start using it now, you're not going to feel comfortable using it later or you're going to lose it" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 65). Anne believed that she did not have sufficient oral practice and experience in her language development and expressed that her practice was consistent with the goal of teaching *in French* except for the teaching of new or more abstract concepts. She described her L1-L2 policy in practice:

...If it's anything in terms of instructions or... activities, anything like that, it's always in French. I would give them the notes in English and then what I always tell them...is [that] if it's something where I know they already know this in French then I'll give them that point in French because it's something that they would know...If it's...brand new vocabulary or grammar that...isn't something you can act out or get across to them then [it'll be] notes in English with examples in French. [I do] something along those lines...Until they can understand that [grammatical] association [with English], you can't teach it to them [in French]. So I just try to focus on the things that they are learning in their English classes with

games and...activities...The French is still there it's not just a case of explaining or reverting back to the English to make the point...The modelling is still there in the French. [I'm] using [English] as a tool but not as a translator (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 43-4).

As well, Anne's goal of maximum French use and the recognition that English could overshadow French led to her sharing her strategy of avoiding the use of English by incorporating acting, miming, and other actions. She described advising her students to make sure that they looked rather than just listened so as to not miss the visual components of lessons. In addition to strategies for maximising language use, repetition was also cited. Therefore with conscious and consistent discipline and effort, including preparation Anne viewed the goal of maximising language use as attainable.

Though Anne viewed maximising the use of French as important, English was used to facilitate understanding of abstract concepts, particularly and usually in the teaching of grammar. She emphasised the use of English as a tool and justified it in describing an example of the native teacher's experience with her current grade 10 class as "the problem with what happened last year" (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 36). Anne argued that "the kids weren't able to make any association between what they were being told and what they understood ... in their own language or...conceptually" and that despite having "a teacher," "they just didn't get any...knowledge that year...It's as if they didn't take French that year" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 36). Besides the lack of establishing connections between the language and students' dominant academic language, Anne also addressed how the native French teacher's lack of English proficiency resulted in behavioural issues in that "it just became a joke...[The] kids knew that this person didn't understand English and they would start using English and...it just became a joke, it wasn't even a class" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 37). In conveying this example, Anne pointed out how the lack of rapport between student and teacher was related to the latter's lack of functionally bilingual status. Therefore, in addition to the reasons mentioned above, building student rapport was conveyed as another rationale for using English as a tool.

5.3.4 Culture

"Getting more culture into the lessons" was identified by Anne as one of her greatest challenges due to her academically-based French background (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 82). She spoke of her lack of any French family background and "not having travelled or done anything that I can really bring to the class myself" as placing her at a cultural deficit

pedagogically (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 82). Anne addressed the teaching of culture by relying on secondary sources of textbooks and teaching-related materials to depict culturally-related events and foods to familiarise students with these. Finding developmentally and linguistically appropriate resources to use with her FSL students was also a factor as Anne found that most materials about cultural topics seemed to be targeted for more advanced learners. In terms of sequencing, Anne stated that she incorporated culture where she could. The challenge lay in her lack of a cultural frame of reference and Anne seemed frustrated by having to rely on teacher's manuals since "...even then you're not really giving them all that much knowledge..." (Interview: 03/19/04, p.80). Teaching current and useful expressions was a challenge and Anne shared her frustration over a lack of a frame of reference or even access to useful expressions as an FSL non-native teacher in that she was unable to pass on this current cultural knowledge to her students.

Given her frustrations in addressing culture, Anne suggested that this was "...where the native-speaking teacher may have the advantage because they have something more that they can bring to the class and talk about, or someone who's travelled or been somewhere and done something" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 80). Anne perceived her non-native status and limited target culture experience as limitations on her ability to effectively incorporate culture into her program. Thus, she relied heavily on instructional resources pertaining to culture in her context.

5.3.5 Challenges

In addition to incorporating culture, the following challenges were identified by Anne as significant: maximising student use of the language, finding appropriate language learning opportunities for teacher professional development, and the school boards' policy of assigning ill-prepared generalists to teach French.

Though Anne felt that her students were effectively using French during structured activities and occasionally during other moments, she struggled with how to increase self-initiated student talk. She viewed her current methods as not providing students with "...the true sense of using [French] in context" (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 83). Anne wished for the opportunity to observe a teacher using communicative approaches effectively as she was unsure of how to proceed beyond her present repertoire.

Finding relevant and advanced language learning opportunities was also significant. Anne described looking into local college or other courses in French as well as continuing education programs. Her last favourable French language professional development had been at a college in Manitoba just before she began teaching in B.C. seven years ago. Her motivation for undertaking this intensive course was for its focus on using the language in a teaching context and she believed that it significantly boosted her oral skills and ability in terms of confidence. Anne relayed how most locally available courses were redundant in terms of potentially augmenting her proficiency and that she sought a course that would be challenging and difficult yet manageable. She identified her learning objective as the need to truly master what she was doing with French in the classroom after many years of teaching it. However, the French teacher-related programs which Anne had looked into seemed to be geared to the beginning French teacher. Therefore the lack of opportunities affected Anne's ability to make further progress in using her French language skills in teaching. Anne related how she and her fellow colleagues have requested workshops for the purpose of "...provid[ing] something more about using our language and conversational type workshops, as opposed to what to do in your classroom..." (Interview: 03/19/04, p.26). She explained the rationale for this as follows: "I think we're all fine with what we can do in the classroom. It's learning to use our language where we lack confidence" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 26). Though Anne was aware of federally-funded French language bursary programs, her inability to travel at the time of this study impeded her participation.

The use of generalists to teach FSL was a source of frustration to Anne and her colleagues and this practice affected them in terms of professional development, and had implications for teacher credibility in terms of competence, as well as articulation in terms of student preparedness. Anne outlined how "teachers...are being forced to teach FSL classes who have no French background whatsoever because you are a teacher in a pod [and] you have this many subjects [for which] you are responsible" regardless as to whether or not these are "subjects you are familiar with or have a background in" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 32). She defined the factor of a shortage of French language teachers as exacerbating this situation resulting in administrators "just having to fit [in] whoever has whatever amount" based on the cooperation or consent of the teacher in question who believes he/she "can handle it" (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 33). As a result Anne found that "we have a lot of

teachers at [the] middle school level, up to grade 8 [FSL]...who do not have French background or French knowledge at all" (Interview: 03/19/04, p. 32). Anne described the implication of this for professional development at conferences.

And a lot of them are attending the conferences to try and gain that ... and expect that they can gain that...So we're the ones who tend to help and give some instruction or do things. But even that is frustrating because we're there trying to learn and we become the instructors (Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 32-3).

Therefore conference and other informal learning opportunities become teacher orientation sessions for generalists rather than growth opportunities for teachers such as Anne. Anne also expressed her surprise and dismay at the practice of assigning generalists to teach French given that she and several of her colleagues had to undergo scrutiny and proficiency testing prior to being hired as FSL teachers.

A native speaker will interview you in French and you have to get through that. With all that you'd think you'd be qualified. [But...if you're already in the system] or if you're just being hired say to do seven English and one French [class], they'll just say: "Can you do it...do you have any French [language] background...?" (Interview: 03/19/04, pp. 15, 33).

Anne shared how she and her colleagues asserted their position favouring the use of French specialists for French classes and their subsequent disappointment with their district going ahead with the use of generalists. In addition to Anne's belief in the injustice of this decision she stated being unable to imagine teachers teaching a subject of which they have limited or no knowledge or training.

As well, Anne vehemently defined the ramifications of assigning generalists for language modelling and use, which she believed suffered as a result, as did student preparation. As far as modelling was concerned, Anne believed that as much as a teacher might work hard at what they were doing and carry out much preparation, it may or may not be possible to make up for a lack of linguistic ability. Anne cited correct pronunciation as a key concern based on experience she had with students who mispronounced until corrected by a trained teacher. Though she acknowledged her own need to improve her proficiency, Anne remained confident in her accurate pronunciation and language use as well as the ability to model it for students. In terms of maximising language use, Anne's concern was rooted in her own appreciation of this challenge and she questioned how an untrained French teacher would maximise the use of French. Overall, she feared for the consequences on student learning. Anne believed that her present situation as a grade 9 teacher of students

who previously had had a generalist teacher was typical. She conveyed her frustration with the expanding range of levels amongst students:

[I am] getting grade 8s from the middle schools [and] I already see what it's doing. The kids are coming in with all different [levels]...I mean it's bad enough from their elementary school [experiences] that they are coming with all different backgrounds... we expect that! But now it's middle school as well. It's later on when you expect that they'll have even more knowledge of the language and they're not! It's like they're coming right out of elementary school again and we're starting from square one. We're teaching the basics in grade 9 ... that should have been taught in grade 6 (Anne, Interview: 03/19/04, p. 36).

5.4 Summary of Salient Issues

Anne's experiences both professionally and socially contributed to her conception of the "native speaker teacher" and how she related to this concept as a non-native of French. Her role-modelling, selectively bilingual teaching style, and excellent rapport with students were features which she considered to be key advantages related to her status and experience as a non-native learner and teacher.

However, interacting with native teacher colleagues for the most part has been characterised by hostility and judgement resulting in considerable tension and stress. On the other hand, positive support provided from some native colleagues who have used their status as a resource for non-native colleagues was also highlighted and swayed Anne away somewhat from her previous, more critical perspective of native French teachers.

Communicative language teaching was reported to be the methodology driving Anne's teaching and hence maximum French use. The importance of grammar as a fundamental of the French program was conveyed as was associating French grammar with that of English as a pedagogic tool. English was also used to provide explanations for student questions about complex concepts. These practices justified the use of English for Anne though, as a tool, she has not found it to be very effective with ESL students at beginning level in acquiring English.

In terms of L1-L2 use, Anne saw herself as a teacher who used French approximately 90% of the time with the exception of days on which she was teaching more abstract and new grammatical concepts. English was then used as a tool to aid student understanding. Anne conveyed that maximising her use of the language while teaching communicatively was a challenge.

The main challenges of incorporating culture into the program, maximising student use of the language, locating relevant language learning opportunities for more proficient teachers, and concerns about the assignment of generalist teachers were expressed. Incorporating culture and current French language expressions was challenging due to a lack of experience and frame of reference. Relying on teaching materials including textbooks was a compensatory strategy for Anne, though she expressed frustration over the lack of current colloquial expressions contained in these. Helping students use French in authentic contexts was another challenge for Anne. Finding relevant, appropriate language courses for linguistic improvement beyond basic language skills and classroom pedagogy has been an obstacle to further linguistic development. Anne defined the use of generalist teachers as a pedagogical challenge as well as a challenge to her credibility as a French teacher. Students were found to be inadequately prepared thus exacerbating the range of multiple levels of proficiency which already existed in any given classroom.

Chapter 6: FOCAL PARTICIPANT: KATHLEEN, ITALIAN TEACHER

...If [I] were [speaking it] on a daily basis, you know, like if I were married to an Italian I, I think I would be able to say that I was a native speaker, if I was speaking every day... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 16-17).

I can remember the first time I woke up and realised that I'd been dreaming in Italian and I was so excited, I was like: "I'm fluent in Italian!" (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 9).

6.1 Introduction and Case Context

Kathleen has been an Italian language instructor in UWC's Department of Romance Languages for 14 years and though she taught beginner-level Italian at the time of this study she also previously taught at the advanced 300 level. UWC, a pseudonym, is located in Greater Vancouver (and shares characteristics with UBC, profiled in Chapter 4). Other Romance languages taught in the department included French, Spanish and introductory-level Portuguese and more than 70 instructors served as continuing faculty, lecturers, and teaching assistants involved in sharing their expertise and passion for their languages.

In terms of Italian, the aim of the department was to teach and enable students to study and experience the language in a multi-disciplinary fashion. Given this view, its faculty was made up of a team of teachers and scholars from various departments with expertise in many fields of study and this was reflected in the menu of courses offered. Overall, the program aimed to reflect the status of Italian over the centuries as a culture that has had an impact worldwide in many areas.

Seven faculty members including Kathleen were engaged in teaching Italian and all but Kathleen were natives of this language at the time of this study. She described relations amongst Italian colleagues as being strictly professional (i.e. discussing course and exam content) and Kathleen enviously commented that Spanish language colleagues in the same department, in contrast, actively got together and presented various non-teaching related topics in Spanish amongst themselves for linguistic enrichment and challenge as well as personal interest.

The department offered a minor program of study in Italian and Anne's students comprised a variety of backgrounds linguistically and culturally. Italian heritage speakers regularly enrolled in her classes (making up about a quarter of the class), as did speakers of languages other than English in addition to monolingual English speakers. Though non-

heritage students initially perceived their heritage language peers as possessing a competitive advantage due to their understanding and knowledge of Italian, Kathleen observed that this advantage quickly diminished. Heritage learners spoke various dialects that were not always mutually intelligible and their metalinguistic knowledge was at the same novice level as that of others.

With respect to her teaching methods, before moving onto the technical aspects of the course's objectives Kathleen began with the class brainstorming familiar Italian vocabulary and aspects of culture, which usually began with food (e.g., prosciutto, pizza, etc.) and expanded into other areas including music. She found that this initiated students into a conversation about Italian and recognition of the influence of Italian in various disciplines. Kathleen worked to engage students in Italian culture throughout the course by taking advantage of related opportunities in the Lower Mainland including viewing Italian films and participating in events at the Italian Cultural Centre.

6.2 Profile

Born in the state of the New York, Kathleen, a native speaker of English, defined her first exposure to Italian at age 18 during first year university “to fill in an empty hour” in her schedule (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 1). This experience led to her pursuit of a double major in Italian and French.³⁵ She described herself as an American of German and Swedish descent who had become a near native-like speaker of Italian and also spoke reasonable French and German.³⁶ Her acquisition of Italian had taken place in various settings, including academic study (initially in the U.S.) as well as socially and professionally in Italy and then in Canada. Besides collecting cultural ‘artifacts’ for her own interest and use in her classes, Kathleen sought opportunities to use and interact with others in Italian and regularly freelanced as a translator and interpreter as well as prolifically writing fiction in both Italian and English. Kathleen provided a detailed account of how and why she acquired Italian:

I just, um, took a course...I was going to major in French and I just absolutely fell in love with the [Italian] language...The Italian...was just a kind of recognition...I have to say I must have been Italian in a past life because as soon as I heard it was like: “Yes, this is it!” And when I went to Italy it was as if I’d been there before. I just felt completely at home...And...so I continued with it and then decided I wanted to do a double major in French and Italian....There was an Italian Club and I was involved in that and then my

³⁵ Kathleen shares that she had to lobby for her ability to pursue a double major in Italian and French as this was conventionally not offered at her institution (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 1).

³⁶ Kathleen rated her proficiency as ‘4’ on the scale ranging from 1 to 5 in this study’s questionnaire.

teacher [in] second year suggested that I try and get into an exchange program for my junior year so I did that. I spent the third year in Pavia, [in the north of] Italy, [35 km south of Milan]. [I learned Italian here] ...and...not just in the classroom. I mean...some of the classes were still part Italian, part English, but it was having to live there and find a place to rent and buy food and that was where I really started to acquire it (Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 1-2).

While in Italy, Kathleen described herself making “a real effort” unlike her fellow American roommates who would ask her to carry out day to day transactions and interactions, such as speaking to the landlord, on their behalf (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 9). Interacting with and eventually befriending local Italians further increased Kathleen’s confidence and linguistic and cultural knowledge.

...I was teaching English...and one of the little boys in my class, I ran into one day on the street, and offered him a gelato and then he said: “Do you want to come meet my mom?” So I went upstairs to his house to meet his mom and she and I became great friends....That opened up a whole other area where I would just go [over]. She...is a seamstress. And I would just go over to their place in the afternoon and while she was sewing we would talk and listen to the Italian Hit Parade on the radio...Then a whole kind of family vocabulary... would [open up to me to] acquire...and then playing with the kids and so on. And each time I went [back to Italy]...and had to look for a new place to stay, I’d stay with them first until I found a place...I didn’t see them for ... 25 years and finally a year ago Christmas we went...and saw them again for the first time...[though we had been corresponding regularly] (Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 9-10).

Upon returning home to the U.S. to complete her last year of undergraduate study, Kathleen talked about vividly wanting to go back to Italy after graduation and described this intent as “all I could think of...” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 3). As planned, she returned and lived there on her own for two years on a work visa initially teaching English at a private school. However this role was short-lived, lasting about two months after which time Kathleen sought employment elsewhere. Looking back at the brevity of this experience she reflected that: “I had no teaching experience and these kids had no interest in learning English, none” (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 3). In order to support herself, Kathleen found every kind of odd job she could including work in a dentist’s office as a receptionist and sweeping floors for an orthodontist.

So that’s where I really became fluent...I stayed the whole two years...[and found] my vocabulary...expanded. And I did...some translating and interpreting work. It was hard to find it but when I could I did that. I worked as an interpreter at the Milan Trade Fair one spring and that was a baptism by fire...They called us *interpreti volanti*, flying interpreters, because they would just sort of call you at whatever booth or stand they needed you. ...It was exhausting!...You couldn’t really prepare any vocabulary...so it was quite something... And...I had a part-time job for Inglis...a refrigeration company that had an office in Milan

and so I'd go in every morning and I just sort of ran the office and did all the English Italian correspondence and so on. So all those different contexts were just great (Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 3-4).

Kathleen's willingness, drive, and interest to place herself in a variety of situations requiring the use of Italian pushed her linguistic ability and paid off in the form of what she conveyed was current comfort and confidence using Italian in diverse professional and personal contexts for a variety of purposes. She went on to successfully complete a Masters of Arts degree in Italian language and literature as well as a Master of Fine Arts degree in Creative Writing in English.

6.3 Case Analysis

6.3.1 Native Speaker (NS)

I sound almost native... 'I really am Italian!'...I tell my students: '*Sono Italiana di cuore*' 'I'm an Italian at heart'...Sometimes I...listen really carefully in conversations among Italians just because...I'll make a grammar mistake here and there or a vocabulary mistake and then I'll listen and realise: "Well ... other people, Italians do that too in Italian, just as we do it in English, you know?" [I am near native because]...the right word just doesn't come at the moment or...so I think very, very close to native...In interpreting work and so on, I always have Italians asking me where I'm from in Italy and being really surprised that I'm American... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 6, 8, 12).

Kathleen closely identified with being a (near) native speaker of Italian and was self-forgiving when noticing her linguistic lapses given that she compared mistakes made in Italian with those of natives and found that they, too, committed similar errors. She expressed her delight at being identified as native by Italians and attributed this to her extensive and diverse background and experience in Italian language and culture as well as the good fortune of having "an ear" and the ability to speak with a native accent (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 6).³⁷ Acting experience also attributed to the "quality of being able to mimic," in this case pronunciation and accent (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 6).

Kathleen recounted a situation where Italian natives assumed she was a fellow Italian:

...I helped produce the Italian radio program on CLTI for two, three years and people who only knew me from the radio show had no idea that I wasn't Italian. And they'd meet me, like I'd go to an Italian banquet at the cultural centre or something and then they'd meet me and they'd just go: "What? You're Kathleen? You can't be! You don't look Italian!" (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 6).

³⁷ Kathleen shares that her ability to speak with a native accent extends to German as well (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 6)

Based on her oral ability and performance, this passage reflects how Kathleen was perceived to be native on the radio until her identity was revealed in person. Kathleen considered her ability to think in Italian as a mark of a native speaker and a contributing factor to her fluency. She shared that:

I think I'm very, very close...And I guess, one thing that would make me feel that I'm so near to the native speaker, is that...if I'm not just like in a teaching context, but if I'm in the middle of an Italian conversation or interpreting, I will be thinking in Italian. I'm not going: "English, okay, that's such and such."...If I'm speaking in Italian, I'm thinking in Italian...ever since I lived in Italy...(Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 8-9).

Frequency and level of use were considered by Kathleen to be factors affecting her proficiency and simultaneously vital prerequisites to sustaining and keeping current in the language. She credited her ongoing interpreting and translating work and writing as keeping her current and active in her use of Italian and reflected on the consequences of limited opportunities to use Italian:

It's...a function of how much you use it too...Last year I taught 300, so I was able to use a lot more vocabulary and so on, but mainly over the last 13 years I've been teaching just Italian 100. So if you don't make an effort to have other conversations and so on then that...narrows the vocabulary...At this point probably if I had to have... a really difficult philosophical discussion with someone I might be a little slow in coming up with some of the terms...But the other day, with this interpreting job, I really had almost had no preparation. They... didn't give me any material beforehand...and I was able to...convert everything into English pretty easily (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 8).

Beyond being highly proficient (native-speaker-like) as teacher, Kathleen was a confident bilingual user due to experience and her initiative in gaining cross-lingual experience. In addition to keeping current linguistically, Kathleen's writing helped her draw on her cumulative knowledge of and interest in Italian culture.

[The piece I'm writing has] lot of... autobiography to it...As with any fiction, I mean a lot of it is just... autobiographical...It's about a woman...who's... almost 80 or almost 90, ... looking back over her life...She's American, but she had lived in Italy and her granddaughter has fallen in love with an Italian so that has sort of brought up all her regrets, and memories and everything... [She asks herself:] "Why didn't I stay in Italy, why didn't I marry the Italian?" and so on... When I lived there...I felt so much a part of the culture that...that's one of things I talk about in the story that, the *La Feinte Italiana*, has to remind herself when she reads about the economic boom, the boom *economico* of the 60s or she reads about... these things that you would only know if you lived in Italy...Everybody in Italy still knows that... the one thing, the one good thing you can say about when Mussolini was in power was... that all the trains ran on time...Things like that you would never know from studying Italian in a classroom, right? So I think I have ... certainly not the same [knowledge] as someone who's lived 50 years in Italy, but I have a whole lot of the [background in] culture because... when I was there I was just like a sponge of taking everything in. And especially being in the family there... and watching TV with

them...[listening to all] the comments they would make or, hearing the songs that the kids would sing or...just so many contexts. You pull all this information in (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 13).

Based on her in-depth cultural familiarity and knowledge, Kathleen indicated that her Italian proficiency was near-native though reported being aware of differences between herself and a native speaker. She defined “the quickness of coming up with expressions” that are idiomatic as one difference in addition to clearly articulating and formulating thoughts in Italian less frequently in comparison to a native speaker (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 13-4).

Compared to spoken Italian, Kathleen perceived herself as more competent with the written word in that, when speaking, she lacked access to the wide range of rich “vocabulary that will come up” when writing (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 13). She was again lenient in her self-assessment, acknowledging that “nobody uses that much vocabulary on a day to day basis (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p.13).”

...In the last two years I've started writing fiction in Italian...When I was doing my Master's in Italian...I was writing in Italian...[and] then I hadn't for like 20 years...All of a sudden this story came to me in Italian and actually I sent it to a competition in Italy which had a category for non-native Italians writing in Italian and I got an Honourable Mention in that category. And so then I kept [writing in Italian]. I've written two other stories that... sort of follow from that and I've realised that it's becoming a novel now. And I actually want to write... the whole thing in Italian and then the whole thing in English. It won't be like a literal translation, it's like writing it twice... But so what I'm saying is, when I write something in Italian, I'm just absolutely amazed at what I can say. I mean... it can be complicated, it can be very, very erudite... I mean amazing things [happen] stylistically just almost as much as I could do in English as a writer (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 12-3).

Kathleen saw herself as an effective and competent writer of Italian who has merged her creative writing and Italian language abilities to pursue her interest in both areas. In doing so she has forged a multifaceted identity as teacher, writer, and interpreter-translator as well as perpetual cultural anthropologist.

To Kathleen a native speaker was one who “...was born in the country ...where that language is spoken or possibly...not in the country, but with both parents speaking it in the home, and so they grew up [speaking it]” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 7). Her other criterion for the term was use of the language for “a few years in early childhood [before] the second language came in” and Kathleen recognised situations of migration (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 7). Given that her definition emphasised early home use Kathleen viewed her

status as distinctly non-native rather than native regardless of proficiency. However her interest, experience, and drive, resulting in her status as a self-acknowledged near-native and someone commonly mistaken for native, have ‘compensated’ for any lack of early linguistic experience, and, if anything, have resulted in a unique vantage point.

Kathleen reported sharing personal anecdotes and experiences with students during relevant teaching moments and believed that “it is valuable that...I came from the same place that they are...” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 53). She brought up her various learning and out-of-class activities in Italian, including her Italian writing, as examples or points of interest. Modelling what can be done with Italian outside of the classroom was one such purpose, such as:

[talking] about...some of my interpreting work. For instance... two or three years [ago] I interpreted...for [the Italian singer] Andrea Bocelli when he was here...so I tell them about that. And I actually have a tape of [when] I was interpreting for him when he was on television...so sometimes I’ll show them that tape, because it...ties in too...[that] this is what you can do with the language right? (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 50).

Kathleen was highly cognisant of the fact that she could “sometimes bring even more than a native speaker” to students from her vantage point and experience including showing them “connections between words [etymology]” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 52). She mentioned that she used personal anecdotes to illustrate concepts such as one ‘honest’, sometimes amusing, linguistic mistake and the logic behind the error.

I’ll tell them sometimes about certain expressions that for years and years I misunderstood or said wrongly... and thought...There’s one... when something is really, really expensive in Italian you say: “*Costa ira de Dio*” which is literally ‘it costs the wrath of God’ okay? I went for years thinking it was “*Lire de Dio*” that lire, the unit of money in Italy, right? It would make more sense if you’re saying that something costs...in lire, like dollars...So things like that I can share with them whereas a native speaker would never have made that mistake, you know? So I, I find that fun (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04 pp. 53-54).

Kathleen’s ready access to personal examples from her learning and acquisition experience might help students avoid similar pitfalls and simultaneously served as a means of building rapport through openness and humour. Having gone through the challenges of acquiring Italian, Kathleen could readily relate to those experienced by her students.

In terms of relating to native Italians professionally and socially, Kathleen described herself as doing so with ease and, in fact, welcoming opportunities to interact with them. She viewed such opportunities as providing further access and exposure to the language and culture.

I worked for...[a] fellow...at the radio station who now [publishes] the Italian newspaper locally and I actually worked at the newspaper office for several years too. So that was a lot of taking all the calls and everything. I speak to him regularly but...it's definitely not on a daily basis. If it were on a daily basis, like if I were married to an Italian...I think I would be able to say that I was a native speaker, if I was speaking [it] every day. [When I come across a native]...somehow it usually goes back and forth [between English and Italian]...If I know that... if I can speak Italian with someone I will... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 16-7).

There was no hesitation in her reported use of Italian with natives, but instead a determination to maximise language use. Though she reported that code-switching occurred between English and Italian naturally at appropriate moments, Kathleen reported that she preferred using Italian as she knew she could confidently and effectively do so. At work, her Italian colleagues mainly used Italian amongst themselves with some code switching which Kathleen viewed as “the usual when in a conversation with people that have two languages...just ‘cause your mind does that” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 20). Overall Kathleen had some exposure to Italian everyday and quantified it as at most a quarter” of the time (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 32). She attributed her writing in Italian as providing consistent and regular exposure to the language both through this act itself and as a member of a native writers’ group that met regularly.

I’ve just recently started working with a small group of people...[who are] all native Italians...writing fiction in Italian. So there’s three or four of us [and] we each come up with like a title to write on and... have... a month to write and then we get together and read each other’s work and comment... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 25).

Kathleen’s ongoing exposure in a variety of contexts has served her well in maintaining and growing in her Italian proficiency.

Regardless of all this exposure and experience, Kathleen aspired to again spend an extended period of time in Italy or other target language environment. She described her goal of wishing to be “...at the absolute top linguistically and...to have even more interesting things to tell [students about Italian]...” (Kathleen, Interview: April 5, 2004 pp. 52) as well as “speaking at a [higher] level... talking about politics, talking about philosophy, talking about the state of the world, all that, day and night for however long, so that I would just bump [up]...my current vocabulary...” (Kathleen, Interview: pp. 24). Despite this goal, she believed there was nothing lacking linguistically in her Italian classroom based on proficiency. Though she recognised and believed that the ideal solution would be to take part in a program in Italy, professional and family commitments were an obstacle. In attempting

to meet this goal locally, she defined the challenge of finding a program suitable for her level of proficiency and one that met her needs.

Given this state of affairs Kathleen accessed the native speaker as a linguistic and cultural resource and described how she used other strategies to work towards her goal. As reflected in her description of collecting ‘artifacts’ while on a recent trip to Italy, Kathleen was, similarly, a collector of what is new and current in Italian language and culture.

I usually... try to... ask my friends in Italy... This week I was asking some... people that were here from Torino... I was asking them, “Okay, what’s the latest way to say ‘cool’ in Italy ((laughs))?” I just want to make sure there’s nothing new... I think just the fact that I do translating and interpreting always keeps me in there... There’s always... a new lexicon that I’m acquiring [for] whatever it is I happen to be interpreting ! ... [Other things I do are] reading and going to Italian web sites and uh, what else? (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 14).

Relating to ‘native’ students in her classroom took the form of interacting with heritage language learners who had often learned an Italian dialect in the home. In terms of the makeup of students in the classroom, there were “always” Italian Canadians in the class whom Kathleen viewed as “...not really very good speakers” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 17). Kathleen believed she did not “...differentiate” between the Italian heritage language learners and the true beginners by addressing them more often in Italian, or doing anything differently with them (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 18). Her justification for this was related to heritage language learners’ motivation for study as well as their main exposure to dialect in the home. Kathleen described their length of study and the level to which they advance as varying widely. Some progress to senior level courses while others are involved for the first (one) year for their language credit requirement. She found that many believe the course is going to be virtually effortless, given their background, and are then surprised to have to “unlearn all the dialect and learn proper Italian” (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 21). However, the presence of these students perceived to be bona fide native speakers by other beginners in the class, initially, had a detrimental effect on classroom morale. Kathleen found the perception of advantage as “always an interesting issue at the beginning of the year” in that:

The Anglo-Saxon students see that the Italian Canadian students are understanding... or that they’re answering in Italian initially, and they’re thinking: “This isn’t fair, they already know Italian”... and... students come up to me and say: “Well it seems like everybody knows way more than me and they already speak Italian.”... This lasts maybe 1 or 2 weeks and then they’re probably even, the Italian Canadians are where everyone else is, if not farther behind, because they don’t have any of the grammar and they’re suddenly realising that a lot of the

vocabulary, the words in dialect, are nothing like the words in Italian...(Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 21).

An ongoing challenge was addressing non-Italian students' perceptions and the effect on classroom morale as well as helping heritage language learners build on the interest stemming from their home language.

6.3.2 Pedagogy and Practice

...The reason I'm much more interested in the communicative approach is just because that's what brought me into it. It was just so much fun to hear Italian and to speak Italian...I mean... I'm not just there to teach grammar in another language, I mean the fun part is communicating.... You don't want to [forget the grammar]... you need that...infrastructure... You don't want to be building on incorrect patterns and so on...but I like the way the books, more and more, will bring a certain vocabulary and then they'll use that vocabulary in all the grammar exercises so that you're really getting a whole [context whether] it's shopping or fashion or whatever. And all the exercises, even though they may be past tense, imperative, or future tense, they're still using that vocabulary so you're getting that whole [context]... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 35-36).

Kathleen attributed the successful use of the communicative approach in her learning experience as a motivating factor in learning Italian. She was therefore an advocate of this approach in the language classroom. The use of previously introduced context-related vocabulary was cited by her as meaningful for students and its repetition provided continuity and a sense of cumulative knowledge. Oral practice and repetition whether of vocabulary or other aspects of language was also important to Kathleen as part of her focus on using the language as much as possible while "laughing and having fun" (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 40).

Communicative language teaching and learning, according to Kathleen, also occurred in the form of *Italiano virtuale* (virtual Italian) where students worked in small groups about six times during the course to increase their ability and confidence in interacting in Italian. Kathleen related how she used to have students do presentations in groups on an optional topic of choice and on the value of this as a learning experience. However these group presentations were eliminated due to insufficient time to present. Student writing in Italian was another cornerstone of Kathleen's use of the communicative approach which involves regularly applying Italian. Students kept a year-long diary in Italian once or twice per week to encourage regular attempts to use the language and four compositions were handed in for evaluation. The first was a self-portrait (*autoritratto*), followed by a portrait of one's family, a diary entry, and then in the second term a long poem in Italian or a letter to a mentor (*maestro*).

In carrying out her teaching Kathleen used various audio and visual media of personal and cultural interest such as music and movies to engage student interest as well as to illustrate concepts in a meaningful cultural context. In addition to prompting conversation, song lyrics were used as a cloze listening exercise with students filling in the blanks with missing words. Kathleen also regularly enjoyed incorporating films such as *Caro Professore* (Dear Teacher).³⁸ Besides engaging the students in humour in an Italian context, the film illustrated some of the cultural discourses of school.

These guiding practices have been reinforced by Kathleen's teaching experience with some minor changes being made along the way based on student background and needs. Kathleen related how the expectation of textbook content coverage by her department certainly affected the amount of enrichment and support activities that can be incorporated.

Kathleen spoke of the "whole grammar element" as a reality of her teaching a university level language course albeit in a communicative context (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 47). She believed that students need to be able to use verb tenses and "have vocabulary for different contexts" such as home and shopping (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 28). Though such description could readily have made aspects of the course technical, Kathleen prefaced her teaching of grammar by showing how it gives the language user tools. For example using the subjunctive would show intent in terms of whether you really mean to say something. She also used a comparative approach in relating what students are learning in Italian grammar to English grammar. A challenge with respect to teaching grammar was students' general lack of an English grammatical frame of reference (metalinguistic knowledge), so Kathleen spent a lot of time teaching or, rather, reviewing English grammar.

[The most difficult aspect of teaching Italian to my students]...is...that... the majority of them are not that clear on their English grammar...So I find that I'm actually having to spend a lot of time teaching them grammar period in order [to know the Italian...[It] isn't required, but I always suggest that they get the book English Grammar for Students in Italian...As usual, only the best students get the extra books like this and it's the others who need it. [This book]... shows the parallel in Italian... So it'll go: "What is Past Perfect in English? In Italian?" And then it sort of contrasts them and it says what to be careful of and then it'll give a few examples. [Sharing] ways that I've learned to remember things, little [mnemonic devices and making positive connections is also helpful]...With the subjunctive...they're all like, "Subjunctive what's that?"...And I just say: "I love the subjunctive. You get to figure out do you really, do you need to use this? Does it fit this category or this category? It's not just a boring tense like the future where you just change the ending." ...So I like to preface

³⁸ This comical film is about a northern Italian teacher who goes to teach in a school in the south.

even grammar with...how it's fun because you need to figure out do you need the [tense or part of speech] or not, and that kind of thing (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 42-3, 54).

Using students' background knowledge and existing frame of reference as a springboard for further learning was also illustrated in Kathleen's initial introduction to Italian at the beginning of the course. She engaged student interest and initiation into their study of Italian by encouraging them to access their background through a class brainstorming of everything around them that was Italian.

I'll ask them: "So how many of you know Italian?" And of course nobody raises their hand. And: "How many of you think you know any Italian?" And they'll all [signal] no. "How many know one word?" And then I say: "Okay, ... I think you know more Italian than you're saying." ... I think I probably say that in both languages but I probably first do it in Italian and then in English to make sure everyone's understood, because then I ask them to go up to the board and write down every word they can think of in Italian. And of course, especially with all the foods and everything, we end up with the board just covered and then... I say: "*Questo viene d'Italiano*" [translation? What comes from Italian?]" (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 19).

Some key pedagogical values came across as Kathleen related her teaching values and experience. Firstly, though time is a factor given departmental expectations, dramatic role play was strongly advocated and used by Kathleen so that students be less self-conscious while using Italian. Secondly, being a highly supportive teacher and actively supporting students in their attempts to speak Italian was a role Kathleen spoke of embracing which included "just keeping that light, sort of fun atmosphere" and redirecting when linguistic mistakes made (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 45). Thirdly, though Kathleen approached teaching Italian in a fun manner she believed that students had to be "forced to communicate" and that this key value and priority had to be built into the system of evaluation (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 37). Kathleen's teaching methods (e.g., conversation centres, participatory points for spontaneous use individually) and her means of grading reflected this. Kathleen believed that students do not wish to put themselves "on the line" and are "holding back" instead of pushing themselves, something she found even when teaching the advanced third year class (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 44). She motivated students by stating her expectation of maximum language use and using reminders as necessary. Her acting skills were also used as is miming messages not to speak English and acting out or gesturing the message to use Italian instead.

6.3.3 L1-L2 Use

I think initially when I started teaching...I started out with more Italian right off the bat and ... I found that...some kids were just fine with it and others were just being left completely behind....So I did have to...use more English initially. I mean in [the] first class, I'll use quite a bit of Italian but very, very slowly, very, very simply, just to give them the sense of it...[to introduce myself and talk about familiar Italian-derived cognates] (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 19).

Kathleen's goal in terms of L1-L2 use was to maximise use of the target language, a consistent goal since the onset of her teaching of Italian. She described how she initially conducted all classroom affairs in Italian from day one when she started teaching whereas at the time of the interview she worked towards exclusive Italian by the end of the first year. She justified this shift in that interaction with the class was compromised with her initial policy. At the time of the interview she started the year off the in Italian 'very, very slowly, very, very simply' and was more flexible in using English if necessary so as to "not leave two-thirds of the class behind" (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 19). Her overall classroom teacher discourse was 80% in Italian. Kathleen stated her messages are completely in Italian with repetition or summarisation taking place in English when students were not following. She has also described the strategy of adjusting her use of Italian, using more simple pared-down language with students whenever possible.

Factors influencing L1-L2 use were multifaceted and included: her perception of effective student communication and understanding, introduction of new grammar concepts, and the textbook language of use (Italian vs. English). Kathleen noted that student lack of understanding as indicated by non-verbal cues (glazed looks) or other means indicate a need to adjust her language use. The solution to this lack of understanding depends on the degree of abstractness. Introducing new grammar content was often done in English before then returning to Italian. Kathleen noted how the textbook increases its use of Italian, starting out with much English. Given that the students had a visual reference of explanation in English before them, Kathleen was more at ease to use Italian at certain times than others. In any case Kathleen conveyed the extensive and instantaneous adjustments she makes depending on the teaching context:

[With using Italian In class] I just have to be flexible... I mean by this point in the year I'm...teaching a lot of the grammar in Italian, but if I just notice that everybody's glazing over then I'll go back to English [to explain [the concept]. [Once the concept is introduced]...then I'll go back to Italian...I would say [I use Italian] 80% [of the time] ...[by] the end of the year...It takes a while... to build up to that...[By then] I'll probably say...

almost 100% of things in Italian but then often I will repeat them in English because I'm seeing that people are going to miss a deadline or something because they're not following me.]... At the beginning of the year..., the exercises [in the textbook] all have an explanation in English and... I will give [an explanation] in Italian and at a certain [halfway] point the book then switches to Italian too... But [at] the beginning of the year I'll give it in Italian just so the [students] that are totally overwhelmed already will be reading the English but hearing the Italian and making those connections... [I] summarise a little bit in English just to make sure... [If there's confusion I also] slow it down and choose a simpler word or a word that's more similar to an English word...I think I've always done that...I [also] try and use my acting in the classroom and make things funny wherever I can...and...make faces...[For instance] if they ask...what a word means often I won't usually say it in English...If they say: "What does the word, *caminare* [mean]?" [It's] 'walk' and I'll just go [do] that or...[if they ask about the word] cry, I'll [whimper and cry]... (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 17-8, 30).

Her explanation about her various communication strategies illustrated the dynamic nature of L1-L2 use in the classroom and her careful negotiation of language use. The ease of achieving the goal of maximum language use varied depending on the circumstances as illustrated above. Explaining a simple physical concept such as *caminare* (walking) was much more readily done than when introducing an abstract one. Kathleen's consciousness of her goal to maximise language use was illustrated in using Italian to review previously taught concepts.

6.3.4 Culture

I just want them to get a feel...for what it's like to be in Italy. So we try and do a dinner at an Italian restaurant. After the final exam we try to go to a café on *Comoro Drive*...and just be in the environment... Actually for 10 years... although it didn't work out this year...I've taken...students up to Rose Lake [to] a resort owned by Italians....We'd go up on a Friday, eat there that night, stay overnight, and then go canoeing and stuff and just be in that environment of a place run by an Italian family....I like to just give them that feel of it... a sense of the whole Italian culture...What it's like to be Italian, or live in Italy, or speak Italian... [I talk about] things [happening] at the Italian Cultural Centre but I[especially] try to take my students...to the Cultural Centre for the Italian *Carnevale* and for the National Day in June...And I let them know about the Italian Club ...I give them the e-mail address and I let them know about events...And I tell them a lot about my [experiences] and I try to do [the role playing] with the...restaurant and like the last one we'll do is...one of the areas will be...an employment agency...where people are coming and looking for a certain job and they're trying to find them...So that's another thing [I do in terms of culture] (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 28-29).

Culture was incorporated into Kathleen's course by means of providing context for communicative activities as well as being discussed as a topic of interest as reflected in her elaboration above. The focus on giving students "a feel for" Italian culture was reflected in in-class and out-of-class related activities (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 28). Popular

culture media such as movies were used in her classes. Kathleen stipulated that she does not get to the course chapter about politics and felt no loss at this as she stated that: “I know very little about politics whether in Italy or here or anywhere...So I don’t give them so much a sense of Italy the way it is now, in terms of specifics, like politics or economy or things like that” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 28).

In any case Kathleen’s most recent trip to Italy seems to have refreshed her notion of culture and provided an update. During this last trip to Italy with family she collected cultural paraphernalia such as flyers, advertisements, and product packaging for use in conversation in the classroom while simultaneously including culture.

I’ve learned ... a little more on my own recently since I went to Italy. One thing I did [was collect written and other material from Italy]...My daughter was with me, she was 12 at the time and...said: “Mom, don’t collect anything else!” I was just collecting everything ...like... magazines,...everything we ate! ...You can see here it’s, it’s from Italy. I mean all the chocolate bar wrappers, the chocolate bars, the um ... yogurt containers. I use [these materials which I’ve collected in Italy] in class... for conversation...I’ll bring them in and set up...a little café over here and a restaurant here and then I give them cards. [I tell them:]... “You’re the owner of such and such a restaurant” or... “You’re hungry, you want to...”and make [depict and resolve the scenario using Italian]. But in working through all these things and looking at them and seeing what I have,... I’ve learned some more too. [When I returned from Italy] ...there were suitcases full...(Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 15-6).

Kathleen’s inclusion of culture in her classroom was intertwined with her own particular fascination with it. She openly accessed local Italian community resources as discussed above to provide a context for students’ language learning based on her belief that language and culture are inherently intertwined.

6.3.5 Challenges

Finding a means to teach exclusively in Italian and using more of the language sooner were identified as Kathleen’s main challenges in this context. Improving her language proficiency and accessing heritage language learners as a resource were additional challenges she identified. She described how it “still feels chaotic” even after teaching for 14 years and wished to bring teaching up to another level but lacks the resources and time to do this (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 51). Specifically she felt a lack in her knowledge of current teaching methodology with respect to modern languages. She believed that she has gaps in how to use more Italian in class with students because of a lack of an education degree and background. In attempting to resolve this she expressed interest in the *Rassias Method*, which immerses students in the language from the outset. Fitting in enough

conversation and related activities was a related challenge given the demands of an academic university level course with specific department expectations about objectives to be fulfilled.

...If I could be learning...the pedagogy of teaching more in Italian from the very beginning... of really bringing the language into the classroom sooner ...that would be fantastic....I mean there is a teaching method... where... you just go in and it's Italian from day one and...when I started teaching, would have liked to [have] used that and I...maybe I would need more training in it or something but ... I don't know how to use it and not leave two thirds of the class behind...I don't have teacher training like so many of [my colleagues] here...I've been a teaching assistant but...I don't have an education degree. So I basically came in having to figure it out on my own and, initially, I'm sure I was a terrible teacher...I think I've gotten much, much better, but I haven't been able to find a way to...start in Italian from the very beginning and keep the students with me. So that would be wonderful...(Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp. 51, 24).

Another challenge faced by her was related to capitalising on heritage language learners' resources while addressing true beginners' perceptions of them having an unfair advantage. Kathleen has found that the quarter of the class that are Italian Canadians have learned a dialect, and "are not really very good speakers" though they can understand standard Italian (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 17). The need "to unlearn" their dialect was viewed as necessary as they advance in this course based on standard Italian (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, p. 21). As well, true beginners, observing fellow students answering in Italian and understanding it, were intimidated from the outset of this beginner course. Although this advantage lasts for a few weeks before Italian Canadians are no further behind as course becomes more involved in vocabulary and grammar, this perception had negative repercussions for the non-Italian-Canadians' motivation. Kathleen addressed non-heritage students' concerns by telling them that they are "no worse off" (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 32).

As outlined earlier, working toward native speaker status was also addressed as a challenge. Though she is involved in extensive, advanced writing outside of the classroom, having someone to speak to in Italian on a regular basis was seen to be a missing link in her maintenance of Italian and for further linguistic development. She felt that this lack of regular interaction with Italians was due to both a lack of access and her many professional and personal commitments. She recognized her ongoing vocabulary development as a particular area of concern both in terms of maintenance and being current. Kathleen believed that she needs a concentrated period of time in Italy again and that this would have augmented her cultural knowledge. Finding a suitable, advanced course in Italian would be beneficial though Kathleen believed that she would have to do this in Italy. She indicated an

interest in an immersion experience if it were offered at a sufficiently challenging level for growth.

6.4 Summary of Salient Issues

Kathleen's experience and perspectives illustrate the consequences of developing increased linguistic competence and TC experience in that she has adopted an Italian persona or self and sees herself as "an Italian at heart" (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 12). She was able to readily and confidently relate to and identify with the target culture and her identity had expanded over time from non-native speaker to writer of Italian fiction and an intercultural bridge between Italian and English. She was able to think and write in Italian and actively sought out opportunities and contexts to interact with natives using Italian approximately a quarter of the time. Kathleen viewed native speakers as those who have had exposure to the language from birth or from early childhood and especially those who have used the language from an early age in the home, whether in the target culture country or with native-speaking parent(s) elsewhere. Kathleen related to natives confidently and with ease and had regular, positive interactions with them in Italian.

Some of the advantages enjoyed by being a non-native teacher arose from Kathleen's first-hand experience of the language learning process. These advantages included an ability to share personal anecdotes and learning tips and strategies based on her experience. As a bilingual writer Kathleen was able to show students connections between words and other fine points about language such as etymology. As an interpreter she conveyed her experiences such as having interpreted for the Italian singer Andrea Bocelli. Overall Kathleen saw herself as providing a fresh perspective on Italian as an outsider who has immersed herself in Italian language and culture. Although she acknowledged a lack of "quickness in coming up with expressions" that are idiomatic or current, she compensated by keeping abreast of what is new by drawing on native' knowledge and experience as a resource and actively working in interpretation and translation projects (Kathleen, Interview: 04/05/04, pp 13-4).

The belief in taking risks to acquire the language is reflected in Kathleen's acquisition of Italian as well as in the pedagogical approach she adopted in her classroom. Students were encouraged and supported to take risks in Italian. She advocated a communicative approach based on her learning experience and enthusiasm for using the language. Grammar

was incorporated as a core part of the course program based on departmental expectations as well as Kathleen's belief of its necessity for accurate and effective use of the language by providing students with "infrastructure" (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 35). English grammar was used as a point of reference for learning Italian grammar.

An 'anthropologist' of Italian culture, Kathleen collected cultural artifacts during her trips to Italy for both personal interest and to motivate student conversation in Italian during communicative activities. Her sense and 'feel' of Italian culture as a whole was incorporated into her teaching by way of introducing culture as the context for conversation activities, providing opportunities to view various Italian media, as well as participating in events, locally, at the Italian Cultural Centre.

Although Kathleen wished to work towards earlier use of exclusive Italian in the classroom, in addition to other compensatory strategies English was used as a tool to facilitate understanding and particularly for introducing new, abstract concepts. Other compensatory strategies included miming or acting out the message, reducing the pace of speech, and using visual materials.

Challenges included mastering the task of how to maximise Italian from the outset of a course as well as locating opportunities to progress linguistically including how to keep current with and maintain vocabulary. How to draw on the resource of heritage language learners was a challenge particularly given their use of dialect and varying levels of proficiency. Issues of the perceived advantage of Italian heritage language learners and its implication for motivation of true beginners was a recurring challenge which Kathleen dealt with through positive encouragement and by communicating that this advantage is short-lived and minimal.

Chapter 7: FOCAL PARTICIPANT: NANCY, MANDARIN TEACHER

I do find myself though dreaming in my second language, sometimes. I remember one time, this is down the road when I lived in Taiwan and...we had an earthquake, and I remember he [my husband] told me that I was yelling at him in Mandarin. And what I remembered saying to him was: 'Don't move the bed' in Mandarin...I was saying that and we were having an earthquake, as there are many in Taipei...That was when I got to the point where I could, I think, honestly say that I was fluent to the point where I didn't need to translate. I mean there's still things of course which I do need to, but , yeah I think when you think in your second language, when you're not consciously translating .. I think that's a - sort of a telling - telling sign... (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 8).

7.1 Introduction and Case Context

Nancy was a Mandarin teacher for 9 years and taught grades 9 through 12 Mandarin at the time of this study. Her school was located in an ethnically diverse area and serves approximately 900 students in grades 8 to 12. The school was within a large, urban and multicultural school district providing programs to 56,000 students from Kindergarten to Grade 12 as well as various programs for adults.³⁹

The student population was multicultural and although the predominant population is reflective of the historically Italian-Canadian neighborhood it resided in, most of its students were of Asian heritage at the time of the study.⁴⁰

According to the school's Modern Languages Department, the program aimed to help students acquire communication skills to become confident and effective speakers of Mandarin and/or French, develop a positive attitude as well as an appreciation and awareness of cultural diversity. 'Real-life contexts' were emphasized in the program as was developing student familiarity with target cultures. The department offered courses to students with little or no previous knowledge or ability in either language. In addition to Nancy, the school's Mandarin teacher, there were two teachers of French. The Mandarin Chinese curriculum is part of the provincial IRP which emphasizes the communicative-experiential approach as described in Chapter 4.

Nancy's students represented a variety of backgrounds linguistically and culturally within this highly popular and growing Mandarin program. Mandarin heritage speakers and

³⁹ Vancouver School Board site www.vsb.bc.ca accessed 11/17/08

⁴⁰ Ibid

(near) natives regularly enrolled in her classes as did monolingual English speakers and speakers of other languages. Though heritage language students sometimes assumed that they were taking an 'easier' credit course, Nancy observed that many of them had challenges with writing in Chinese as well as their overall literacy with respect to Chinese characters and also struggled with English. The use of English for instructions and questions on the provincial exam questions necessitated students' sound understanding of academic English. The heritage language students also sometimes spoke various Chinese dialects at home that were not always mutually intelligible with Mandarin which reduced their advantage in terms of oral competence.

Nancy worked to engage students in Chinese culture through pop culture exposure via media such as films. She was also actively involved in planning and organising a student excursion to China, an opportunity which was extended to all students in the school based on being a good overall student.

7.2 Profile

Nancy has had a variety of cultural experiences in Asian language contexts beginning with her submersion into Mandarin in Beijing, China at age 15. Born and raised in Vancouver, Nancy came from a family of teachers, her mother was an ESL professional and her father and sister were also teachers. Nancy described her submersion in Mandarin as beginning with her mother's opportunity to teach EFL teaching methodology to teachers in Beijing in 1981. Instead of going to the American school she attended the local Chinese School:

I was...in grade 10 in Canada but I was put in grade 5 in a Beijing elementary school and there were a couple of reasons for that. [For one] they gave me an entrance exam, hundred percent in Chinese characters. I looked at it, knew nothing, figured out my name went there, and bombed that. ...And we were in situations where we were like ESL students but our teachers spoke no English only Mandarin...There were other ex-pat kids there from countries like North Korea, Albania, and lots of Eastern bloc countries. There were a couple of Italian and American kids but really and, interestingly enough, the language that we all shared in common was Mandarin. ... I understood nothing for about the first two and a half months....

We were pulled out and taught the basics of the language...in Mandarin, hundred percent in the language. We were introduced to the tones of Mandarin first of all, and the pronunciation, and some characters, and some basics of Chinese character writing... ...So after about 3 months things started to click and by the end of it we were speaking...In terms of writing I was probably composing sentences by the end of that year.... So that's my initial

experience learning Mandarin...It was basically... sink or swim... (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp.1-2).

Beyond the classroom in China Nancy's close friendship with Mei and her family opened the door to Chinese culture for her as well as to the use of Mandarin in a familial context. It also heightened her awareness about the sensitive socio-political situation.

She was a native speaker [of Mandarin]...who lived in a university compound not far from where I lived. [However] I couldn't openly go into her university compound. I had to go...a circuitous route past guards with bayonets...I snuck in, I did not go in legitimately...to her home and her parents took a great risk having me over to their home and feeding me dumplings and things. They were so thirsty for native speakers of English to teach them English.... I remember having it explained to me...that nothing's going to happen to me if I have this communication with this student but that I needed to be very careful that I didn't do anything to put her in jeopardy. But there was a fair bit of scepticism and suspiciousness in the early 80s and some incidents through other people and things that happened which showed that the government was definitely watching (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 12-13).

Upon her return to Canada Nancy did not use her Mandarin immediately and actually spent her grade 12 year in India. Upon graduation from secondary school, she resumed Mandarin at university (beginner level), though this time in an academic language learning context alongside peers with varying levels of proficiency.

I did well and I think having had the exposure to the tones and to the sounds of the language, and certainly being able to speak [meant] I had a head start over some people who had nothing. At the same time I had some classmates who spoke Cantonese and they had more knowledge of written language and so forth. I was a minority. There were Asian students mostly in the third and fourth year. In fact I think I was the only non-Asian (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 4).

Before beginning her teacher education program Nancy completed the Asian Pacific Commerce Program at Kiplyn College (a pseudonym) in the Lower Mainland, which took her to Taiwan for two years. Though Mandarin was one of the languages offered as part of the program Nancy was not permitted to take on account of her proficiency being too high and subsequently chose to study Thai which she enjoyed. Her subsequent work experience in Taiwan as part of this program provided additional exposure to the Mandarin language with native speakers.

Nancy started teaching in September of 1995. Her professional development interests at the time of the study included pursuing a Masters in Educational Administration as well as learning more about teaching Mandarin in the International Baccalaureate (IB) program. Nancy was highly interested in Chinese history and culture and also described herself as a

‘videophile’ who owns an extensive collection of the most recent Chinese films. She enjoyed viewing these based on her personal interest as well as for potential use in the classroom. Additional exposure to Mandarin was also gained by her through Chinese television and music.

Nancy considered her identity to be that of a Canadian native speaker of English with a broad experience base linguistically and culturally and viewed her proficiency in Mandarin as ‘very good’ rating it a ‘3’.⁴¹ She considered herself Canadian and the the Lower Mainland of British Columbia home. However she indicated that she may not always remain here and would like to teach overseas at an international school. Though she appreciated the potential mobility of teaching, Nancy has only ever taught at her current school for the past 9 years and would like to broaden and enrich her teaching experience internationally.

7.3 Case Analysis

7.3.1 Native Speaker (NS)

Nancy saw herself as an intermediate level speaker of Mandarin, having “more than a working knowledge of the language” though lacking near native-like proficiency (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 14). As she reported in the excerpt that follows, Nancy was able to speak Mandarin colloquially, and perceived herself as speaking with very accurate tones. At times Nancy found she has to think before speaking and sometimes translated English to Chinese in order to communicate. She was proud of being able to dream in Mandarin, which first occurred during her two-year stay in Taiwan, as shown in the excerpt at the beginning of this chapter. She recognised that she has an accent though its source has multiple interpretations. Some perceived it as that of Hong Kong, whereas natives from Tawian have asked if she learned her ‘very standard’ sounding Mandarin in Beijing China:

When I have to actually think of something before I say it I’m not fluent to the point where I’m as equally capable in Mandarin as I am in English. I’m not there. So there are times when I still need to really think about something before I say it, if I’m having to think of a concept that isn’t terribly simple. I sometimes translate (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 8).

In terms of writing, Nancy believed she has ‘good knowledge’ though as a she found it takes longer to read and mark written work than a native speaker would. There are Chinese characters she may not know and needs to think about. This was reflected in her experience

⁴¹ A score of ‘3’ on a proficiency scale of 1 to 5 with 5 representing Excellent/Native-like.

marking provincial challenge exams. Given her slower pace of marking and concern for accuracy people thought she was being “more careful” whereas Nancy observed that a native exposed to written language since age 5 or 6 didn’t have to “work as hard” (Interview: 04/13/04, p.14). In this sense Nancy believed that she must exert greater effort and care, making her job “quite challenging as a – as a second language speaker and writer and reader of Mandarin” (Interview: 04/13/04, p.14).

In the classroom if Nancy was unsure about a question or course content she informed her students that she would look it up or find out the answer and has no qualms about doing so. When lesson and program planning she looked things up as they arose in the course of her work. Despite her non-native status and “undertones” from colleagues outside her school about her legitimacy as a Mandarin teacher, Nancy believed that she was a pedagogically and linguistically sound Mandarin teacher:

I think that there are people who feel that I shouldn’t be teaching Mandarin probably. [No one has said this to me]...I’m younger than most non-Chinese [teachers]...The undertones exist! There’s no doubt. It’s not from the kids at all but from colleagues not at this school. It’s subtle of course. But I don’t let that worry me because I really think I’m a good teacher, and I’m a good language teacher and I’m a good Mandarin teacher. But I think first and foremost I’m a good teacher...(Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 72-73).

Outside of her teaching and overall work context, Nancy did not know many native speakers of Mandarin or other non-native speakers and did not have the opportunity to use Mandarin. However previous involvement with the Mandarin Teachers’ Network provided some exposure on a regular, although infrequent, basis. Informally and socially she found that social interaction took place in Mandarin while more formal meetings about pedagogy took place in English. Her discussion of involvement with this network also sheds light on her struggle with defining who is a native of Mandarin.

I’d say more than three-quarters in the Mandarin Teachers’ network are native speakers. Well I was thinking half, but I’m thinking more about it. And when I said non-native I’m thinking Cantonese speakers but they still have...so much of an edge with the written language...It’s difficult for me to determine. ... They’re non-native but they can pick up a newspaper and read it, that’s what I’m saying, [whereas] I can’t. I mean yes, can I? Can I get the general gist? Yes. Can they speak necessarily well? No, maybe not...but can they read a newspaper? Sure! And so it’s really, it’s a fine line and it’s typical (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 37-8).

Nancy initially excluded Cantonese speakers from her definition of native speaker, though later included these colleagues after reflecting upon their native Chinese character-

based literacy. Thus the aspect of native reader makes it difficult to define the term native speaker in the context of Asian language teaching and learning. This aspect will be revisited in subsequent chapters which explore themes.

According to Nancy one's native language is the one spoken and learned in the home "without learning it as a science" (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 10). She thought that her previous perspective of the attributes of native speakers being mainly related to country of birth was no longer true in large metropolitan areas such as Vancouver. She cited the example of students born and raised in Vancouver whose dominant language of use and affiliation is other than English with English mainly being spoken at school for academic purposes as their second language. Nancy viewed this situation as similar to the one she and her brother experienced in China with Mandarin.

Though acknowledging her limitations Nancy highlighted several advantages of being a Mandarin non-native. Nancy viewed herself as "a good role model, particularly for the non-Chinese students," in that her ability in Mandarin is "evidence that it can happen" (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 66).

...Initially I think it's really important to share with students that experience [of learning Mandarin]... Well they are curious... Occasionally... kids say: "You're the Mandarin teacher?" And I say: "Yup, I am and we sit down and we [go from there]. It's not something I'm fazed by. I'd be lying to you if I said it didn't bother me at the beginning. I was self-conscious about it. But [now] I'm not at all. Very quickly they lose all [reservations] I mean it's good in a sense because they realise that you don't have to be Chinese to speak the language. (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 15-6).

Based on her status as a L2 learner Nancy drew from her learning experience firsthand and was empathetic to "the plight...the challenges" of the non-native student, "learning a language in a context where the student may not speak it much outside of your four walls" (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 73). For example, Nancy could readily relate to most students' challenges with respect to Chinese orthography as she recalled her own path in the following excerpt:

Learning how to develop my rote memory and that is learning the Chinese characters was the most difficult aspect. I heard the sounds quite well, I heard the tones so that wasn't really an issue... So it was... learning how to memorise Chinese characters and the radicals of the characters and the phonetics. The development of that, I think, was probably the most challenging [to be able] to read and write]. For my students this is also probably the same most challenging aspect... (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 58).

Nancy regularly shared personal anecdotes from her learning experience when appropriate and timely, and shared stories of embarrassing mistakes she made when learning the language.

I think that it's important for them to know that I'm certainly fallible and that it's okay to laugh at oneself. You have to be careful and I've made other equally embarrassing mistakes even later in my Mandarin learning (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 16-7).

As illustrated above, based on her status as a non-native Nancy was able to draw on a wealth of experience in her teaching including contentious matters relating to culture. As a non-native and as part of her teaching role Nancy was also able to raise and discuss contentious matters as an 'outsider,' inspiring debate, although it was sometimes disconcerting for her. During our discussion about identity and affiliation, Nancy shared a follow-up question which she posed to a student of Chinese background during an IB oral exam a few weeks earlier:

... I posed the question ...: "It's interesting, how do you feel about the fact that people from China can come and become Canadian citizens, is that a good thing? Is that a nice thing?" He said: "Well sure, if people want to become a Canadian citizen, I think that's a good thing. I think that's nice that the Canadian government allows for that possibility to happen."...And I said: "Oh that's interesting, I think it's nice too...Do you think it would be possible for me to move to China, and I could do that, and become a Chinese citizen?" He says: "Well no." "So well why not?" And he said: "You're not Chinese". We were talking about this and there's this...up on a pedestal kind of attitude...and I don't mean [that it] permeates all of Chinese society, but it's there. China is the central kingdom. The language is the language of the Han people. It's a very ethnocentric country, extremely so. And so there is a double standard. And certainly we talked about this (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 16).

Thus Nancy's non-native status also provided her an interesting vantage point culturally. She ventured to question aspects of Chinese culture and society which might be more difficult for a native to do.

At the time of the study her use of Mandarin outside of the classroom was limited and she was not always able to use Mandarin with native speakers she encountered in Vancouver:

...[Socially] I would [speak Mandarin with native speakers] although if we're in Vancouver and they didn't know I'm a speaker, chances are they'd be speaking in English to me. And there is sort of an unwritten rule or etiquette that if somebody approaches me and they're struggling with English, it would be a real insult for me to go into Mandarin if I thought my Mandarin was much more fluent than it probably would be then in English. To me that would be a real insult to their English. It's just a cultural no-no to do that. However if I approach somebody and I started to speak Mandarin to them that's perfectly fine...But you have to be very careful not to insult somebody by saying: "Oh let's speak Mandarin because it's a lot easier than putting up with your English."... It doesn't always work the other way around.

[As well] you can't assume that they're a Mandarin speaker that's exactly right. They could be Cantonese or a non-speaker at all (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 22).

Access to interactions in Mandarin were complicated by both Nancy's identity as an English native speaker and her visible status as a non-native of Mandarin.

Professionally Nancy has used Mandarin outside of her school setting for short intense periods within specific roles. In addition to interacting with native speaking Mandarin student teachers, as a summer school administrator a few years prior to the interview Nancy enjoyed using Mandarin frequently with students and parents for professional and social purposes in this international ESL program context.

7.3.2 Pedagogy and Practice

Her years of teaching Mandarin have reinforced Nancy's belief in using the communicative approach. The preference for this approach in Nancy's classroom has meant that pronunciation and grammar are means to facilitate communication. Nancy believed that after a few years of her Mandarin classes students would be able to cope socially, survive in downtown Beijing, as well as carry out many basic daily tasks.

A macro view of learning Mandarin also pervaded Nancy's pedagogical practices. She worked on engaging student interest in Mandarin through sharing her experiences and the use of popular culture. She also removed the focus from herself as teacher-speaker by providing students with various kinds of auditory exposure. As well, students carried out some self-assessment to monitor and reflect on their own language learning.

A focus on form was part of her teaching, though Nancy tried to find "a happy medium" with respect to her practices (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 55). She viewed other kinds of teaching methodologies as also valid and believed that variety is important for purposes of motivation as well as to acknowledge and address student needs and multiple intelligences. Though accuracy and good form were seen as important, especially as students progressed in the language, the ability to communicate one's message was more highly valued than accuracy in Nancy's classroom.

Writing in Mandarin Chinese was given considerable focus based on its vastly different and relatively more complex orthography than English or other European languages. Based on her experience of learning Mandarin as a second language as an adolescent, Nancy provided various tools to facilitate her students' study of Chinese

characters. She broke Chinese characters down into several parts, used mnemonic devices, and provided supplementary learning materials to ensure that students gained the practice they need to master these.

Nancy recognised that her “teaching changes quite considerably in grade 12” when she taught much more to the provincial exam than she would have liked (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 40). With the exam worth 40% of students’ grades, more technically-oriented reading and writing became the focus and significantly less oral work and practice was done. Nancy would have preferred to use a communicative approach throughout her program however she recognised that the grade 12 exam was “an albatross” in that “the exam legitimises our program” within the school system (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 51).

7.3.3 L1-L2 Use

I try to use as much Mandarin in all of my classes as I can. I use more and more in the senior years [in grade 11 and 12] than in the junior years. I try in the junior years to [use] classroom commands and basic statements. I do try to speak to [students] in Mandarin although I don’t always do. [It’s] 75% maybe in grades 11 and 12 (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 43).

Nancy believed in using as much Mandarin as possible in the classroom based on the importance of modelling the target language as well as encouraging students to communicate. She relied on the use of nonverbal cues to aid in communication and student understanding. Her department did “not really” have an L1-L2 policy. In terms of evaluating students’ use of Mandarin, Nancy maintained a tracking system of who is participating and attempting to use Mandarin.

The early grades in the program presented some particular challenges in using Mandarin in the classroom. At the time of the study Nancy incorporated Mandarin consistently for classroom instructions and greetings from the start as part of the process of initiating students’ into Mandarin. At the grade 9 level students were expected to ask for permission in Mandarin and the general policy is that if they had been exposed to something they were encouraged to add this to their repertoire through repetition and attempts at usage. Nancy found that five-minute periods of ‘Mandarin only’ within a structured activity in grade 9 was challenging and demanding for students. Therefore at the beginner level Nancy simplified her use of Mandarin and adopted a “systematic...building block approach” meaning that the use and complexity of Mandarin was gradually increased (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 50).

Factors influencing L1-L2 use included: the degree of abstractedness of a concept, classroom time and its efficient use, the presence and proportion of ESL students in the classroom, students' L1 and their use of languages other than Mandarin or English, and the use of English on the provincial exam.

English was used as a tool to convey and work with abstract concepts such as during Nancy's activity involving China's one child-only policy. It was also used for navigating through difficult grammar concepts if students were unable to apply the grammar points of a completed lesson. Related to the challenge of communicating abstract concepts, English was used due to time constraints and the perception that this was more efficient. However, English was a second language for many students and hence not necessarily the common or most comfortable lingua franca of some Mandarin students.

The classroom dynamic and linguistic background affected the degree to which Nancy used English to communicate and teach more efficiently. She provided some insight into her codeswitching and angst in responding in English contrary to her policy goal of using Mandarin.

...I find sometimes when a kid puts up his hand and says: "I don't understand what I'm doing here" and they're asked to complete a dialogue based on a topic that I start for them I'll explain it to them in Mandarin. Yet somebody else who says: "what am I supposed to do here?" in English, I'll answer in English to them. ... And I probably shouldn't. A lot of [my students] function in Chinglish, a little bit of Chinese, a little bit of English...but I sometimes find [that] I take the easy route out for both of us. (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 24-25).

The proportion of non-natives versus natives and near-natives influenced how L1-L2 use played out in the classroom and Nancy regularly used both Mandarin and English in her teaching. She found that natives and near-natives of Mandarin often struggled with English. As a result she exerted more time and effort on English with these students rather than their first language Mandarin as conveyed in her statement that "We're all English as a Second Language teachers" (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 24). Students' English proficiency affected their placement within the Mandarin program as does the stage of their socio-emotional development:

...Sometimes the native speakers of Mandarin in my classes struggle with English... I've got one girl, ...a native speaker of Mandarin who came in hardly being able to say hello in English and now she's doing quite well. She couldn't function in grade 11 Mandarin. Mandarin wouldn't be a problem but the English part of the course would be too hard for her...And so I suggested strongly that she have a chance to be in a situation where she's going to hear English but at the same time have Mandarin right there for her to help. She's

really blossomed... ...And if the challenge isn't there in Mandarin it's there in English...Sometimes I'll ask her to do some of the activities in English whereas the other kids do them in Mandarin...I don't make a point of doing that all the time...It doesn't work with every kid. It works with somebody like that (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 27-29).

Thus Nancy finds that she was involved in facilitating students' Mandarin learning in both Mandarin and English, making her program a bridging experience for many ESL students.

Students' use of languages other than Mandarin or English, in this case Cantonese, affected L1-L2 use overall. Nancy's policy and practice was to discourage students' use of Cantonese since its mutual unintelligibility with Mandarin decreased the amount of potential Mandarin used and she finds its use to be exclusionary to non-Cantonese speakers.⁴²

The use of English on the provincial exam meant that students were required to comprehend and apply written academic English to successfully complete this grade-heavy evaluation.

...A lot of the provincial exam is in English....All the instructions are in English such as 'answer the following questions in English based on the paragraph'...And so a lot of my instructions are in English because I'm trying to teach the kids to understand English as well. We're all English as a second language teachers (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 24-5).

Thus the use of English on this exam for instructions as well as numerous questions (i.e. reading comprehension) coupled with the presence of ESL and native Mandarin students tips the balance of Nancy's Mandarin-English use in favour of the latter in preparing students.

7.3.4 Culture

Well, I think [culture], it's important. I don't think you can teach language in a vacuum. I think in order to make it meaningful and make it exciting and make it real for the students they need to learn something about the language and the countries where this language is spoken. (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 41-2).

The value Nancy places on incorporating culture into her Mandarin program is encompassed in her description of the various activities and opportunities she provided for her students. In addition to covering basic cultural topics such as food and the pragmatics and etiquette of using the telephone, Nancy engaged students in culture to address social justice topics such as the status of women. The developmental interests of students were taken into

⁴² Nancy has some understanding of Cantonese though does not speak it.

account with activities such as songwriting. The challenge students may face of expressing abstract concepts in Mandarin was partly addressed by forming groups according to native versus non-native status. This grouping provided appropriate challenge given students' proficiency levels.

In reviewing cultural resources and related media for classroom use Nancy maintained some indirect contact with Chinese culture, an area of continuing interest. Besides role modelling, using personal anecdotes as examples to illustrate a concept allowed Nancy to incorporate her formative linguistic experiences. Thus some culture-related topics were incorporated based on areas of personal interest or relevance in China or Taiwan. Beyond her experiences overseas, Nancy's interest in various media and interactions with students provided her with new cultural data including updated vocabulary and expressions as well as pop culture information.

[Pop culture is a good motivator]. Last year when I went to China I said before I went: "Kids give me a list of names. Tell me whose CDs I should buy?" And I had a long list... (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 48-9).

In addition to again interacting with Chinese natives and culture, organising and participating in her school's excursion to China in 2000, 2002, and 2004 provided Nancy with the opportunity to collect cultural resources for class and personal use. This excursion was planned outside of the Mandarin program and had become part of a departmental initiative to enable twenty students to experience China firsthand. The focus of the excursion was to help students to successfully carry out practical tasks in China such as: purchasing train and bus tickets, asking directions, and planning local excursions. Through her ongoing involvement with this excursion, Nancy facilitated student access to Chinese culture beyond the borders of her classroom while simultaneously highlighting it within the school.

7.3.5 Challenges

Dealing with multi-level classrooms and the learning demands students face in Mandarin as well as, specifically, addressing the traditional versus simplified Chinese character question were the most significant challenges facing Nancy in this context. Maintaining and building upon her proficiency in Mandarin and gaining access to Mandarin resources and a curriculum for the IB program were also challenges in terms of professional development. In some instances her status as a non-native teacher position her to address particular challenges from novel perspectives.

Nancy found dealing with multi-level classrooms to be “very challenging” and emphasised that she has “everything” in terms of proficiency (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 57). She described the diversity of her students as ranging from native to non-native on the linguistic proficiency continuum. One of the biggest dichotomies she encountered is that of the true beginner with no Mandarin background versus the student who is fluent in Mandarin but struggling in English. Making lessons and content challenging yet attainable in the same class was Nancy’s task.

I don’t know what other teachers do or what their philosophies are in addressing the needs of native or near-native students in the program...I mean how do you make a Mandarin 10 class where you’ve got Penny, as I mentioned, who’s there for the English, and then you’ve got another kid who has blond hair, blue eyes who’s been in your class for a year and a half learning the same stuff, how do you make that manageable for them ...[I wish to] challenge and make things learnable in the same classroom. You can’t be everything to everybody (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 57-8).

A related challenge was appropriate student grade level placement based on their linguistic background and proficiency though Nancy considered other socio-emotional and academic factors. Nancy struggled to accommodate the skills and needs of native or near-native speaker students while recognising their linguistic and cultural assets in planning and teaching this second language program. Within this spirit of accommodation however Nancy opposes designing a separate program for natives. Describing the native speaking students she says:

They speak Mandarin. I don’t care whether or not I teach it to them. I think it’s important that they be given some credit for that. Chances are that they’re probably going to struggle in English in their other areas ... but I do not go out of my way...to find more challenging things for the native speaker I won’t do that! It’s not my role...There are deficiencies I find as well, in their writing mostly [which provides an area to work on in the classroom]. I’ve noticed that there are a lot of kids who come from southern China, who don’t write [Mandarin] very well particularly. They speak, perhaps quite well, quite fluently, but their grammar is terrible, their characters are poor. (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 62-3).

Informally and prior to program entry, Nancy also asked native speaking students to be a resource and source of support to assist other students within the class based on their comparative advantage.

Fair grading becomes problematic and Nancy refers to the “need to be really true in your marking” when teaching a second language program and to mark accordingly despite the multiple language levels in the same classroom:

If you're teaching a second language class and you do have native speakers in your class you need to make sure that you're teaching a second language program and that you're not having expectations above the second language learner of that particular level. (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 73).

Of the native speaking students she says.

I also have to say: "is this kid really working?...But I don't also want to be unfair to the native speaker. Finding that happy medium I think is really important... It probably took me a good 5 years before I really knew what that was (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 74).

As reflected above Nancy has tried to match grade to reflect a student's progression, participation, and effort in the course.

Related to addressing diverse student needs is that of finding and providing academic support for her students whether for homework or other tasks within the school. Although the school had a skills (resource) centre as well as an active homework club, this support is inaccessible to students requiring help with Mandarin.

Having three hours a week, 10 months of the year where you're trying to learn a pictographic language is an issue... I think it's important to have somebody to help with homework....They can't take their Mandarin and say: "Will you help me with this?" because there isn't anybody in the school to do that. It's me or nobody, or the parents occasionally. I try to make myself available but beyond myself it's not like they can go to another Mandarin teacher in the school. (Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 66-68).

Certain features of Mandarin presented some unique teaching and learning challenges. Some of the more common learning challenges students faced include difficulty with and, in some cases, an inability to hear and differentiate tones in Mandarin.

Some kids don't have the very strong musical ear...and somebody that doesn't have a strong musical ear would find it very difficult to speak a tonal language and they do (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 60).

As well, Chinese character writing was a challenge for various reasons ranging from a lack of consistent practice or learning style to linguistic background. Student knowledge and use of Chinese characters and of the Romanized (pinyin) system usually taught before the character system was a significant learning and teaching challenge.

For my students this [learning the Chinese characters] is also probably the same most challenging aspect... I can't expect a student to be able to write everything they can say in Chinese characters, it's impossible. They have to be able to write everything they say in ((pinyin)) and then many characters. They view it as an additional thing to learn... And students really hate ((pinyin)). It's a love-hate thing. They either do very well in it, if they spell well in English, or they do poorly. And they don't consider it to be really Chinese, (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, pp. 59).

In terms of Mandarin-speaking parents and teachers as stakeholders and gatekeepers of Mandarin, the dominant issue according to Nancy was that: “It’s the traditional [versus] simplified character issue that I get challenged on the most” (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 64). Chinese characters were simplified in the 1950’s and 60’s within the People’s Republic of China but not in Taiwan (Austin, 2008, p. 15). Nancy was regularly questioned about her approach to teaching characters including her rationale. She reported that she had a preference for teaching simplified characters which have fewer strokes:

The question I get asked most of all from native parents is: “Why are you teaching simplified characters? Why not traditional characters? I learned traditional characters when I was in China and this is the character form I want my kid to learn.” ... as a student walking in with nothing I don’t think anybody would choose to memorise this traditional character over that simplified character, 22 versus 7 [strokes]. Pedagogically this simplified character makes more sense (Interview: 04/13/04, p. 64).

As a non-native teacher Nancy claims she adopts a neutral viewpoint, “you have to be flexible...not get hung up on this kind of thing” (Interview 04/13/04 p. 32) though pedagogically the above passage reflected some preference for simplified characters. She found that Mandarin speakers, whether parents or teachers, are generally committed and invested based on the way that they were taught and socialised.

Lastly, in terms of challenges, gaining access to more professional development was an issue on two fronts. Nancy finds she is linguistically “at a plateau” though she maintains her Mandarin “by doing...to increase knowledge by teaching” particularly at the senior level (Interview: 04/13/04, p.20). However she was disappointed that she had been unable to take any appropriate language courses.

I would love for there to be a course for somebody at my level ... I’ve really had to learn on my own but I haven’t taken a class since doing my degree (Nancy, Interview: 04/13/04, p. 20).

7.4 Summary of Salient Issues

Nancy’s personal interest in Chinese language and culture which began with an intense year of submersion in China and subsequent post-secondary work experience in Taiwan continued to be fuelled in planning and implementing the Mandarin program within her teaching context at her school. It also manifested itself in collecting and viewing cultural media such as film for personal and pedagogical use. Nancy viewed language and culture as

one entity in the language learning experience and she integrated food traditions, social and cultural issues and experiences into her program. She has been actively involved in organising a cultural tour to China and has successfully advocated for school-wide student inclusion here. Teaching overseas remained a personal and professional goal.

Possessing “more than a working knowledge” of Mandarin Nancy believed that she is an intermediate fluent speaker with a broad base of experience culturally (Interview: 04/13/04, p.14). She viewed her identity as a Canadian, native speaker of English. In terms of the construct of native speaker, Nancy found that her interpretation of this has shifted based on her questioning the term’s link to country or countries of birth or origin. Amongst her peers Nancy had previously excluded Cantonese speakers as Mandarin natives though now sees them as native readers based on their native level knowledge of and literacy with respect to Chinese characters. As well, her experience teaching students in her Vancouver school who use English primarily for academic purposes has also led her to question including country of birth or origin in her definition.

As a non-native of Mandarin and originally an adolescent learner in China, Nancy believed that she is an effective role model for her students. She was able to share the pitfalls of learning Mandarin and, through personal anecdotes, linguistic and cultural errors she has made. Her empathy for students’ as learners was an asset in building rapport and her objectivity, as a non-native, allowed her to look at and question aspects of Chinese language and culture from an alternative perspective. The question of using Hanyu pin yin versus Bopomofo to teach Chinese characters, an area of contention amongst parents and teachers, remained a multifaceted issue from Nancy’s non-native perspective. She was able to see the benefits and drawbacks of both.

On the other hand Nancy marked written work more slowly than natives would out of her concern for accuracy and due to her lack of confidence about orthography. Though some aspects of Mandarin sounded correct to Nancy she was sometimes unsure and sought primary and secondary sources to verify aspects of the language such as pronunciation or specific Chinese characters.

Although Nancy has adopted a communicative approach to teaching Mandarin, the grade 12 provincial exam influenced her teaching methodology. To this effect as well as for the sake of efficiency and understanding, English was used for abstract (cultural) concepts

and new, complex grammar. Provincial exam instructions were in English which increased the use of English in grade 12 in preparation for this exam. As well, ESL learners were another factor impacting the balance of L1-L2 use. However, Nancy attempted to maximise overall classroom use of Mandarin and found it easier to do so in the higher grades with mainly shorter, intense periods of Mandarin at the beginner level.

The most significant challenges encountered in this context included the multilevel classroom linguistically both in terms of Mandarin and English, as well as questioning and debate by parents and teachers over Nancy's use of simplified versus traditional characters, and resistance to the Romanized pinyin system by her students. Linguistically Nancy found her Mandarin had plateaued and found it difficult to locate an appropriate course of study given her needs and proficiency. She therefore maintained her Mandarin through teaching as well as viewing and listening to various Chinese news and popular media.

Chapter 8: FOCAL PARTICIPANT: KD, KOREAN TEACHER

Well one challenge that I have as a non-native speaker of a language like Korean, where to look at me, it's obvious that I'm not Korean, is that students often times, in the upper levels, are very resistant at using Korean ... to speak with me, because they know I'm not Korean, and because there's this incredibly strong tie between ethnicity and race and this Korean language you know; whereas if it were a German class or a Russian class, you know, there wouldn't be that kind of race issue... You know, so sometimes I really have to, you know, cajole and sort of push to get them out of English and into Korean, okay (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 23).

8.1 Introduction and Case Context

KD had been a professor of Korean for 14 years at the time of this study. He taught language at the intermediate and advanced levels and literature at the senior and graduate levels at UWC, a pseudonym. He has also previously taught first and second year Korean.

Unlike other Asian languages and related areas of study within KD's department, Korean is not offered as a major. Language courses are offered for classical, modern, written and conversational forms, including readings in literary texts, newspapers, business writing and composition. In 2004, there was one other full-time instructor and a sessional instructor in Korean.

Although the student population at UWC is multiculturally diverse, KD reported that "80% of our learners in our classes have Korean ethnic backgrounds which is a low percentage compared to other North American university programs...In most places it's 95[%] plus" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 11). The remaining 20% of students in Korean consist of mainly other Asian heritage (mainly Chinese and Japanese speaking learners) and a smaller cross-section of linguistic backgrounds.

KD cited "a big difference between the first two years of instruction and the higher levels" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 12). The 100 and 200 level courses see students divided into the streams of beginner (non-heritage) and Korean heritage learners. The third year Korean class is described as a mixed class with heritage learners, non-Korean graduate students who need Korean for their research, as well as a few non-heritage learners. Fourth year classes tend to consist of mainly heritage learners, Generation 1.5 students, who arrived before age 12, as well as the occasional non-heritage learner. Korean heritage and native students are able to "parachute" into a higher level based on an interview and questionnaire assessment of their linguistic background and competence, according to KD (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 13).

Although heritage learners, in KD's experience, exhibit strong speaking and listening skills in Korean, he found that they tended to have challenges in reading and writing Korean. Hence they find the upper level courses in Korean language and/or literature interesting, though demanding. KD's advocacy for their needs and challenges will be explored under Challenges.

KD reported that students' motivation for pursuing Korean include: better understanding of how the language works, increasing ability to communicate with Korean family members and friends, building on an interest in Korean pop culture, and, using it for advanced academic study. In terms of motivation, KD described students as "by definition, usually, very highly motivated ... because it's not a major language of trade. It's not Japanese, it's not Chinese, it's not French" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 29). In response to the high level of student interest, a course in contemporary Korean pop culture was being considered as a further incentive for students to build on and continue their studies in Korean.

8.2 Profile

KD has taught a wide range of subjects related to Korean language, linguistics, and literature. His interest in Korean evolved when he was an undergraduate linguistics student, building upon an already strong penchant for languages when young, based on multiple prior language learning experiences (Japanese and Mandarin). KD described how the encouragement and financial and academic support from his department was a springboard for subsequent intense study:

[I got] money from the Department of Linguistics to hire a personal tutor for an hour a day for an entire year because it wasn't taught at my university...I taught myself for a year, went through a couple of textbooks with this tutor and then the following summer ... I spent a summer in Seoul ... I took some courses for six weeks in a program originally targeted at training missionaries... That's the only formal instruction I ever had (In Korean language training). If I add it all up [I've spent] about a little over 2 years in Korea... Most of my Korean has been done outside of Korea. The intense instruction was just those six weeks in Korea, the rest of it has all been self-taught (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 1-2).

Following his experience studying Korean as described above, KD completed a B.A in Linguistics and Political Science followed by a PhD in Linguistics at U.S. Ivy League universities. He described his becoming a teacher of Korean as "an accident" and due to in large part to being "a good learner of it, that it made sense to keep...learning it" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 19). Korean is KD's ninth language which he describes as "definitely a

challenge” to acquire and maintain even now compared to other languages (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 19).⁴³ Based on his interest in this “challenge” KD eventually realised that “the easiest way to be a lifelong learner of Korean is to...be a professor and I enjoy it!” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 19).

His research interests were in the areas of Korean language use, status, ideology in Russia, the former USSR and in Korea. Of specific interest to this study is his interest in the challenges of teaching Korean as a foreign language and a heritage language:

...I also...am already starting to...write a book, in Korean, targeted at the Korean market, about Korean as a world language, and how to teach it, because I think they are dreadfully in need of guidance, they are groping in the dark, about how to promote Korean as a foreign language. (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 49).

In terms of professional activities KD is an advocate of and authority on Korean language education, delivering lectures and talks in this area. He also viewed himself as representing non-heritage language learners of Korean in various contexts outside of his university teaching context. For example, KD has been a member of the executive board of an extensive, collaborative Korean language teaching materials project for 10 years. He also participated in Korean language education conferences biannually.⁴⁴

One of his greatest sources of long-term enthusiasm and ongoing passion was his long term role as dean a Korean summer immersion program in the U.S. for children ages 7-18. He remarked on how the student linguistic profile in the program contrasts with his regular university context in that “there is not a single heritage learner, so far...” amongst the “hundred kids a year” who participate though “about 60% are adopted Koreans” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 17).⁴⁵

KD described himself as “very committed to expanding [and] creating new opportunities for Korean language education at the K to 12 level” because of the dearth and type of instruction that exists and his view that “things are starting to settle at the university

⁴³ In his interview, KD recounts how: “As a kid I was collector of languages...[and] enjoyed learning them ... The first...was Spanish at age 11 but I found pretty much most languages that I came up against fairly easy and not that challenging...” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 19).

⁴⁴ KD shares how during his previous year in Korea he “gave, something like, over a dozen invited talks about Korean language education to Korean language education programs around Korea” while on sabbatical (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18).

⁴⁵ KD states that: “The other 40% is just random all over the place, but not Korean, not yet” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18).

level” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18).⁴⁶ Of the instruction that exists at the pre-university level KD commented that “those tend to be entirely targeted at Korean immigrant communities, a completely heritage thing. It’s Korean for Koreans which is fine to a point...” since “there is demand out there, amongst non-Koreans as well for Korean language instruction and one might as well try to meet that demand as well...” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18). He believed that there is the opportunity to come up with a curriculum “that is truly multicultural, not just, doing your own thing in your own little corner” akin to that in the summer immersion program (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18).

KD recognised the multifaceted nature of his own identity. Though influenced by his birth and residence in the U.S., KD’s identity has been influenced by immersion in and experience with Korean as well as his exposure to other languages and cultures. KD described himself as an atypical “American...who...was interested in foreign cultures and languages,” and viewed his identity as “watered down from living outside of the States for quite some time” and that “there is a lot of me that’s Korean in some ways” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 50).

KD’s choice of the pseudonym Hong Kil Dong (KD) warrants some discussion related to identity and affiliation. Hong Kil Dong is the protagonist and folk hero in a classic Korean adventure tale from early seventeenth-century Korea that became the first novel written in Korean by Ho Kyun.⁴⁷ A parallel can be suggested between this protagonist’s tale and KD’s in the sense of KD promoting and being a voice for Korean as a less commonly taught language, as well as an advocate for non-natives of Korean and Asian languages generally.⁴⁸

8.3 Case Analysis

8.3.1 Native Speaker (NS)

The term ‘native speaker’...really doesn’t mean very much at all. I think it’s just not a very useful word; I tend not to use it if at all possible. I mean sure I use it but I use it as shorthand for [asking:] “What’s your first language, what language did you grow up with?”...I just call it like I see it... but I’m a native speaker of English (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 2).

⁴⁶ KD estimates that “in the United States there are less than 40 high schools...that offer any instruction in Korean , and those tend to be entirely targeted at Korean immigrant communities” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 18).

⁴⁷ Per site www.charlesbridge.com accessed 11/18/08 re: Anne Sibley O’Brien’s story book entitled *The Legend of Hong KD: The Robin Hood of Korea*.

⁴⁸ However, KD also advocates for the (different) needs of heritage learners as reflected in this chapter under Challenges.

As reflected in his comment, KD minimised the value of the term ‘native speaker’ yet acknowledged his use of it symbolically for the meaning as indicated above. During his interview KD used this term in this way, in the sense of being a point of reference to refer to Korean natives encountered in Korea as well as highly proficient LLs in his context.

KD stated that “at least 50% of my life [is in Korean]...” in terms of talking to people and communicating in various contexts about a range of professional and personal topics⁴⁹ (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 30). KD reads and listens to various Korean media including newspapers, magazines, web sites, novels, and radio and television. KD identified his Korean proficiency as ‘Excellent/Native-like’ (a ‘5’) on this study’s questionnaire proficiency scale⁵⁰ and during his interview. Yet he said that others sometimes overstate his knowledge of and proficiency in Korean:

In my case, I don’t want to say my Korean is native, it is not, it is not even...On the telephone they don’t know if I’m Korean. They think I’m Korean...Some people say: “... You’re near native.” ...Once, over dinner, one of the DLI⁵¹ teachers said: “Oh you must be a five.”⁵² That’s really complimentary, he had too much wine because I’m probably more like a three plus, four minus on a good day (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 2, 47).

Defining ‘native speaker’ was instrumental in compiling the makeup of Korean classes at UWC and KD was clear about the criteria used to discern whether or not the department was able to offer any language learning opportunity to potential students.

We screen out the native speakers...In our case, we do a fairly rigorous screening process where we ask the students to self-assess and then we also interview, and ask a number of diagnostic questions just about who they live with, when they came, [and] where they were born... And so in the 400 level, age 12 for us is the cut off. If they came to Canada at age 12 or later, we just tell them we have nothing for you, go away because they already know far more Korean. The amount of Korean someone like that knows would take someone like me several thousands of contact hours to acquire. (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 9).

⁴⁹ KD states that this percentage is higher if he includes academic and professional reading (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 30-1).

⁵⁰ The scale used in this study ranges from 1 to 5.

⁵¹ DLI refers to the Defence Language Institute which provides linguistic and cultural instruction to the Department of Defence and other U.S. Federal agencies.

⁵² This likely refers to the FSI scale, originally developed by the U.S. Foreign Service Institute. This scale comprises a set of descriptions of abilities to communicate in a target language and describes 5 levels of language proficiency. These 5 levels consist of: 1 Elementary proficiency, 2 Limited working proficiency, 3 Professional working proficiency, 4 Full professional proficiency, and 5 Native or bilingual proficiency. Sometimes descriptors of ‘+’ or ‘-’ are added to a level (e.g. 1+ or 5-). (per www.sil.org/LinguaLinks/LanguageLearning/MangngYrLnggLrnngPrgrm/TheILRFSIProficiencyScale.htm). During the design process for this study’s questionnaire, there was no intent to establish a link between the FSI scale and proficiency scale used for this study.

KD conveyed a number of advantages possessed by the non-native teacher in the Korean language teaching context. These include: readily establishing student rapport, contributing alternative ‘foreign’ perspectives, as well as serving as a role model for students. These advantages and limitations came to light when KD described how he presents himself and the Korean language to his students.

I present myself to my students as a fellow learner who has just got a lot more experience learning the language...I try to present myself not as the authority, but as: “Hey we’re all learning this language together, I’m not a native speaker either.”

Student rapport is established in the sense of battling through the language learning process together and KD being in the position to offer tips and strategies on how to tackle Korean’s challenges given his status as someone who has “crossed all the obstacles that those same learners are now encountering...” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 3). He mentioned:

...I think it is really good, in front of students, to show weakness, and to show lack of knowledge, and to fess up to ignorance on my part when it’s there because it’s honest, and it’s the modelling thing. (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 4-5, 47).

KD viewed his knowledge and non-native status as advantageous in his teaching context whether teaching heritage learners or those with no Korean background. Based on his academic and linguistic background, KD believed that he has “all kinds of knowledge about the language, both its structure and its history and its role socioculturally that most natives do not, even most natives who are trained as KFL teachers” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 5).⁵³ This knowledge includes “a whole bunch of other perspectives on Korea’s role in the world, Korea’s history as a standardized language, variation in Korean, to the classroom” (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 6). He shared how he has had

numerous students, and these tend to be ... actually the heritage learners, just because there are just more of them, saying: “I never ask grammar questions to my relatives or parents because they can’t answer it or they just give me something that doesn’t help.” Or I’ve had students say to me, again these are heritage learners: “I’m so glad that you’re teaching this class because if you were Korean I wouldn’t have taken it.” This is because they all have had and are almost scarred in many cases by really humiliating experiences they have had in community Saturday schools...[or other]...experiences... (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 5-6).

KD saw this non-native perspective as “a great resource because it allows me to question absolutely anything and everything, and to be critical of absolutely anything and

⁵³ Based on his experience, KD states that KFL teachers’ “training tends to be quite narrowly schoolmarmish and traditional in a grammatical way” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 5).

everything, and it frees me of all the baggage that comes with it if you're Korean" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 44). He argued that if he were born and raised Korean he would possess "this whole ideological apparatus that goes with your knowledge of, and knowledge about Korean and the writing system and this very complex [ideology], the way it is related to nationalism and race and these kinds of issues" (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 44).

In reference to role models and notwithstanding his achievement as a role model for students, KD concluded that, in fact, Korean heritage learner role models are needed and he advocates for the training of such role models in Korean language education.

I think we ought to be finding ways to train, for example second generation Korean Canadians and Korean Americans to become teachers of Korean. After all that is what most of the students are, and they need more models from their own group (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 48).

KD viewed the ideal teacher as a multilingual individual with "a comparative vantage point" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 3). Advantages of this position include possessing "a bilingual and bicultural competence" and embodying that which students are attempting to become: individuals who can relate to and function across cultures (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 3).

Despite this conclusion, the potential contribution of native models in teaching is still recognised by KD, if also combined with exposure to a bilingual or multilingual teacher.

I think that the ideal thing for a learner is to be exposed to and to have instruction from two kinds of instructors: one being a properly trained native speaker, because native models are still important; they're very important as well as someone like myself. (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 7).

KD also described a prejudicial, ideological barrier facing non native speakers and learners of Korean in their interactions with native speakers:

There is this psychological barrier where they [Korean native speakers] think deep down in their bones, many Koreans really believe that nobody without Korean blood can learn their language. (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 8).

As reflected above, non-natives' ability to relate and gain access to natives involves more than the perceived level of their linguistic competence. Language attitudes and priorities on the part of the native can readily determine choice of language and though these can be challenged, as they are by KD, they may be difficult to sway in attempting to use and interact with native speakers in Korean.

Within his department and professional life KD reported using a mixture of Korean and English with native colleagues and found that there is random code switching. KD found that tiredness and the pace of activities on a particular day affected his choice and use of language. With visiting scholars KD remarked that he works with them extensively and that all interaction with them is in Korean. Given his teaching role and research interests “a lot of life is just sitting, reading books, which is also in Korean a lot of the time” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 30). KD reported using Korean outside of the classroom and university setting and has the opportunity to do so because of his personal circumstances:

My wife is Korean although our relationship is in English because I met her way back when... her English then, was already way better than my Korean. Her English was fantastic. But now after we had our child, and after we spent a year in Korea, there's a lot of our relationship at home and talk around the house is in Korean because now our [son's]...Korean is quite good. ... so family life, personal life, social life, revolves around the Korean community and around Koreans ... whenever we're with Koreans which is most of the time, it's in Korean and if we're not with Koreans, it's in English. It's that simple (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 30-31).

Code switching between languages in KD's family is based on the milieu or community in which they are participating and KD has noted an increased interest, effort, and shift towards using more Korean after having spent a year in Korea as a family unit.

8.3.2 Pedagogy and Practice

According to KD even defining pedagogical practice can be a subjective matter and he distanced himself from classifying his department's approach with any one particular method. Rather he espouses a combination of approaches based on “what works” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34). He raised the issue and significance of Korean's orthography as a key factor in considering teaching approach and practice which mandates a different approach than in teaching European languages:

we use whatever works, and it's a combination of focus on form,... communicative... and trying to make sure that they're still actually doing, for example, role play, that they're doing lab type stuff, only with us it's over the Web. Yet there's also a whole writing side to it. This language has a different script. That's something again that just never occurs to people whose background is ESL or French, [is] the writing system. It's very significant. So I just refuse to label what we do. It's what works. (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34).

As mentioned earlier students are streamed into separate tracks for heritage and non-heritage language learners for the first two years of Korean. In either case, the first two years of Korean was described as form-focused since “there's just so much of it” in terms of the

morpho syntax (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 32). KD's belief was that accuracy in using the language will be achieved if form is a core focus during these critical first years. On a related note, KD spoke of the vital role of incorporating grammar in KFL teaching based on the structure and nature of Korean including its "morpho-syntax in the shape of lots and lots of different endings, final endings, conjunctive endings as well as particles... thousands of them that need to be learned" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15). Therefore KD believed that grammar is critical in teaching Korean despite current trends towards "form-sensitive instruction" in North America and in contrast to a heavy emphasis on grammar-based teaching in Korea. He believed that it is necessary to proceed by "finding the middle ground" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15). As part of his rationale for teaching grammar KD contrasted some of the issues in teaching Korean with that of English and called for the need to apply what is suitable for students in a given classroom by considering their needs as well as the inherent characteristics of the language itself.

A contextual factor, which KD viewed as often overlooked, is the greater number of contact hours required for Korean and other Asian languages including Japanese and Mandarin compared to other European languages in this Canadian university context.

...here's a language that requires four times as much time than French or Spanish... This is the problem with trying to teach a language like Korean and cram it all into 4 years of university instruction when you need two thousand three hundred hours to reach a 2 plus in this language, and technically speaking, superior is a level 3...And so form becomes very important, and we're in a day and age where we have the luxury of saying that, okay well let's make sure we get the form right because a lot of the other stuff will come if they go to Korea. ...By the time they've completed a course like Korean 300 they are clearly committed to trying to get somewhere with this, and they will ask sometimes, very agonized questions: "How can I do more? What should I do?" And then you tell them well then take a year off, go to Korea, find a program, go over there ... (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 33, 21, 38-9).

Therefore given these factors, KD viewed a sound grasp of form in Korean as the prerequisite to successfully progress to more advanced levels. Grasping other aspects of Korean can occur later with exposure to a Korean-speaking environment and/or participation in more advanced language programs.

Given the greater contact hours required the department has turned to online technology in the form of a customised Web site for first and second year learners "with tons of audio, and tons of self-study opportunities... outside of class" to help increase their

language practice and use (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 29).⁵⁴ According to KD, the use of technology, together with an oral exam, has brought about the result that learners' "oral production has leapt in terms of the quality" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 30).

Exposure to various sociolinguistic speech levels related to honorifics, politeness, and register was also part of KD's pedagogical approach to teaching Korean, simulating or role playing what students would experience in Korea. Though Korean has various speech levels which vary depending on the interlocutor, KD purposefully focused on one particular style or ending, continuously if the form in question is the target of a particular unit, even when the form is technically inappropriate to be using to a student. KD engaged in "constant negotiation of forms" to give students exposure to and experience with different forms they otherwise would not experience in the modern language classroom yet would need to be familiar with outside the classroom (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 32).

So if this were Korea...I would be talking down to them in a fairly intimate style but that's not a very useful form pedagogically for these students to be learning...And so, sometimes, I use the quite formal and stiff, and distant forms with them because they have no exposure to them at home... (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 31-2).

Providing students with a metalanguage is another key practice related to KD's core teaching beliefs. He viewed this practice as important in that it gives students the means "with which to talk about their learning which a lot of teachers don't do" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34).⁵⁵ In fact KD described that much of what he does in terms of time and emphasis in his teaching is about providing a metalanguage, specifically "how do we talk about it?" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 35). Therefore after the first few years of Korean and even after the first year on a smaller scale KD believed that "students should be equipped with the tools to talk about what they're learning, what they know, what they don't know, to ask about what they don't know, and to just have the vocabulary to do so, in English, for starters..." (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34). Although this practice increases the amount of English in the classroom, the benefits and overall progress made in Korean with it are

⁵⁴ KD proudly describes how this online tool "includes voice chat and the use of which is built into the class by requiring them, assigning them every week certain kinds of voice chat where they have to record themselves and respond to prompts or to questions from the instructor and post them on an online language lab almost...They know that, for example, certain parts of the exam - each lesson exam are going to come off materials on the web site so then there's a built in incentive for them to visit it frequently and to use it" (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 29-30).

⁵⁵ In reference to Korean teachers who do not subscribe to providing students with a metalanguage KD explains that "Some of them think [it] is like cheating" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34).

believed to offset this factor. L1-L2 use in the classroom is specifically examined in further detail below.

8.3.3 L1-L2 Use

... I feel that most of what we know about immersion techniques has developed on the basis of French or English and I'm sorry, doing French immersion is very different from doing Korean immersion... I think there's a lot of research to be done on how far you can get with immersion...in Asian languages (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 25).

In terms of L1-L2 use KD viewed it as acceptable to use students' L1, in this case the dominant (academic) language English, and emphasised the need to consider "audience" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 25). He made reference to age as a factor and that "Immersion works with kids" (exclusive target language use) and that such a policy is unrealistic with the older learners he teaches in his context (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 25). In addition to audience, factors influencing L1-L2 use, in terms of language choice and use, include: lesson objective and topic on a given day, the nature and year of program, teacher personal preference, (limited) class time at the senior levels, proportion of heritage learners, student resistance to and ideological perceptions of language use, and providing a metalanguage of Korean grammatical and literary jargon in English.

Although KD rejects eliminating the use of English, he believes that Korean should be used in conducting and running classes and that its use is significant and relevant in the first two years of the program where the focus is on the spoken language, particularly for non-heritage learners. He reflected that "for quite some time I was teaching...102 and 200" where there was more focus on 'airtime' in using Korean (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 26). At the senior 300 and 400 levels he justified less use of Korean on the basis of "limited class time...to do conversation" and would rather provide students with the means to continue learning Korean beyond the classroom as described below (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 28).

I am not a big fan of using that limited class time in the upper levels to do conversation. If these students are really serious about learning this language they need to go there [Korea]. And what we need to give them are strategies and tools and resources that will make them better and more efficient learners when they go there. That's another philosophy of mine (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 28).

In practice, KD described his "classroom banter...[as] almost...90% Korean, unless... responding to a question...and it's an analysis thing. Then it's English" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 24). Analysis refers to that of grammar or literature. KD described his overall

L1-L2 use as “at least 30% of what I do is in English, [it’s] probably 30 to 50. It’s hard to say. It depends on what’s happening that day in the classroom” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 26). KD explained how the metalanguage for Korean grammar and pronunciation needs to be in English because it would be too difficult to generate a Korean metalanguage given the background of his students. (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 24).

8.3.4 Culture

Culture “comes up all the time” however it was described as not being a priority in the first two years of Korean due to the focus on form-oriented instruction and oral practice (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 22). Overall, students are engaged in Korean culture intrinsically and incidentally as it comes up at an “opportune moment” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 22). KD encouraged students to pursue experiences in Korean culture outside of the classroom. Rather than through explicit instruction in addressing culture, KD shared personal anecdotes related to culture as well as research and academic interests pertaining to the study of Korean.

KD rejected the explicit planning and teaching of culture within a teacher’s repertoire as well as within teaching materials. He is unconvinced that “explicit instruction in culture like that is such a good thing” and KD saw his role, rather, as “preparing them with just the nuts and bolts to go over there. They’re going to get all that...[cultural exposure and information]” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 22). KD summarised his practice concerning culture as consisting of “either role play or good modelling on the part of the teacher or dealing with it when it comes up” for example, commonly discussing how “it’s really rude in Korea to greet somebody with your hands in your pockets or a hand in a pocket”. He shared that recognising and discussing aspects of Korean culture is “important” however “I don’t write them into the curriculum. They just come. They happen” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 22).

Based on student-wide interest in areas related to contemporary (popular) culture, KD was interested in developing additional courses at the 300 level to satisfy these interests and needs while simultaneously providing more exposure to Korean language and culture. KD cited one possibility of harnessing the draw of South Korean pop culture and TV dramas. The idea would be to develop a course focused on this material meaning it would be “very contemporary... targeted at the cultural interests of the target student body, and yet would

still be a good vehicle for introducing a lot of the language... [The course as it is now]...is quite traditional” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 21).

8.3.5 Challenges

KD faced a variety of challenges in this context some of which stem from his non-native status and others are challenges that he has embraced as part of his commitment to Korean language education. This discussion of challenges progresses outwardly with challenges related to KD’s status and his use of Korean as a non-native teacher, a focus of this study, followed by the lack of adequate teaching and learning resources, meeting the needs and interests of heritage learners, before continuing with the broader challenges of the recognition of the identity and needs of KFL in this context.

Challenges to KD’s proficiency and qualifications to teach Korean arose based on his non-native status as well as student expectations and perceptions of the Korean teacher. This challenge was manifested as student discomfort and uneasiness which take the form of questioning ranging from those of subtle curiosity and personal interest to outright questioning of language qualifications and teaching credentials because of their personal beliefs.

I get a lot of curious questions like: “How come your Korean is so good? What’s the secret? How did you do it? How long did you live in Korea?” You get a lot of [that last question], the implication being, that you must have spent a lot of time there, the usual myth that time spent in C2 [culture 2] somehow is connected or predicts fluency, which of course it doesn’t. (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 40-41).

KD stated he is asked the questions also because “I’m white, a lot of my students are Korean, and there’s this racial element, this clash” (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 41).

KD noted that at times, the questioning is more pronounced from the non heritage language learners:

And I tend to actually get that [testing of proficiency], in it’s more pronounced form, a few times, not from the heritage learners , but from the non- heritage learners who want to see, it gets back to this myth that you have to learn a foreign language from a native speaker, or that the native speaker is by definition the language teacher or the best language teacher (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 41).

Developing teaching and learning resources for teaching Korean was KD’s “greatest challenge” on a day to day basis due to “ a dearth of good teaching materials” that are “appropriate for our program” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 16). There has been an ongoing

struggle to allocate and balance his time and resources for research versus developing resources for teaching “because, in a university position...you’re rewarded for research” and “incentives for producing teaching materials are really quite reduced” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 16). However KD feels that “the money to at least develop the materials would then make up for that other lack of, professional reward” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 16). At the time of his interview KD had “a full six credit buyout” which allowed him to “develop teaching materials” for use in senior level courses while completing other research (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 16).

Another challenge was addressing the needs of heritage language or highly proficient speakers within a multilevel classroom. KD found that resources are primarily targeted at the non-Korean ‘foreign language learner’ despite the fact that heritage speakers currently constitute the majority of students. Besides the usual range of language learners found in any language classroom KD found that there are unique characteristics and needs of the heritage learner that need to be addressed with respect to instructional resources.

What many heritage language learners claim that they want, when they sign up for a course, is grammar, because they don’t know grammar and they feel a real complex about it...They can speak but they want to know the analysis. And yet, the current ideological orthodoxy coming out of some language departments is that analysis and grammar and that stuff is bad but that’s what the heritage learners want and that’s what they need...Part of the problem is that we just don’t yet have really good instructional materials targeted at the heritage learner. There’s this funny paradox all across the field in Korean language education that most people developing learning materials are developing materials for the non- heritage learner even though 95% of the learners in North America are heritage learners. So we’re in the process of developing those materials now for the heritage class... (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 26, 12).

The dilemma of addressing the needs of highly proficient speakers versus keeping “the lower and the upper ends of that multi level spectrum into a reasonable sort of controllable band” was a related challenge (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 10). KD speaks of highly proficient speakers of Korean who are now turned away or are only able to study at the 400 level due to the courses offered by the department.

If their Korean is just at a level that is so high that they would not get anything meaningful out of our 400 level course and/or would place at a unfair disadvantage the other students in the class, we just tell them to go away. (Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 9-10).

Rather than sending them away KD saw these potential learners as enriching the study of Korean in that they could represent a potential linguistic resource to Korean language teaching as a student and, with ongoing study, a potential teacher role model.

Another challenge was that there is a lack of understanding of the identity and needs of Asian language teaching and learning by university administrators. He described “a real arrogance that comes out of ESL and language education departments, when it comes to looking at, and often times criticising the way languages are taught in this department” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 13). KD believed that “that arrogance is fuelled, in large part, by ignorance because they just don’t know our languages, they don’t know what’s involved” and “There’s a whole writing system and reading and literacy side to it that they’ve never done” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 13). He summed up the gap between experience and perspective as “a fairly standard Eurocentric problem” (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 13). KD made the case for Asian language learning contexts having “a whole lot of other problems when we’re teaching these languages that they don’t and a lot of it has to do with writing system [and] cultural distance” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 14). He emphasised that “the university system doesn’t provide those extra resources and doesn’t even realise that they’re needed” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 14). KD believed that this criticism is due to a lack of firsthand experience in learning and teaching Asian languages and transferring theories and practices from the realm of European languages’ pedagogy. In KD’s view, the linguistic and cultural distance between Korean and European languages mandates different approaches and more contact hours and resources.

Lastly, a related challenge is dealing with a lack of understanding of the identity and needs of KFL teaching and learning in North American contexts locally by Korean-based KFL educators and the Korean government implementing “an export model” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15).⁵⁶ Locally, this manifested itself as frustration over resources and pedagogical approaches from Korea as “the centre” (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15). Given this situation, KD found that resources targeted for KFL were often inappropriate for his context

⁵⁶ KD describes the field of KFL teaching as “extremely young” in a state where: “the dust, it hasn’t settled at all. It’s still struggling for an identity.” He views the Korean government’s investment and promotion of the acquisition of Korean overseas as a ‘complication’ in the field’s process of shaping its identity. He cites the example of their training of KFL teachers which he believes “They don’t really know how to do...” (Interview: 04/21/04, pp.14 -15).

and he therefore designs and seeks more appropriate materials to teach Korean (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15). KD discussed his colleagues' and his own preference for designing resources for the needs of their teaching contexts or, otherwise, at least collaborating with colleagues based in Korea. Ideally, he shares that: "We just need the resources to get on with it on our own..." or alternatively "we'd be more interested in more collaborative models, rather than just, this idea [that] that's the centre, projecting outward to us poor folks on the periphery that need their goods" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15).⁵⁷ In terms of this perspective, KD emphasised it is commonly held by colleagues regardless of their background and affiliation in that: "that's not just me, I mean there are others of us. All my colleagues are Korean, of course, across North America, and they have the same frustration" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15). He described there being "quite a lot of conflict" over methodology and ideology with ownership of Korean at the core (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15).⁵⁸

8.4 Summary of Salient Issues

KD's 14 years of experience as a non-native teacher of Korean and his journey of acquiring Korean provided extensive illumination on the experiences, perspectives and challenges of the non-native teacher. KD viewed the term 'native-speaker' as futile, a "total myth in language education" that does not mean very much at all and prefers to avoid its use (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 3). Rather he recognised it as shorthand for asking: "What's your first language, what language did you grow up with?" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 2). He identified himself as a multilingual, native speaker of English and excellent/native-like speaker of Korean.

KD identified numerous advantages he brings to teaching Korean as a non-native speaker. He viewed himself as a role model for all learners of Korean and a particularly effective role model for non-heritage learners struggling to learn Korean. Heritage learners were generally appreciative and grateful of his non-native status in that they are able to study and question their heritage language objectively and dispassionately, free of the patriarchal-like relationship they have had with some native teachers. KD viewed his bilingual-bicultural identity as well as multilingual background as an advantage given that a primary

⁵⁷ KD uses "goods" to refer to textbooks and other instructional materials authored by Korean-based sources viewing resources for KFL education as originating from Korea 'the centre' (Interview: 04/21/04, p.15).

⁵⁸ KD explains that ideology refers "to what the purpose of our teaching is and who it's for" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 15).

goal of teaching this language was the emerging development of the bilingual and bicultural student. Pedagogically, KD viewed the *trained* native as a potentially valuable contributor to language teaching and recommended a team-teaching model using both natives and non-natives for instruction or at least student exposure to each over the duration of their study.

In terms of relating to natives professionally and socially, KD readily used Korean and finds there is general acceptance by Korean natives. However in Korea his access to Korean was sometimes compromised due to the dilemma of natives' preference to use English instead of using their native Korean as well as native acceptance of his status as a Korean non-native.

In terms of identity and affiliation, KD found aspects of his identity being more Korean such as mannerisms in social settings. He is also an author, speaker, and advocate of Korean language education.

In terms of guiding pedagogical practices, KD advocated using "what works" whether using a single methodology or in combination (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 34). KD found that there is an important role and function of grammar in Korean language education due to its morpho syntax and the first two years are highly form-focused. Students were provided with a metalanguage in their L1 to enable them to engage in talking about and questioning aspects of Korean.

KD rejected the 'no English' principle in the language classroom, and especially in Korean ones, and believes that L1-L2 policy and practice depend on the audience and purpose. He did support exclusive language use with young children particularly in immersion programs.

Target culture was addressed incidentally as it arises based on student and KD's interests rather than through explicit instruction. KD believes that students who are highly interested in Korean culture will make the effort to engage with it further by participating in exchange programs to Korea and/or undertaking advanced study in this area.

A number of key challenges affect KD's teaching and professional work. KD's proficiency and qualifications were questioned, in more pronounced form from non-heritage learners particularly at the outset of courses. Heritage learners question his use of Korean based on their more usual experience with regional varieties of Korean versus the standard Korean KD uses in the classroom.

On a practical level and daily basis, the need for resources via time buyouts to develop materials for students was KD's greatest challenge. KD also saw the need to develop resources for higher level heritage learners and those who are currently turned away because of their virtual native-like proficiency. More materials were being developed to address their needs.

There was also the challenge of addressing multilevel learners by keeping the lower and upper ends of spectrum of learners within "a reasonable sort of controllable band" (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 10). Outliers include cases of second generation Koreans with strong Korean who are admitted yet struggle with literary language in the upper level classes as well as rarer cases of non-heritage learners with extensive time in a Korean speaking environment.

KD believed that methodologies and beliefs which apply to teaching European languages are far less applicable to Asian languages due to the latter's more complex orthographies and their cultural distance from European languages. He was frustrated that Korean is taught within the same timeframe as European languages although four to five times as many contact hours are required to achieve a similar level of proficiency (Interview: 04/21/04, p. 29).

The issue of the purpose and recipient of Korean language teaching arises in interacting with KFL educators in Korea who are in favour of an export model for Korean pedagogy and teaching resources. This is in contrast to local Korean language teachers in North America, such as KD, who are interested in gaining access or creating resources and programs for their specific local context needs or at least engaging in collaborative models with Korean-based educators.

KD's contribution to Korean language teaching goes beyond teaching given his advocacy for the needs of heritage learners as well as for KFL teaching overall. His questioning of Korean, whether its teaching pedagogy and practice or linguistics, brings about alternative perspectives and, as such, enriches debate and discussion that may otherwise perhaps not occur.

Chapter 9: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF LANGUAGE USE

9.1 Introduction

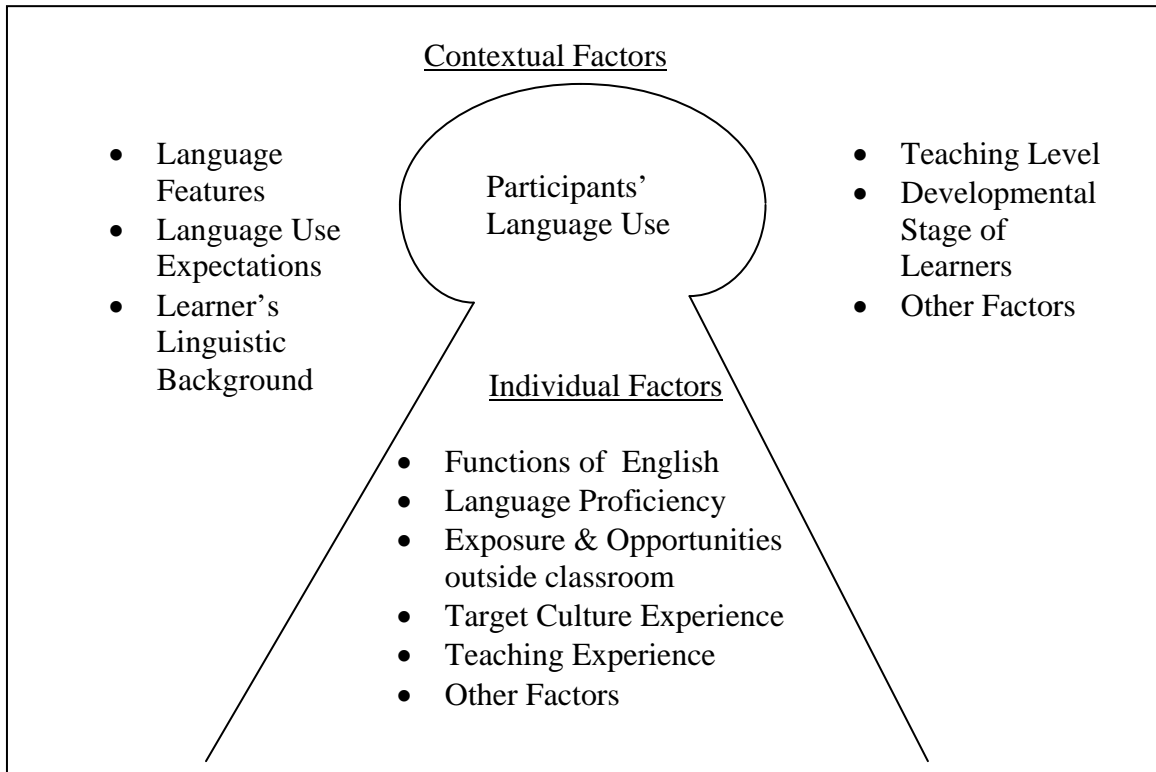
Anne (French), Kathleen (Italian), Nancy (Mandarin), and KD (Korean) were the focal participants whose cases and salient issues were presented in the preceding chapters from amongst the 22 non-native teacher participants. This chapter presents and discusses the themes which emerged from a cross-case analysis of all the data collected. Although the focal cases are emphasised in the discussion below, examples from others are included.

This chapter discusses the primary theme of language use including related practices and beliefs while chapter 10 discusses the secondary cross-case themes that emerged and were clustered into the broader categories of non-native language teacher identity, strengths and advantages, challenges, and perspectives.

9.2 Factors

Some of the key individual and contextual factors impacting target language use and practices for focal participants are included in Tables 9.1 and 9.5 respectively and discussed in turn. Figure 9.1 below provides an overview of these factors.

Figure 9.1: L1-L2 Use Factors



Some, such as ongoing access and opportunities, also impact language maintenance and improvement, a secondary theme pertaining to challenges discussed in chapter 10. This chapter specifically examines L1-L2 use with a focus on the factors impacting L1-L2 use.

9.2.1 Individual Factors Impacting L1-L2 Use

Numerous individual factors are present and at play affecting participants' language use and the major ones outlined in Table 9.1. Some contribute to increased language use while others, or sometimes the same factor, to decreased use.

Table 9.1: Individual Factors Impacting Reported L1-L2 Use

Focal Case (Level Taught)	Anne French (Beginner)	Kathleen Italian (University, Beginner)	Nancy Mandarin (all levels)	KD Korean (University Intermed. Advanced)
L2 Use (%)	90	80	75	50-70
Beliefs About the Functions of English	-“as a tool but not as a <u>translator</u> ” for abstract concepts, anecdotes -supplementary notes -English grammar as a reference for French grammar	-tool, to ensure understanding e.g., new grammar -anecdotes -English grammar to learn Italian grammar	-joint-language, with simplified Mandarin, to teach beginners -abstract concepts (grammar and culture) -anecdotes -exam preparation -to assist ESL learners -efficiency	-complex/abstract concepts, anecdotes -meta language to discuss grammar -efficiency -learning tool
L2 Proficiency (Scale of 1 to 5)	1	4	3	5
Ongoing, Regular L2 Exposure (Y/N)	N	Y -freelance interpreting and translation -writing (native group) -organizing class events at cultural centre	Y -viewing, listening to media -leading biennial excursion to China	Y -immediate and extended family -professional (textual and interactive)
L2 Use Opportunities Outside Class (% of time)	Some, 20%	Many, 25-30%	Few (did not indicate as a percentage)	Many, 50%+
L2 / Culture Experience (years)	None	Italy (3)	China & Taiwan (3)	Korea (2)

9.2.1.1 Functions of English

Perceptions and beliefs about the function of English as a tool were significant amongst participants and are discussed here in terms of the function of English to teach abstract areas of grammar, culture, as well as a tool for explanation or repair, and efficiency.

9.2.1.1.1 Grammar

Using English as a tool to teach grammar in an explicit fashion was a consistent theme amongst participants with respect to language use in this study and impacted the amount of target language use in the classroom however participants somewhat varied in their policies with respect to the use of English for grammar. Participants generally referred to their target language's grammar as generally too abstract and complex to teach in the language yet understanding it was seen as a prerequisite for language learning. In particular, participants indicated that complex or new grammar concepts often required the use of English as a tool for explanation as did areas of difficulty (e.g., Erika). Voicing a commonly-held perspective about teaching grammar, Hans said that

Grammar is so much harder to explain in L2, it's so much harder for them to understand in L2 that just to be able to figure it out....They have a hard enough time understanding grammar in L1, to put it into L2 is just a recipe for failure. There's no point (Hans).

As well, the importance of successfully teaching grammar was driven by departmental expectations of content coverage for exam purposes as well as participants' belief in its necessity for accurate and effective use of the language. For example, according to KD, the first two years of Korean in his university context were highly form-focused due to the language's morpho-syntax.

Focal participants KD and, to some extent, Kathleen and others, discussed using English to discuss grammar and other aspects of their target languages. KD provided learners with a metalanguage *in English* to talk “about Korean”, its grammar and “their learning” (KD). Although he acknowledged that it increased the use of English and was viewed by some as “cheating”, he argued that it was a helpful “long-term strategy” for “cracking” this language by those who were “serious about this language” (KD). KD believed that learners benefitted from this metalanguage by being able to express grammatical knowledge generally as well as articulate questions about Korean, with heritage learners “validating those intuitions” they had about Korean (KD).

...the metalanguage that they use – that they learn in 102 and 200 is in English, but, you know, it's specifically ... packaged for Korean... You need a meta-language, but that meta language is not in Korean, because (doing) the meta language in Korean would layer yet another, whole bunch of really difficult stuff on them, you know, and half of the time, you know, UWC students don't even know what a...verb is in English, you know, what is an adjective, you know, or then what is an adjective in Korean...so you know that's really complicated... So I tend to be real ... flexible about that but keep- try to keep my classroom banter, unless it's, you know, a targeted response to a sort of structure or analysis type question, in Korean (KD).

Kathleen similarly viewed her sharing of metalinguistic knowledge with learners as a contribution (Kathleen). Erika and Naomi also reported using English as a tool to discuss structural aspects of Japanese, including the thought process required in structuring and processing sentences.

Anne, Kathleen, and others used English to facilitate learner understanding in terms of their ability to make associations between their frame of reference and the language. Anne viewed the strategy of “associating your English with your French” as a prerequisite for effective language learning and provided the example of how this did not fare as well with one class due to their previous native teacher teaching solely in French and a lack of any attempt to make connections with learners' knowledge of language in English.⁵⁹

that's the problem with what happened last year, is the kids weren't able to make any association between what they were being told and what they understood ... in their own language or, you know, conceptually... They had a teacher YEAH! They just didn't get any...knowledge that year like it's as if they didn't take French that year (Anne).

As seen above, Anne viewed the need to associate the target language with English as critical for language learning. Erika also reported using English as a tool to facilitate learners' understanding of challenging aspects of structural and grammatical aspects of Japanese.

Like, quite often I have to tell the kids: “You need to read backwards, you know, how we start here”. I like to do this, in Japanese they start with do, like, do, I. You know, they have...The sentence structure is basically backwards and so that's where I resort to English is I- you know when kids are having trouble, in anything, I always stop it and that's where the grammar explanation: “Guys remember this is- you always start at the back. I think, you know, in our sentences I think blah blah blah. ‘I think’ comes at the beginning but in their sentences, you say you know ‘It's hot I think’” (Erika).

⁵⁹ Anne reported that her class' previous teacher lacked English skills and was “not able to explain anything” to learners in their L1 or dominant language (Anne).

Thus, Erika helped teach sentence structure in Japanese by associating this concept and its use with English.

9.2.1.1.2 Target Culture

English was also used by participants to expose learners to the target culture in the form of sharing anecdotal experiences, viewing related media and participating in related discussion. Most participants saw culture as inseparable from acquiring the target language with some activities and tasks best carried out in English due to the more abstract and sometimes complex nature of the content.⁶⁰ However, with preparation, practice, and support, experiential and complex activities such as debating cultural issues in the language also took place in some cases (e.g., Kathleen, Nancy).

Nancy exposed learners to Chinese culture by making the language “meaningful ... exciting and ... real for the students” so as to not “teach language in a vacuum” but rather get learners “tuned into the culture” (Nancy). Activities included: preparing Chinese dishes, participating in related art activities, listening to and compiling lyrics for Chinese music, as well as viewing media (such as film) on Chinese social issues including gender and social policy. Though some of these activities were carried out in English, Nancy structured and planned as much as possible to maintain and encourage the use of Mandarin.

However, like Nancy, Doreen found that presenting culture sometimes lent itself to the use of English due to the abstractness or complexity of ideas as well as the language(s) used in related media.

For example, yesterday in Japanese we were watching a video... “((Obachan’s)) Garden” about Japanese internment and the whole cultural thing about World War II. Well the movie’s in English; there’s some Japanese in it, but I don’t care because that’s a Japanese—that’s a lesson that I want to make sure everyone understands and I will ask questions, probably in English, and have a discussion about it in English, but it’s very relevant to the course so, you know, there’ll be days when someone walking in thinking: “This is a Japanese class, this is pretty sad, there’s no Japanese happening here.” I would defend it and say: “But that’s really important. ... And they don’t know it because some of them are such recent immigrants. They don’t know anything about World War II, what happened in B.C. to the Japanese, and I think they ought to know that”... (Doreen).

⁶⁰ Teaching culture was less significant in terms of deliberate inclusion in the cases of KD and Anne. KD believed in teaching it incidentally and that learners would benefit most culturally by travelling to the target culture. Given her very limited exposure and experience with the target culture (French), Anne shared her interest in teaching colloquial usage of the language as a connection to its current culture.

As reflected in the above passage, Doreen viewed the value of understanding this and other issues and doing so in English as overriding the maintenance of sole Japanese language use. Hans also adopted a broad cultural perspective in teaching German; he emphasised the priority of learners' exposure to a culture outside their first, regardless of any particular one and believed that the "overarching" objective of language teaching in Canada was "to increase understanding and interest in other cultures in general" (Hans).

Promoting understanding of social expectations in the target culture was seen as a key component of acquiring the language for Naomi and Frank. They used English to teach concepts related to culture and underscored how this strategy had been highly effective in teaching Japanese. If learners lacked knowledge of these concepts in their L1 then Naomi found it necessary to introduce them in their dominant language, emphasising that this practice was more about potential for transfer rather than translation in that: "What I have to do sometimes is I have to teach basic manners in English before I can teach manners in Japanese" (Naomi). As well, Naomi viewed teaching manners/etiquette as a prerequisite for teaching politeness levels in Japanese. Frank, similarly, viewed the "complexity of the politeness levels" and social customs as prerequisite for learners in acquiring Japanese and that "until they get that background, it's pointless to try and (do) immersion" (Frank).⁶¹

Presenting aspects of Japanese traditional and popular culture in English decreased the amount of target language use. Though Naomi used Japanese TV dramas in ten minute segments over several weeks as an incentive and catalyst for class conversation, she also prioritised important aspects of culture such as "the logic and philosophy" behind tea ceremony despite a strong learner preference for Japanese pop culture (Naomi).⁶² She argued that understanding "the thinking" behind aspects of the culture was critical for learners to progress not only in acquiring Japanese but also "to get ahead" (Naomi). In contrast, Erika embraced learner interest in Japanese pop culture and observed "They're not interested in tea ceremony and...that sort of thing" so in order "to have a conversation, it's the pop culture that gets them in" (Erika). Though discussions mainly occurred in English, Erika found that incorporating pop culture, including current information about Japanese celebrities,

⁶¹ Like many participants, Frank used the term 'immersion' to refer to exclusive use of the target language.

⁶² Referring to her disconnect with current Japanese target/pop culture due to time away from Japan, age, and personal interests, Naomi noted that: "I don't try to teach pop culture because I can't" (Naomi). However, she provided a few moments for learners to share their interests.

heightened learner interest overall and also provided a break from the ongoing emphasis on using Japanese.

Several participants indicated that telling stories or personal anecdotes related to culture increased the use of English. Though Doreen introduced some cultural concepts in Japanese, she recounted personal stories mainly in English “because usually they’re funny, and usually it’s about me doing something wrong” and that “the humour would be lost, like it just wouldn’t be the same in Japanese” (Doreen). Similarly, Frank and Erika reported telling anecdotes about their experiences in Japan in English and found these to be motivational for learners. As “a lot of their social life is built of telling stories to each other” Frank shared how doing so in relation to culture in English was a key tool such as discussing the symbolism of cherry blossoms in relations to the seasons (Frank).

9.2.1.1.3 Tool for Explanation or Repair

Focal participants indicated that English was a tool that provided a means of bringing about understanding or repair at times of misunderstanding or miscomprehension. Kathleen reverted to English when she observed a lack of understanding and expressed the need “to be flexible” in that “by this point in the year I’m doing- teaching a lot of the grammar in Italian, but if I just notice that everybody’s glazing over then I’ll go back to English” (Kathleen). Erika talked about the usefulness of “English as a tool to be able to explain why” and that “English is my tool that I use to explain when they’re having difficulty for grammar” (Erika).

9.2.1.1.4 Tool for Efficiency

Time was emphasised as a factor impacting L1-L2 use by focal participants Nancy and KD as well as, mainly, by others teaching Asian languages who reported that teaching in the language contributed to the time pressure that already existed in their contexts.⁶³ In terms of English use, Nancy mentioned that: “I sometimes find I take the easy route out for both of us...The time issue, it’s done” (Nancy). She also expressed that efficiency influenced her choice to use Chinglish as a compromise though her learners could “with a bit of balance” manage with target language use. KD discussed how managing class time has impacted his L1-L2 beliefs and conveyed that there was an effective role for English in the Korean

⁶³ Willa and other European language participants also reported using English to cover content more efficiently in their contexts and considered sole target language use as “an ideal to aim for” (Willa).

classroom to aid understanding by covering content more efficiently while still maintaining the use of Korean in the classroom.

I ...well I don't like anything that's dogmatic so whenever somebody says to me, oh you should never use English in your classroom, I think that's nonsense. I think you should use whatever works in the classroom. And with a language like Korean there are just lots of times in the classroom where it saves time and you know, sort of, it moves things along if you do it in English. And I do (KD).

Two Japanese language participants, Naomi and Doreen, also specifically referred to efficiency as a factor. Naomi used English as “the language of instruction” in that “English is a very valuable tool” (emphasis hers). She stipulated that “for efficiency, I think it's necessary for the teacher to speak the source language of the student” and that “the teacher and the student need a shared language...” to enable effective communication, particularly at beginning levels (Naomi). In terms of communicating abstract concepts, Naomi shared that “if it's more efficient to use English I use English you know, without a doubt...” (Naomi). Doreen conveyed that she had “really good intentions that way [using the language], but, it it's just time....Efficacy, just get it done.=” (Doreen).

9.2.1.2 Target Language Proficiency

In this study, a high level of target language proficiency did not consistently correspond with high self-reported target language use though higher levels of reported proficiency appeared to correlate with greater L2 use in some cases.⁶⁴ Though a prerequisite and a factor, language proficiency, alone, did not explain participants' L1-L2 use as seen in the case of KD, Anne, as well as others. Kathleen's self-reported proficiency in Italian was ‘4 [out of 5] High/Near-native like’ and her regular interpreting and translation freelance work provided experience to use and maintain Italian. She articulated that her high, near-native proficiency level and interest in maximising language use readily enabled her to use Italian 80% of the time (see Table 9.1). Nancy rated her proficiency in Mandarin as ‘very good’ and believed that she spoke “with very accurate tones” though had to “really think about something before I say it” and was “not fluent to the point where I'm, -I'm as equally capable in Mandarin as I am in English” (Nancy). Nancy reported using Mandarin 75% of the time at senior levels. KD evaluated his Korean proficiency as ‘excellent/native-like’ and

⁶⁴ Some (non-focal) participants with low levels of reported proficiency also reported lower levels of language use as seen in the cases of Frank, Sally, and Maria (French).

conveyed that he was highly confident and proficient in this, his ninth language, for a variety of purposes though reported using it 50-70% of the time. However, he shared that sole use of Korean in the classroom was infeasible and a lower priority at advanced levels.

From the data on focal participants' language use and proficiency, it seemed counterintuitive that Anne reported highest amount of L2 use (90%) and simultaneously the lowest proficiency ('adequate, though needing some development'). She attributed her positive experience in an intensive French course as the source of her confidence in using the language. It can be argued that Anne's intensive language experience and use of strategies facilitated the ability to keep using the L2. Alternately, this case, and possibly others, could also be one of this participant's underestimation of her L2 proficiency and/or overestimation of L2 use. Participants' means of measuring language use and/or proficiency is also another potential source of error. In any case, individual and contextual factors other than proficiency appeared to be at play in participants' language use and these are examined in the subsequent sections.

9.2.1.3 Ongoing, Regular Exposure and Opportunities Outside of the Classroom

Target language use and activities outside the classroom were a factor impacting participants' experience of language use as non-native teachers in terms of confidence and proficiency, as well as identity. As seen in Table 9.1, amongst focal participants, Nancy reported the least amount of L2 use outside of the classroom, followed by Anne at 20%. Anne, the only focal participant indicating that she did not have ongoing, regular exposure to French outside of class, also reported the lowest level of L2 proficiency ('1') and her French language experience has been more academic within the school system as learner and then teacher. Both Nancy and Anne reported viewing and listening to various media in their respective languages. Though only reporting using Italian 25-30% of the time outside class, Kathleen indicated that she had many opportunities to do so as outlined in Chapter 6. KD reported the highest L2 use outside the classroom (50%+) which was consistent with his ongoing roles as professor and researcher, in addition to using Korean to interact socially outside the home as well as with family members.

9.2.1.4 Target Culture and Related Experience

As reflected in Table 9.1, target culture experience for focal participants varied from none to three years and was somewhat related to target language use.⁶⁵ In terms of the 22 participants, eight European and ten Asian language participants reported target culture experience. Focal participants Kathleen and Nancy found that their experience in the target culture was significant to their development as language teachers and speakers in terms of proficiency, confidence, and ease of use, and both referred to being able to eventually think in the language as a cognitive and linguistic milestone. Kathleen found that living and working in Italy in a variety of contexts over three years had helped her to think and readily teach using Italian but that other factors have affected her ability to do so to a greater extent, which she would prefer. Nancy found her initial submersion experience in China resulted in being able to speak Mandarin but that she had gaps in her language knowledge and would have benefited from having some aspects of the language systemically taught and explained to her as it was eventually in university courses.⁶⁶ KD placed greater emphasis on his self-study of Korean in the U.S and Korea initially in his acquisition of Korean. However, he mentioned that following his sabbatical leave spent in Korea he was more conscious of using Korean and did so more often with his family.

9.2.1.4.1 Length and Intensity of Target Language Exposure

Related to target culture experience is participants' relationship with the target language in terms of length and intensity of exposure. Anne's comparatively fewer intensive language experiences seemed to relate to her lower L2 proficiency (in French) despite the fact that she formally began its study in late childhood at 12 as seen in Table 9.2.⁶⁷

Table 9.2: Age of First Exposure to TL

Anne (French)	12
Kathleen (Italian)	18
Nancy (Mandarin)	15
KD (Korean)	19

⁶⁵ Anne lacked target culture experience, and had self-assessed her proficiency as '1' (out of 5) though reported 90% language use. Despite his native-like proficiency, KD's Korean use 50-70% of the time in class was also related to other factors.

⁶⁶ Doreen (Japanese) also found this to be the case.

⁶⁷ Though her first exposure to French was in kindergarten at age five in a play-based environment, Anne reported age 12 as the start of her study of the language on a serious level, academically.

However, Anne's emphasis on teaching in French 90% of the time raised the question of the validity of this and other self-assessed measures.⁶⁸ Despite their initial exposure and subsequent study occurring later in mid to late adolescence, Kathleen, Nancy, and KD engaged in longer, more intense periods of acquisition in the target culture which saw them make great gains in their acquisition in a relatively shorter period.

9.2.1.4.2 Intensive Language or Immersion Experiences as a Learner

Although most participants' intensive language experience took place in the target culture, for some, such as Anne, and Linda target language-only intensive or immersion academic experiences *outside the target culture* impacted their language use practices and acquisition, and are therefore included here.⁶⁹ Anne attributed her intensive, albeit short, French experience after becoming a language teacher as positively impacting her confidence to use a large amount of French in her classroom. As a graduate of the late French immersion program⁷⁰, Linda stated that her choice and preference for teaching in the language has been greatly shaped by "the way I learned French" and she further elaborated that

I really believe in the French immersion program. I think that's the best program in the schools for language teaching and learning. And if I really had my druthers I'd be running a Spanish Immersion program here, not Spanish as a second language. ...Because I don't think that language is something that you can dabble in. I think you're either in or you're out... I don't believe in using English in an Immersion classroom. I...I think that, you know, there's a whole shift that needs to take place when you're learning another language, it's the whole culture, and- and everything that goes with that. And I think the best way to do that and experience that is by jumping in with both feet (Linda).

As evident in Linda's reflection above, she embraced sole-target-language use and attempted to incorporate this as much as possible in her current teaching contexts.⁷¹ Though she has experienced immersion both as teacher and learner, she indicated her recognition that her current second language programs (Spanish and French) were contextually embedded with different expectations and factors that did not always render sole language use as most appropriate.

⁶⁸ Participants' language use and other self-reported data is addressed as a limitation in Chapter 11.

⁶⁹ Though Linda's initial experience with French was as a late entry immersion student, she has had numerous French target culture experiences as an adult.

⁷⁰ 'Late' refers to later entry into the program (e.g. grade six in this case) rather than the more typical start or entry at the kindergarten or grade one level.

⁷¹ Linda stated that structured activities and all written work were in the target language.

Similar to Linda, KD and Naomi viewed the practice of sole-target-language use in immersion as an approach and program *separate from* their Asian language teaching contexts at the time of this study. Although KD had experienced intensive language learning *in the L2* for the three European languages of Spanish, Russian, and German, acquiring Korean involved a combination of self-study from text materials, individual tutoring, and a six week intensive course in Korea. Based on his experiences as learner and teacher, KD maintained that immersion in the L2 solely was most effectively carried out with young children. He believed that beyond childhood, learners needed to acquire the tools and knowledge in the language classroom to later apply in the target culture. Similarly, despite learning Japanese intensively, Naomi's experience has led to her disenchantment with sole-language-use in second or additional language programs.

I've done immersion programs...and the teacher that taught us Japanese, us teachers Japanese, she followed that same policy as well. She only ever talked Japanese. It was not efficient (Naomi).

Others such as Jan (German) also noted that although they had acquired their language in intense (sole) target language contexts, the use of English was necessary in their teaching context at the time of this study.

9.2.1.5 Teaching Experience

Focal participants had nine to 14 years of language teaching experience at the time of this study as seen in Table 9.1, and non-focal participants had between three to 26 years of experience.⁷² Although length of teaching experience *alone* did not appear to be a factor in language use, experience teaching in solely the target language influenced language beliefs and practices as illustrated in Sections 9.2.1.5.1 and 9.2.1.5.2 below.

9.2.1.5.1 Former Teaching Experience in Immersion and/or Sole Language Use Contexts

Teaching experience in immersion programs and/or sole language use contexts influenced participants' language use. Based on his teaching experience as well as long-term involvement in a Korean summer immersion program for children in various capacities, KD agreed with the immersion approach of sole language use with young learners. However KD

⁷² Only two participants each had 26 years of experience (Pavel and Evelyn). Other than these two participants, all other participants had 15 years or less teaching experience at the time of this study.

believed that there were limits to its use with adult learners and/or in the classroom context; he also saw it as feasible with children up until the approach of adolescence.

As well, some participants had taught in EFL or in other language teaching contexts *using solely the target language* found that this experience had been relevant to the formation of their beliefs about language use. They positioned their teaching context at the time of this study as dissimilar to that of immersion or other sole language contexts (e.g., Naomi, Doreen, Erika, Frank, Sally, Hans) in discussing their language use choices and practices and indicated that sole language use would not work here. Naomi's experience in Japan as an EFL teacher expected to solely use the target language as "a policy" yielded her belief that this was contingent on the context of acquisition or learning (Naomi). She emphasised that teaching Japanese in her current context was not one of immersion and that this approach would be better suited in other language learning contexts.

Now for immersion programs it works great and teaching a language as a parent it works great; And I think that for a truly motivated student who is using a native speaker as a resource, per se, it works great (Naomi).

In contrast, experience using solely the target language in previous (French) immersion contexts positively reinforced this practice for Jerez and Linda. As she had done previously when teaching primary level French immersion, Jerez tried to "speak the target language all the time...certainly in French, and sometimes in Spanish" and attempted to engage learners in conversations in the language (Jerez). Based on this positive experience she readily continued this practice in her current context and used French and Spanish 75% the time at senior levels for both languages.⁷³ Linda's language use has also been influenced by her extensive experience teaching secondary level French immersion courses with sole language use where she had observed how learners' coped with ambiguity and she applied this to her Spanish teaching context at the time of this study.

What I try and do is have them use as much Spanish as they can. And, get really in tune with listening and speaking Spanish and accept the fact that they will not understand every word but regardless, they can still get the message. That's really a huge part of who I am and I think that's my French Immersion background, and the way that I learned languages....

⁷³ Besides her French immersion teaching experience, Jerez indicated that her target language use was higher in her French versus Spanish classes due to various factors including longer learner exposure to French since elementary school, as well as French instructional materials conducive to using the language. Her higher proficiency in French may also have been a factor.

So really that's, my main thrust is realising that they can get the message even though they don't understand every word and being capable for travelling, because most of them will do that, but not all-most of them will go to university and continue with Spanish or French (Linda).

Even participants who did not have experience teaching in immersion or sole target language intensive programs (e.g., Anne, Willa) positioned their language programs as “not immersion” (Anne). In addition, Pavel also had had no immersion or sole language teaching experience but nevertheless embraced and valued the creation of social context through target culture customs in the language. For instance, referring to the way in which he presented himself to learners and regularly greeted them, he stated that: “we are right from the beginning we are to somehow present this contextualisation that, that you're sort of- imagine a kind of Russian immersion environment” (Pavel).

9.2.1.5.2 Experience at Implementing Sole Target Language Use

Attempts at teaching solely in the target language resulted in some participants adjusting the quantity of their target language use. Kathleen shared how she had used only Italian when she had begun teaching her course before switching to using it 80% of the time while working towards 100% by course-end because “some kids were just fine with it and others were just being left completely behind” (Kathleen, emphasis hers). Erika similarly shifted her policy and practice to incorporate slightly more English use after attempting to use solely Japanese. In both these cases, participants found that missed or misunderstood information negatively impacted learner attentiveness, responsiveness, and motivation as well as the student-teacher relationship. Building incrementally to maximize language use was seen as more practical and learner-friendly. They also indicated that they maintained consistent language use and insisted that learners express routine requests and questions in the language. Erika shared that she no longer experienced angst about her previous belief about ‘no English’ though Kathleen indicated an interest in effectively maximising Italian use in her context.

9.2.1.6 Other Individual Factors Impacting Language Use

9.2.1.6.1 Training in Modern Language Pedagogy

According to several participants, training in language pedagogy has influenced their language use practices and many stated that this training had advocated sole target language use. Participants who had undergone such training made reference to language use

approaches they had been taught and how they implemented these. For example, Erika reported:

In the teacher program I was sort of taught, like, you come in here, you don't use any English. Even for explaining grammar points, you use no English. And I came out of that program, you know, with all the good intentions, and I came into the classroom using- trying to do that, and the kids don't respond to that. It's hard to ... oh it's hard to keep their attention when they don't- when they don't understand at all...But to be honest, the kids ask me questions in English and I answer in Japanese- (Erika).

Some participants in this study with language teaching training, such as Erika, had initially tried to implement sole target language use based on this but later revised their language use to that of the maximum attainable as per their context. At the time of this study, Erika shared that she used Japanese “as much as possible” (Erika).

Focal participants Nancy and KD made virtually no reference to training as a factor.⁷⁴ Like Anne, Nancy was a graduate of a teacher education program though she also had an undergraduate degree in her L2, Mandarin. She did not identify her pedagogical training as a factor in her language use though reported disappointment that it had not addressed issues or matters of relevance to the teaching and learning of Asian languages. One of Nancy's main professional goals was expanding her knowledge about Mandarin pedagogy through the Mandarin resources of the IB program in which she also taught. KD noted that he had limited interest in partaking in professional development opportunities due to their Eurocentric perspective on teaching languages which he found had little relevance to the teaching of Asian languages.

Although Anne and Kathleen lacked training in language pedagogy, they reported relatively high L2 use at 90% and 80% respectively. They expressed an interest in informal or formal training on how to more effectively use the language for instruction. Kathleen acknowledged a lack of training as impacting her practice of reverting to the L1, English, to deal with learners' lack of comprehension and believed it was a significant obstacle in her goal of solely using Italian inclusively from the outset of a course.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ As a professor of Korean, KD's 'training' has been more academic and research-based compared to other focal participants as well as to virtually all participants as a whole.

⁷⁵ Kathleen indicated that she was interested in the Rassias approach as a possible solution in that it advocated “only L2 in the classroom” (Kathleen).

Variation in L1-L2 use existed even amongst teachers with limited or no modern language training in pedagogy indicating that other factors were involved. In contrast to high levels of language use reported by Kathleen and KD, Frank and Sally reported 10-33% and 25% respectively. Frank viewed his language use as appropriate for his context. Sally adopted a bilingual, 'holistic' approach to teaching Japanese at the grade six and seven level and believed that program goals were being met.

9.2.1.6.2 Target Language/Culture and Other Interests

Participants' interests with respect to the target language/culture impacted its use in the classroom, predominantly in the cases of KD and Kathleen. KD shared how his interest in Korean now lay more in "fact" rather than "act" (i.e. discussing aspects and issues related to Korean in English rather than in teaching Korean in Korean) (KD). Given this interest and that "fact" lent itself to using English, less Korean was consequently used. Kathleen's interest in etymology and talking about "the fine points" of Italian with learners increased the amount of English however she believed that this was more than offset by her commitment to communicative language teaching (Kathleen).

Those who viewed themselves as a valuable language role model in their teaching, notably focal participants Anne, Kathleen, and Nancy, indicated language use as a priority. Nancy embraced the value that "you model...try to use the target language as much as possible". (Nancy). The importance of modelling the language to the maximum extent was also voiced by non-focal participants Erika and Jerez with the latter underlining the need for teachers to have "at least an- a strong intermediate level or better [proficiency] ...because, you are the only model that they have." (Jerez). On the other hand, the teacher as a bilingual or multilingual role model for emerging bilingual (or mulilingual) learners was underscored, with exclusive use of the language reported as inapplicable in cases such as KD and Sally. Other participants, including Nancy and Doreen, indicated the need to be a bilingual role model in their contexts for ESL learners in particular.

Participants' interest in target culture-related issues such as social justice also impacted L1-L2 use. For example, Doreen's interest in issues involving Lower Mainland Japanese and Japanese Canadians in the past and present including their WW2 internment, as mentioned earlier, resulted in increased English use. Although she used English or English media for this purpose, she defended this practice in that learning about these issues was

“really important” to both Canadian-born learners and particularly to many recent immigrants in the class (Doreen). Similarly, Hans’ interest in imparting multicultural awareness and tolerance for diversity in his German classes involved English use.

9.2.1.6.3 Participants’ First Language (L1) and Identity

Participants’ L1 or dominant language impacted their language use as well as their development of rapport with learners. Although the first language, L1, of all four focal and thirteen non-focal participants was English, four reported a language, other than English, as their L1.⁷⁶ This aspect of participants’ identity also impacted L1-L2 use in terms of the linguistic and cultural context that was used as a tool and reference. For the most part, these non-English L1 participants’ reported that their English proficiency enabled them to use it as a tool in teaching their target language.

9.2.1.6.3.1 Asian Language Participants

Kage was the Asian language participant who reported an L1 other than English. As seen in table 9.3 below, with Clover, she was the only one who conveyed her language use qualitatively. However, even amongst English L1 participants, language use per target language varied from 10% to 90 % (Japanese), 50% to 75% (Chinese), and 40% to 70% (Korean) reinforcing that factors other than first language impacted language use. Kage shared that she found it easier to explain aspects of Japanese to Chinese learners given that they shared a common L1, Cantonese, background and she extensively drew on her experience in acquiring Japanese as a native Cantonese speaker. In terms of using English for instructional purposes, Kage shared that she was comfortable with more academic, formal English based on her main use of it for academically. Clover indicated that English was her dominant L1 and a tool she used with all learners, but that she also extensively drew on her knowledge of and experience with Chinese to help Chinese heritage and native learners by providing tips and explanations (in English) to avoid pitfalls in acquiring Japanese.

⁷⁶ This consisted of three European and one Asian language teacher- participants in this study.

Table 9.3: Asian Language Participants

Participant	Language Taught	Nationality and Affiliation	% L2 Use
Nancy	Mandarin	Canadian	75
KD	Korean	American	50-70
Pedro	Korean	American & Brazilian	40-65
Kage	Japanese	Chinese	*
Clover	Mandarin Japanese	Chinese Canadian	*
Sally	Japanese	Canadian (Ukrainian & German)	25
Naomi	Japanese	Ethnic European (Nationality U.S & Canada)	50+
Doreen	Japanese	Canadian (Anglo)	60
Erika	Japanese	Canadian	85-90 usually 70
Frank	Japanese	Canadian/White/ Finnish	10-33
Laura	Chinese	British/Canadian Caucasian	50

* indicates that language use was not conveyed quantitatively

9.2.1.6.3.2 European Language Participants

Maria (Greek), Jan (Polish), and Pavel (Slovak) were European language participants with an L1 other than English.⁷⁷ As seen in Table 9.4 below, target language use amongst these was 70% for Spanish and 35% for French (Maria), and 50% for German (Jan). Pavel, Linda, Evelyn, and Hans qualitatively described their target language use. Amongst European language participants with English as their L1, language use per target language also varied widely (50 to 100% for Spanish, and 50-90% for French).

Maria attributed her relatively lower level of French use (35%) to her use of it as a generalist teacher with a basic working knowledge who had consented to teach the class. On the other hand, she attributed her graduate study in Spain and extensive experience using Spanish, coupled with her belief in modeling it as the main factors behind using it 70% of the time. Both her experience of acquiring Greek and, later, Spanish reinforced the belief in the importance of learners' access to a rich linguistic context well as proficient target language models. Maria strongly associated with her Greek heritage and identified herself as Greek-

⁷⁷ In this instance, L1 is indicated in parentheses.

Canadian. She used English sparingly to teach Spanish on an as-needed basis while Spanish was emphasised for key tasks and activities as well as routines.

Of all the non-English L1 participants in this study, Polish native Jan most lamented his lack of English-speaking and Canadian cultural experience, as problematic in relating to learners. He spoke of his difficulty in finding examples from the Canadian context to illustrate teaching points or examples. However he reported confidently drawing upon aspects of German language and culture based on his extensive work, academic, and social experiences in Poland, Germany, and Canada.

Though Pavel strongly emphasised the use of Russian including social customs in his classroom, he reported consciously using some, limited English for specific purposes such as discussing pronunciation and explaining grammar. He identified himself as a Slovak native with extensive Canadian academic experience as first a graduate student and then professor.

Table 9.4: European Language Participants

Participant	Language Taught	Nationality and Affiliation	% L2 Use
Anne	French	Canadian	90
Kathleen	Italian	American (German & Swedish)	80
Maria	Spanish French	Greek Canadian	Spanish 70 French 35
Jan	German	Polish	50
Pavel	Russian	Slovak	*
Jerez	Spanish French	Canadian	75 (both)
Linda	Spanish French	Canadian (British & German)	*
Bernadette	Spanish French	Canadian	50-75 (both)
Willa	Spanish	Canadian	80-100
Evelyn	French	Scottish (6 th generation Canadian)	*
Hans	German	British	*

* indicates that language use was not conveyed quantitatively

9.2.1.6.3.3 Socialization with Respect to Guiding and Disciplining

Participants' experience with the use of English for purposes of guidance and discipline impacted their language policy and choices. The fact that most participants'

socialisation with respect to discipline was associated with English, this L1 was significant in some cases and English was viewed as necessary to successfully communicate discipline-related messages to learners. Focal participants including Anne and Nancy in their secondary contexts did not indicate this as a factor. Evelyn shared her practice of using English more comfortably for discipline in dealing with adolescents and stated that “it’s necessary for discipline in most cases...” (Evelyn). Naomi related the synergistic factors amongst those of learner development, the need to address issues of social and emotional development at the secondary level, as well as her identity with respect to doing so, including her role of mentor.

I don’t have enough mental- if Japanese were my mother tongue, I would-I know, I would use more Japanese in terms of the general directions of the day because ... in my mind, I’ve got the content I’m trying to deliver, I’ve got communicating it, and I’ve got managing the three ring circus, and my mind can only cope with so much. Managing the three ring circus, my mother tongue is better skilled.

I’m thinking in English when it comes to the um- that they’re children and growing and their emotional development and all of that stuff. I can’t think in Japanese about mentoring and parenting and that kind of stuff... =and, and in fact in high school the non-linguistic aspects of teaching these boys take precedence over Japanese (Naomi).⁷⁸

As reflected in the passage above, Naomi’s socialisation in English came into play as a significant force to address discipline and guidance issues.

9.2.1.6.4 Cognitive Effort, Fatigue, and Emotional State

Although fatigue was not noted as a factor amongst focal participants, it was expressed by many non-focal participants and underlined the cognitive demands of teaching in the language. Many participants discussed how even with preparation, they were cognitively and emotionally challenged in their efforts to use the language. Frank sometimes found it difficult to use Japanese and noted that it could be “fairly challenging getting into the ‘Japanese mood’” (Frank). He also commented on the challenge of preparing for unanticipated questions and described becoming “irritated with myself for not knowing...” (Frank). Sally spoke of having “to supplement with English...if it’s a very lengthy instruction” and that she was “using Japanese for very basic, short, instructions or comments or if the idea being expressed is too complex” (Sally). Maria found that teaching her beginning French class in the language involved extensive preparation due to limited

⁷⁸ At the time of this study, Naomi taught at an all-male secondary school.

proficiency and experience with the language. Thus, she extensively prepared ahead of class and relied on audio resources in French to compensate for her background in order to deliver what she believed to be an “adequate” program (Maria).⁷⁹

9.2.1.6.5 Concern and Anxiety about Communicating Vital Information

Concern over learners missing or misunderstanding information impacted some participants’ choices with respect to L1-L2 use. Kathleen conveyed critical announcements and information in Italian and then summarised *in English* “just to make sure” that learners understood and did not “miss a deadline or something because they’re not following me” (Kathleen). She viewed this as an alternative to providing a direct translation of the message in English for repetition. Participants such as Jerez and Evelyn reported using *either* the language *or* English for key information and disagreed with translating to repeat information, a practice they commonly observed taking place. Jerez used the language for class news and report card information and was confident that learners would struggle and attempt to understand because the information was of high value. In response to learner requests for translations generally she stated that she would convey information about any emergency in English though for other items “I’m not going to translate because then you’re just going to listen for the translation...” (Jerez). Evelyn, similarly, advocated against translating from French to English.

One of the biggest downfalls is if you say it in French, you say it in English and then you say it in French again and you’re thinking you’re helping them to understand it and then they hear it in French they’re going to learn it better. But what happens is the kids tune it out: “Oh I don’t have to bother to listen in French because she’s going to say it in English”... And they tune out (Evelyn).

Rather she promoted the need to “rephrase it in French in a different way to explain it, but it’s all still in French” so that learners actively listened for meaning and did not “wait for the translation” (Evelyn).

9.2.1.6.6 Conveying Humour

Participants’ use of humour in personal anecdotes and other forms to illustrate teaching points and build rapport was reported as taking place in English. Kathleen used humour in “laughing, having fun and making mistakes.... That just helps you, you know, take

⁷⁹ Most of Maria’s classes consisted of Spanish, her dominant additional language, which she found exceptionally easy to access in teaching the language.

things in so much better” (Kathleen). Both Kathleen and Doreen conveyed that sharing humorous anecdotes of misconceptions they had had about the language in earlier stages of acquisition was a break in using the language and simultaneously strengthened rapport with learners.

The contextual factors impacting participants’ L1-L2 beliefs and practices are discussed separately in the subsequent section.

9.3 Contextual Factors Impacting L1-L2 Use

Contextual factors that impacted language use are discussed below and are highlighted in table 9.5 below.

Table 9.5: Some Contextual Factors in Reported L1-L2 Use of Participants

Participant (language)	Anne (French)	Kathleen (Italian)	Nancy (Mandarin)	KD (Korean)
L2 Use (%)	90	80	75	50-70
Target language features	-pronunciation -cognates relative to English	-cognates relative to English grammar	-tonal -orthography (pinyin, Chinese characters) -lack of cognates relative to English	-orthography includes Chinese characters -lack of cognates relative to English
Language Use Expectations (Source)	-French as language of instruction (IRP)	-none (department) -tasks and activities in Italian	-Mandarin for task-based, structured activities and performance tasks (IRP)	-none (department) -metalanguage in English to discuss language and its grammar vs. Korean for classroom administration, examples, and tasks
Learners' Linguistic Background (HLL, NS, ESL)⁸⁰ and Heritage Languages	-Some ESL -Punjabi -Farsi	-Circa 25% Italian HLLs (TL)	-Mandarin HLL (TL, mainly senior level) -ESL (native and non-native TL) -Cantonese	-Korean HLLs (senior levels) -Chinese -Japanese
Teaching Level(s)	Grades 9-10, Beginner	First Year University, Beginner	Grades 9-12, All levels	Third and Fourth Year University, Intermediate-Advanced
Learners' Stage of Development	Adolescent	Young Adult	Adolescent	Young Adult

9.3.1 Target Language Features

Target language features were noted as a factor impacting language use particularly by participants teaching Asian languages. Participants described these main features as encompassing the linguistic and cultural distance relative to English, particularly with respect to orthography and a lack of cognates for language including grammatical terms. In particular, KD and other Asian language participants noted the relative *greater* number of contact hours required for Asian languages relative to European languages for an English

⁸⁰ ESL, NS, and HLL refer to: English as a second language, native speaker, and heritage language learner respectively.

dominant speaker to achieve comparable levels of proficiency as a factor.⁸¹ He conveyed the complexities involved in teaching Korean and Asian languages generally and argued that: “four to five times as much exposure” was required for Korean compared to commonly-taught European languages in the same time frame and that exposure to listening and speaking Korean was a major challenge in that:

The problem for us is how to increase exposure, how to increase input, for the student, for a language which we know, in those early stages requires four to five times as much exposure in input and contact, as it does for French or Spanish or German. And yet we have the same limited number of classroom time as these other languages, so how do you do that?

In a similar vein, Naomi commented on the disparity in abilities between learners of Asian versus European languages at the end of secondary school, with Asian language learners having attained relative lower proficiency.⁸²

As a result of complex linguistic differences relative to English, KD argued that exclusive language use with learners in Asian language teaching contexts was unrealistic though understandable. Even for sole use of the language with younger learners in immersion contexts, he expressed the caveat that language characteristics was still a factor since sole language teaching techniques had been “developed on the basis of French or English” and that “the whole ESL and sort of, European and Eurocentric nature of language teaching again, really doesn’t have much to say to people in Korean, in terms of immersion” in the sense that “there’s a lot of research to be done on really how far you can get with immersion...in Asian languages” (KD).

With respect to orthography, KD and Naomi explained that the nature of it relative to English impacted their language use.

You know, this language doesn’t –it has a different script.⁸³ You know, that’s something again that just never occurs to people, you know, whose background is ESL or French, you know, the writing system. It’s very significant (KD).

⁸¹ The Asian languages in this study were situated in the fourth group of languages (more difficult) in Judith E Liskin-Gasparro’s scale comparing the contact hours required to achieve relative levels of proficiency for English speakers (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual Princeton, NJ; Educational Testing Service, 1982).

⁸² Naomi discussed the comparison between learners who completed high school French being able to read a newspaper article whereas the same cannot be said for learners who completed high school Japanese.

⁸³ Unlike the contentious issue of simplified vs. classical characters in the Mandarin cases in this study, according to KD simplified characters were not used in Korean rather “it’s all classical” (KD).

Naomi described “the writing element that I must address” as one that included the two syllabaries of Hirigana and Katagana, as well as 230 Chinese characters that learners had to be able to write in addition to “another one or 200 to recognise, to read” (Naomi). As reflected in the cases of KD and Naomi, these participants, amongst other Asian language participants, reported that a different orthography relative to English meant that teaching this and other areas in the language was problematic.

9.3.2 Language Use Expectations

Language use expectations within the culture of their contexts was another factor related by participants. Whether originating from learners or parents, peer colleagues within or outside their departments, expectations mattered with respect to these parties because engaging in practice that varied resulted in these parties vocalising their disagreement. For example, due to their expectation of a slower pace of French and more English from the French teacher, parents in Anne’s context commented on Anne’s use of excessive French at too quick a pace based on their children’s earlier experience with other teachers. She reported that although she retained her use of French socially with learners, Anne extensively adjusted her pace and emphasis in expressing concepts in French while teaching. Discussions with colleagues-peers about the amount of language use, as a goal and in practice, impacted participants’ practice here, though this was more the case in secondary school contexts (e.g., Anne) even when curriculum documents (the provincial Integrated Resource Package) indicated the target language as the language of instruction (e.g., for French). To varying degrees, secondary school participants made reference to provincial curriculum goals about language use. The provincial IRP for European languages consistently indicated that the language of instruction was the target language with some reference to the selective use of English in some IRPs.⁸⁴ Some strived towards these expectations while others viewed these as an ideal and dismissed policy about teaching in the language as impractical and/or inapplicable to their context (e.g., Jerez and others). Anne reported that she and her colleague-peers had come to the consensus that using French 90% of the time was feasible while still allowing for the use of English as a tool to resolve difficulties and repair misunderstandings.

⁸⁴ For example, the German IRP indicated that teaching culture may involve some use of English.

In university contexts, participants seemed to exercise a high degree of professional judgement and autonomy in their language use, and ‘curriculum’ was represented in the form of instructional materials selected by the department (e.g., Pavel). Priorities were communicated through departments and performance expectations on examinations (e.g., Kathleen, Jan). KD maintained that the use of English was necessary to actively engage learners in discussing aspects of Korean as part of their longer-term acquisition.

9.3.2.1 Overall Expectations within Academic Timeframes

Participants noted that the attempt to meet expectations including covering course content and meeting course-specific objectives within a fixed academic timeframe was a key factor impacting language use. The dilemma of teacher of academic credit course versus that of language model was reported with the former often taking precedence due to time pressure to meet academic expectations. Participants teaching Asian languages voiced this as a factor most vehemently based on the features of their languages. Nancy spoke of this factor in terms of the overwhelming challenge of having a time frame of three hours per week, ten months over the school year, in which to help learners “learn a pictographic language” of Mandarin (Nancy). KD described the 300 level courses meeting three hours a week as “a pathetically inadequate amount of time to do a language course of any description, but particularly a language course if one’s ... aim is to give students air time in Korean or lots of input” (KD).⁸⁵

...This is the problem with trying to teach a language like Korean, you know, and cram it all into four years of university instruction when you need two thousand three hundred hours to reach you know a two plus in this language, and you know, technically speaking, superior is, you know, like in a level three, when you don’t know - you don’t even know how many extra hours that requires to get from a two plus... (KD).⁸⁶

The passage above reflects KD’s frustration with attempting to meet overall expectations within an academic timeframe he viewed as insufficient for Korean language teaching.

⁸⁵ In response, KD adopted the perspective that Korean at UWC could best provide learners with “strategies and tools and resources that will make them better and more efficient learners when they go [to Korea]” (KD). Given the limited classroom time to meet objectives, he stated that learners who “are really serious about learning this language they need to go there” and that “What we need to give them are strategies and tools and resources that will make them better and more efficient learners when they go there” (KD). In terms of classroom practice he advocated helping them to “get the form right because a lot of the other stuff will come if they go to Korea” and he commented on the “plenty of opportunities” and relative ease of learners being able to go to Korea and that “the motivated kids do” (KD).

⁸⁶ During his interview at the time of this study KD referred to the DLI (Defence Language Institute) scale per www.uscg.mil/hq/capemay/education/dlpt.asp (last accessed 04/23/10).

European language participants, including Kathleen, also expressed the dilemma of juggling time to meet academic objectives such as covering grammatical content in English versus language exposure. Kathleen and others conveyed their priority in covering expected material was at odds with helping learners acquire communicative ability in the language. She described working within the existing timeframe to meet objectives as “a struggle” and that time was “always a problem” (Kathleen). The fact that that she perceived her learners as being evaluated mostly on grammatical knowledge, drove her to emphasise covering content relevant to meeting academic requirements. Kathleen struggled between satisfying learners’ (as well as her) interest in helping them develop Italian conversational ability versus covering content that she believed exceeded that of French and Spanish courses at a comparable level.⁸⁷

...we’d end up, you know with, at the end of the year, with two grammar chapters that we hadn’t covered... It is a six credit university course so you need the whole grammar element. It’s not a course- conversation course that you take because you’re going to Italy this summer, you know. So- But it is frustrating because you want them to be able to speak too and I do get a lot of people, on evaluations, saying: “You know, we never got to speak a lot. I still don’t know how to speak Italian” and, you know, it’s very frustrating to try and put it all in there. And once again, you know, it would be different if there weren’t 30, 30 plus people in the classroom...They’re [our department is] not saying they need this and this and this vocabulary but they definitely are saying they need this amount of grammar...I would say it’s probably 80% grammar... (Kathleen).

As reflected above, Kathleen expressed frustration with her attempt to maximise Italian use while aiming to cover content expected by her department for her course. Bernadette added to the discussion concerning this factor through her reflection on the need to explicitly teach classroom language structures and discourse to maximise its use. She believed that that much preliminary preparation was required for use of the language to succeed in the *classroom* context. Scheduling this into the existing timeframe while accomplishing academic objectives was Bernadette’s main obstacle to using the language more consistently as well as a source of much angst. She shared that though there were “certain routines” in the target language in both her Spanish and French contexts, she regretting not having “more time so that I could really work on that... classroom vocabulary, classroom language” (Bernadette).

⁸⁷ Kathleen noted that one hour per week of practical language lab practice was available to review and reinforce Italian listening and speaking skills.

Other participants in European teaching contexts at the secondary level such as Willa and Jerez also commented on the impact of covering content over shorter program timeframes (i.e. three instead of five years) as exacerbating the dilemma of teaching *in* versus *about* the language.⁸⁸ Willa viewed the use of the language as an ideal that was compromised in practice by the need to cover course content over three, as opposed to five, years in her context. She shared that given “the amount that we have to cover in one course it’s a lot more efficient...to explain it in English and then...practise it and rehearse it” (Willa). Jerez, similarly, commented that “the fact that they only have three years, that there’s a lot to cram in” (Jerez).

9.3.3 Learners’ Linguistic Background

The presence of heritage and native learners, which included ESL learners, was a factor in participants’ L1-L2 use, as indicated in Table 9.5. Though the impact on L1-L2 use varied amongst cases, more English was generally used.

9.3.3.1 Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) and Native Speakers of the Language

Unlike Nancy’s case at the secondary level where there was a greater proportion of native and other non-native learners with varying ESL needs, Kathleen and KDs’ university contexts consisted of highly proficient target language speakers who were perceived to have a pedagogical advantage.⁸⁹ As well, although English was not a linguistic barrier in these two cases, English use was, nevertheless, reported to be relatively higher with these learners (e.g., KD) in contrast to others (e.g., Nancy) purposefully using English with ESL learners in their classes. Overall, participants with native and highly proficient heritage learners (who had ample access to the language outside of class) espoused the belief that using the target language with them was not a priority (e.g., KD, Nancy).⁹⁰ KD emphasised that using and exposing learners to Korean was a lower priority in his senior level classes comprised of proficient heritage learners rather it was “more a big deal...for the non-heritage

⁸⁸ The Spanish program in which Willa taught spanned three years, grades 10-12, in contrast to other language teaching contexts where programs spanned longer periods. Similarly, learners could begin Spanish at the grade ten level at Jerez’s school.

⁸⁹ In Kathleen’s case, other learners specifically perceived this advantage.

⁹⁰ According to KD, instead of focusing on whether a potential learner was native, the emphasis was on “how good their Korean is”. He indicated that: “If they came to Canada at age 12 or later, we just tell them that we have nothing for you, go away...the amount of Korean someone like that knows would take someone like me, you know, several thousands of contact hours to acquire” (KD). A self-assessment screening was in place and an interview was conducted to determine the most appropriate placement.

learners...where, you know, one wants to give them as much airtime [() exposure” (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, p. 27). Furthermore, he viewed heritage learners’ interest as that of increasing their understanding of the language analytically including reading and writing it rather than improving their generally well-established speaking and listening skills. Besides their sheer concentration in advanced level courses, some previously discussed factors impacted the paradoxical reality in KD’s context in that the greater the number of heritage learners, the less Korean was spoken. Though these learners were fluent in Korean, reading and talking about written text in Korean was problematic for them (i.e. unfamiliar with conventions and forms). KD discussed his sense of priority in using Korean with these learners and found that its use was less important for them in learning more about Korean. Thus beyond the presence of these learners, KD’s interests resulted in his propensity for English use as these lay in the area of “fact” instead of “act” (KD).

The strategy of asking native learners to serve as linguistic models was used by participants such as Clover to increase use of the language in that “I use them as examples. I’ll be like: ‘Okay, well, you know, let’s get so and so and so and so to read this’...instead of having to hear my voice all the time” and “use them as a resource” so that “hopefully they’re helping others (Clover).

In contrast, Kathleen was the other focal participant with heritage learners making up a significant proportion in that “there’re always Italian Canadians in the class” representing about “a quarter of the class (Kathleen). She commented on how “Often they’ve learned a dialect so they don’t, you know, they’re not really very good speakers [of standard Italian]” (Kathleen).⁹¹ However these learners understood virtually all of Kathleen’s use of Italian and she did not alter her language use or program in light of them. She found that many “have to unlearn all the dialect and learn proper Italian”, a point of frustration for some who viewed themselves as already proficient (Kathleen).

9.3.3.1.1 Native and Heritage Speakers and *Simultaneously* ESL Learners

Mandarin and Japanese language participants indicated that having ESL learners in their classroom with native or native-like proficiency in the target language resulted in the teachers’ deliberate use of English with these learners to assist them with English. They

⁹¹ Kathleen emphasised that the Italian dialects spoken by heritage learners were not mutually intelligible with standard Italian in general however learners could “probably understand almost all of it” (Kathleen).

found that their course was a bilingual bridging experience between English and the target language for both these learners and learners overall. Nancy found that many ESL learners struggled with English whether on the provincial standardised exam or with abstract classroom tasks conducted in English. Therefore she reported placing more proficient native and heritage learners at levels below their target language ability to improve their English. In terms of herself and colleagues across subject levels at her school Nancy mentioned that: “We’re all English as a second language teachers” (Nancy). She described her use of Mandarin versus English with these learners as variable depending on the circumstances, with the exception of preparing them to read instructions and questions in English on the Mandarin provincial exam. Nancy shared the experience of one native learner in her Mandarin class.

I’ve got one girl, Jenny, who sits right here, native speaker of Mandarin who came in hardly being able to say hello in English, and now uh, she’s doing quite well.... SHE COULDN’T FUNCTION in the grade 11 course in Mandarin. Mandarin wouldn’t be a problem, but the English part of the course would be too hard for her. You know knowing the English equivalent would be very difficult. So I explained to her, you know, I suggested strongly that she have a chance to be in a situation where she’s going to hear English but at the same time have Mandarin right there for her to help. She’s really blossomed (Nancy).

Only one participant at the university level (i.e. Laura) indicated that the large number of native speakers (and readers) with ESL status, contributed to her use of larger amounts (or a higher proportion) of English. She reported that this was due to the fact that her university was an English language institution and that learners’ ability to express their knowledge about Chinese language and culture in English would be a key factor for their success in academia.

Nancy described some native learners she had taught and was teaching at the time of this study who, in addition to their ESL needs, required assistance improving aspects of their written Mandarin and that therefore it would not be “helpful to advance them” (Nancy). Though relatively fluent speakers, she reported that the definition of native learner did not necessarily extend to literacy in terms of knowledge of orthography and application of grammar.⁹²

⁹² Nancy also reported that having had some limited exposure, many native learners hadn’t “learned their Chinese phonetic language called ((pin yin)) before...a way to use ABCs to spell out a Chinese character by putting tonal marks on top” (Nancy).

Using English to teach culture presented a challenge given the presence of native ESL learner in many cases including Clover's. In reference to these learners, she commented, for example, that because she explained cultural projects in English "they might struggle there" or" with any translation based activity when you're just memorising vocab or something like that" (Clover).

9.3.3.1.2 Dilemma of Delivering an L2 Program versus Teaching Already-Proficient L2 Learners

This dilemma in many Asian language teaching contexts is briefly touched on here within the factor of learners' linguistic background in terms of its impact on language use. It was somewhat resolved in KD's case by streaming learners in the first two years of the program (heritage versus beginning learners) though re-emerged at senior levels where fluent heritage speakers made up the majority of learners. However, the large number of proficient speakers at senior levels did not consistently correspond with more language use due to both the individual factors (discussed earlier) as well as those pertaining to context.

Language use in Nancy's context varied depending not only on the linguistic background of learners but their needs as well (e.g., Jenny above). However, she indicated that she was committed to delivering "a second language program" and remarked on the need to "make sure that you're teaching a second language program and that you're not having expectations above the second language learner of that particular level" (Nancy). To address the needs of more proficient native and heritage learners, Nancy incorporated revisions to some activities and performance tasks.

Other Asian language participants including Laura and Clover also questioned whether the language needs of true beginners were being addressed in their respective programs. Though Laura acknowledged that there were proficiency-based streams for the first two years focusing on the respective language development needs of learners, in reference to those with no Asian language background she remarked that "it's when you get into the third and fourth year where...there is no concession" (Laura).

9.3.3.2 Non-native ESL Learners⁹³

Though participants recognised they were balancing and adjusting their language choices and use between the target language versus English depending on various factors including learner and task, a review of the data revealed that this was more problematic with non-native ESL learners due to the lack of a common lingua franca.⁹⁴ For example, Doreen shared that the presence of these learners influenced her to consciously use Japanese as “the one language all of us are learning” though she, too, adjusted the pace and type of English used, stating that: “I slow down, or I speak ESL, or I do it in Japanese as the common language” (Doreen).⁹⁵ Naomi also referred to the need for teacher and learner to have “a shared language” as “a very valuable tool” in teaching and learning the language (Naomi). She related her difficulty in using English.

...let's say the target language is Japanese and I'm trying to communicate with my student about something. If- he doesn't speak Japanese yet because he's learning it, if a student doesn't know much English, I have a problem, because I want to communicate certain things with him or her, but I can't um so I think that the um...I think it's necessary for the teacher to speak the source language of the student, okay (Naomi).

As in Anne's case, Naomi's use of English as a tool was compromised when working with learners who were simultaneously acquiring it. Participants indicated that learners' English proficiency directly impacted their language teaching given that the language was taught by associating it with English and using English as a tool to convey grammar and other abstract concepts. Anne discussed how the presence of ESL learners had had an impact on her ability to teach the language.

I found that really frustrating because I didn't know what to do for a kid who didn't even know English yet because a lot of my language is based on, here's what we know about our English grammar, here's what we know about French.=... =They didn't even know the English Grammar... That was really hard.(Anne).

Thus the above passage reflects that Anne's use of English as a tool was compromised when teaching these learners.

⁹³ Non-native ESL learners referred to those who were non-native speakers of the language being taught (in contrast to native target language ESL learners).

⁹⁴ Though the English proficiency of ESL learners *varied* and was affected by factors including previous exposure to and experience with English (amongst many others), the focus in indicating these learners as a factor was on how they impacted participants' language use.

⁹⁵ Doreen was also a trained and experienced ESL teacher.

9.3.3.3 Monolingual English Speakers

The use of English as a tool under individual factors in the discussion above touched on the aspect of homogeneous or dominant English-speaking contexts. The factor of substantial or almost entirely monolingual native English speakers is included here to note that this was the linguistic makeup in a few cases (most notably Frank's) in this study. As well, participants teaching Asian languages discussed their L1-L2 use with native and heritage learners in contrast to learners with English-dominant backgrounds. At the university level, participants indicated that streaming in Asian languages helped prioritise their language choice and use.⁹⁶ In secondary teaching contexts there was no streaming available for English-dominant speakers.

In contrast, Frank's language teaching approach, and, subsequently, language use was based on the English (L1) homogeneity of his student population and his core belief that, based on this background, they were most likely to retain aspects of his program in a particular order (i.e. Japanese culture, grammar, and lastly, vocabulary). With respect to language use, Frank gradually increased Japanese use for these largely monolingual learners as it was "a completely foreign language to them" (Frank). His use of the language in the classroom and approach to teaching Japanese are elaborated upon in Appendix I.

9.3.4 Teaching Level

In some cases, teaching level seemed to correlate with the amount of language used by participants with more senior or higher grade levels corresponding positively with higher levels of language use. Related to the factor of learner developmental stage, discussed subsequently, was the challenge of using the language *at the beginner level* in adolescent years and beyond. Nancy reported that using the language 75% of the time applied to senior level courses and that there was considerably more English used at the beginner level. Other participants such as Naomi and Erika, amongst others, reported a similar pattern with respect to their L1-L2 use.⁹⁷ Furthermore Naomi emphasized that the necessity of English as the "shared language" applied "mostly at the grade nine or ten level" in the earlier part of her program, and that "By grade 12 we know each other very well ...and it's more in Japanese"

⁹⁶ Participants in Asian language university contexts indicated that streaming was available for the first two years of their respective programs.

⁹⁷ Naomi and Erika, amongst others, noted that in addition to the higher learner proficiency in senior grades, smaller class size at this level facilitated use of the language.

(Naomi). Also, Bernadette indicated that simplifying her use of the language to maintain its use was more readily possible at higher levels and that smaller class size was also conducive to a higher amount of language use.⁹⁸ Though these participants used more of the language at higher levels, they reported that the overall challenge still lay in its consistent use.

For other participants, there was an inverse relationship and closer examination of the data revealed that the reasons for this included: level of commitment to optimising language use combined with the extent to which structured tasks, activities, and lessons in the language were used in their teaching. Anne and Kathleen both taught their respective languages at the beginner level and reported using the language 90% and 80% of the time. Both these participants reported that they were firmly committed to maximizing use of their languages and emphasized that using structure helped accomplish this. KD reported use of the language between 50-70% of the time in his university context teaching at the intermediate and advanced levels however espoused optimal language use mainly in the first two years of the program which he described as “really focused on spoken language” (KD). As well, he found that non-heritage learners, in particular, benefitted from exposure to maximum Korean use and that this was “more a big deal” in the first two years given they usually had no background in Korean and “one wants to give them as much airtime ... exposure” (KD). On the other hand he viewed the use of Korean at the 300 and 400 levels as less of a priority with learners whose Korean was “in some ways more native than mine” (KD). Like KD, Doreen also noted an inverse relationship between teaching level and language use in that “... at the lower levels...I do a lot of L2 speaking in the beginner class because it’s the only place they’re going to hear it and they really don’t have the sounds in their head yet” (Doreen). Therefore, in KD’s and other cases, higher teaching levels seemed to co-relate with less language use though this factor was also impacted by the higher proportion of heritage and/or native learners at these levels.

9.3.5 Developmental Stage (Age) of Learners

Participants, particularly those teaching adolescents in secondary school contexts, reported that the developmental stage of learners impacted the extent of their language use, particularly when teaching at beginning levels and conveying abstract concepts which

⁹⁸ In conjunction with level, smaller class size was also indicated as conducive to greater use of the language by Naomi and Erika, amongst others.

resulted in less use. They conveyed that exclusive target language use was unrealistic and infeasible with learners who were beginning or began language instruction in adolescence or later due to their lower tolerance for ambiguity and expectations with respect to English use. Those such as KD, Naomi, Frank, and Linda emphasised that although maximum language use was infeasible due to the developmental level of their learners, this could more feasibly be done with young children. However, the data also revealed Sally teaching younger learners (grades six and seven) who reported using Japanese 25% of the time. Therefore, though discussed individually, a variety of interwoven factors were at work. Learners' developmental stage also related to participants' beliefs about how age and context related to language teaching and learning.

KD conveyed his belief that language use “depends on who your audience is” in discussing his ongoing long-term experience working with young children in a summer immersion program. Based on his experience, KD argued that developmental stage of the “audience” was a significant factor in determining L1-L2 use and from amongst focal participants, he consistently conveyed this most strongly. Akin to KD's argument about the need to consider “audience” in language use choices, Naomi expressed that “the target language doesn't work as a teaching [tool]- it's not efficient” based on her experience with adolescent learners' lack of tolerance for ambiguity in language learning (KD; Naomi).

...the target language is not realistic in this high school because students don't like being lost. They can get hostile when they feel lost... Children are already lost enough, they are adolescents, swamped with hormones, and to put them in a language room where they don't know what's expected, they get extremely uncomfortable. When they get uncomfortable, they get aggressive, um, especially in a room full of other boys. They don't like to feel lost. And so um, no, I'm- I would not deliberately ... For me in high school if I can't communicate with my students in a shared language, the language of instruction, um I have problems with behaviour and I have problems with helping them understand it. Um...so, yeah, I need that (Naomi).

Therefore Naomi, amongst others, viewed learners' developmental needs as superseding the goal of maximising the language in that “in high school the non linguistic aspects of teaching...take precedence over Japanese” including learners' development overall in becoming “respectful, courteous, honest human beings” (Naomi).⁹⁹ On this basis, Naomi argued for using English as “the language of instruction” to enable teacher and learner to

⁹⁹ Unlike KD's perspective on teaching adults, Naomi stated that: “And so when I'm teaching grownups, I can use more Japanese, than when I'm teaching kids. Because with grownups, you're not worrying about that. They're- you know, they know who they are...” (Naomi).

have “a shared language” to facilitate mutual understanding in the language classroom as well as to avoid “problems with behaviour” (Naomi).

9.3.6 Other Contextual Factors

9.3.6.1 (Visible) Non-native Status and Identity

Participants’ visible non-native status in relation to identity had implications for language use in the classroom. This factor figured most predominantly amongst non-Asian participants teaching Asian languages, notably KD, in the form of learner reluctance or resistance to continue to interact with them, or initiate interaction, *in the target language*.

The extra challenge - well one challenge that I have as a non-native speaker of a language like Korean, where to look at me, it’s obvious that I’m not Korean, is that students often times, in the upper levels, are very resistant at using Korean ... to speak with me, because they know I’m not Korean, and because there’s this incredibly strong tie between ethnicity and race and this Korean language. You know, whereas if it were a German class or a Russian class, you know, there wouldn’t be that kind of race issue (KD).¹⁰⁰

As reflected above, KD’s visible status contributed to his lower use of Korean in senior level courses which consisted of mainly proficient Korean speakers. In terms of using Korean, he shared that: “...I sometimes do and sometimes don’t...[It] is more effectively done by a native speaker, in the case of Korean, because of this whole race thing” (KD). On the other hand, Nancy found that her visible status had an impact mainly at the start of her program at which time she addressed questions in English about her background and the course itself. Though her status resulted in a response driven by curiosity when learners initially met her which used to make her “self-conscious”, Nancy related no longer being “fazed” by this and believed that her Mandarin ability quickly deconstructed their prior apprehension about having a Mandarin non-native teacher (Nancy).

I mean it’s good in a sense because they realise that you don’t have to be Chinese to speak the language. And I think that’s very much an attitude, of people, adults and students until they’re= [faced with this.]...it’s Chinese and, you’re not Chinese... (Nancy).

As seen above, Nancy believed that after encountering her as a visible non-native teacher, learners’ perception about the identity of Chinese speakers also underwent a shift. Nancy found that there was eventual acceptance of her non-native status which facilitated using

¹⁰⁰ In discussing his non-native status, KD stated that: “I think I’m the only non-native speaker of Korean teaching at a major North American institution” and suggested that this novelty also contributed to the resistance he encountered (KD).

Mandarin with learners. At the time of this study, Naomi no longer saw her visible identity as a non-native Japanese teacher as a factor in language use in the classroom, largely because she had reconciled her previous concerns about the extent of being competent to teach Japanese.

One day I was feeling very apologetic because my Japanese wasn't perfect and I looked up and thought: "Why am I feeling that way?" because you know my colleague who teaches science is not a surgeon. Why do I think I have to be totally fluent as well as able to teach it? What I need to be able to do is able to teach what they need to learn, um, in a way that's efficient and effective, and hopefully enjoyable...So they ask , it's not a problem for me, it's their problem (Naomi).

This passage reflects that Naomi's status as the object of curiosity and questioning was no longer a factor in her Japanese use due to her repositioning how she perceived the response to her status and identity.¹⁰¹

9.3.6.2 Examination Preparation

Secondary participants conveyed that preparing for examinations had an impact on language use through a shift in focus of instruction. Contrary to their preference, participants discussed how preparing for standardised provincial examinations drastically impacted their teaching in grade 12 in that they shifted to structured "exam-driven reading and writing" given that learners earned 40% of their mark on that one day thereby engaging them far less in conversation and other oral activities (Nancy). Nancy reported changing her teaching "quite considerably" in grade 12, stating that she taught "much more to the exam than I'd like" (Nancy).

As well participants Jerez and Linda, amongst others, perceived "a disconnect" or mismatch between provincial curriculum (IRP) areas of emphasis and those on the standard provincial examination which challenged their language use in the classroom (Jerez). As reflected in several interviews, participants indicated that the mismatch was most pronounced in terms of the lack of any evaluation of oral proficiency and comprehension on provincial exams at the time of this study despite these areas being highlighted and prioritised in the curriculum.¹⁰² As a result, participants found that the focus of provincial examinations

¹⁰¹ Naomi reported that native parents asked where and why she learned Japanese whereas non-native parents inquired about whether or not she was fluent.

¹⁰² Since the time of this study, there have been some revisions to the provincial examination for some modern languages. These have included: 1) Listening and speaking components for the Japanese 12 2006-07 exam. 2) Mandarin 2008-09 revisions suggested in my notes so check site www.bced.gov.bc.ca/exams. 3) A listening

affected language use in preparing learners for them to the detriment of listening and speaking. However, Nancy and others including Erika, resolved that communicating orally in the language was, nonetheless, a priority and that there was the need to implement this objective as well as engage in exam preparation.

However, preparing for the high stakes grade 12 examinations alone did not account for language use as was evident in Frank's case consisting of a shorter two year Japanese program not linked to a provincial examination. Based on this (shorter) timeframe as well as other factors, such as learner background and others, Frank emphasised teaching culture in English over Japanese use.

9.3.6.2.1 Language Use on Examinations

Language use on examinations, whether provincial standardised or in-school, was reported to impact language use in the cases of some secondary level participants.¹⁰³ The language(s) used on the provincial exam was actively expressed as a factor by Nancy who found that there was “a lot of” English on the Mandarin provincial exam for instructions and some questions resulting in her using more English in the classroom when discussing the exam, particularly with ESL learners (Nancy).¹⁰⁴

I sometimes find myself, you know, - and I see myself doing this - sometimes the native speakers of Mandarin in my classes struggle with English... [In terms of] the provincial exams... all the instructions are in English... “Answer the following questions in English based on the paragraph,” you know, that kind of stuff... And so, a lot of my instructions are in English as well, because I'm trying to teach the kids to understand English, as well (Nancy).

Thus, Nancy viewed language use on the provincial exam as directly influenced her language use. A review of provincial examinations for modern languages in this study revealed that English was consistently used for instructions and, in many cases, questions as well (see Appendix J).

component for French 12 for 2008-09 added which reflects the curriculum organiser of ‘Acquiring information’ (21% of total marks on exam). 4) The Spanish 12 exam 2008-09 consisted of listening and speaking also being tested and correspondingly, an adjustment was made to the weight given to reading and writing though two-thirds of total exam marks remained for reading and writing. These listening and speaking components were tested through an online administration system and teachers were expected to familiarize learners with the format of these and were responsible for marking the speaking responses. Learners demonstrated their speaking skills in responding to questions on general information as well as to a suggested topic. For listening, learners demonstrated their comprehension by answering multiple-choice questions.

¹⁰³ Participants in university teaching contexts in this study made no reference to language(s) used on examinations as a factor in their language use.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix K for an overview of language use on modern language provincial exams relevant to this study.

Evelyn was another participant who explicitly referred to the role of language use and choice though on *school-based* examinations. In her context, learners' performance *in French* was a goal that was viewed as consistent with the school and Evelyn's policy of maximising the use of French across the program as much as possible. As such, she coached learners on how to interpret instructions and questions, and consciously prepared them for this task.¹⁰⁵ Besides providing a contrast, the cases of Nancy and Evelyn illustrated how span of control with respect to choice of language could impact its use in teaching contexts.

9.4 Strategies and Practices for Maintaining and Maximising the Language

In addition to modelling language use, participants reported implementing various strategies to maintain consistent L2 practices and/or to work toward optimising L2 use in the classroom. These included:

- Modifying their use of the language including a combination of repetition, reduction of pace, and simplification of vocabulary and sentence structure (e.g., Anne, Kathleen, Nancy, and others).
- Gradually increasing their use of the language (Kathleen, Nancy).
- Establishing language boundaries or zones to clarify expectations (e.g., Kathleen for drama activities, Nancy's use of short target language-only periods particularly at junior levels).
- Establishing a target language habit and routine as priority to acknowledge the classroom as a time and space for language practice and use (e.g., Anne, Kathleen).
- Encouraging learner tolerance for ambiguity (e.g., Jerez, Linda) and working to increase it by avoiding direct translation (i.e. using either the L1 *or* L2 rather than the equivalent in translation).
- Emphasising the priority of communicating the message rather than its accuracy in language use for learners to promote risk-taking and more continuous flow of interaction in the language (e.g., Nancy, Kathleen, Doreen).
- Using nonverbal means of communication to remain in the language and avoid reverting to English including: nonverbal cues, visual aids or props, drama (e.g., miming) (e.g., Nancy, Anne, Kathleen).
- Providing or directing learners to written explanations and/or other support or resource materials *in English* for more abstract, complex concepts to help them with

¹⁰⁵ Evelyn was the head of the French program at her school and the use of French for examination instructions and directions was her initiative.

processing and understanding. As well, follow-up discussion in *the language* was indicated to maintain ongoing exposure to the language (e.g., Anne, Kathleen).

- Using a systematic approach to teach and help learners make connections between new information and their frame of reference, particularly in Asian language contexts (e.g., Nancy referred to a “systematic...building block approach” (Nancy). She focused on sounds, then syllables, words, sentences in Mandarin. Also, she taught Chinese characters by breaking them down as much as possible and linking associative meanings with visible symbols within the character, as well as mnemonic devices).
- Providing language structures in anticipation of learner language needs for communicating in the language (e.g., Maria, Jerez, Bernadette).
- Role modelling strategies for remaining in the language (i.e. looking at context of situation, visual cues/clues) (e.g., Evelyn, Jerez).
- Accessing and exposing learners to other target language voices and sources as an alternate source of the language (e.g., Nancy, Kathleen, Erika).
- Using computer technology to assist with developing oral proficiency and/or literacy (e.g., KD, Clover).
- Acknowledging and addressing diversity of learning style as well as language proficiency through use of various approaches (e.g., Nancy, Doreen).
- Using regular, ongoing guided oral practice through guided structure and support (e.g., Kathleen, Anne, Jerez).
- Accessing the assistance of learners’ peers as a resource for explanations or assistance, when possible and practical, to minimise learners’ reliance on the teacher for English explanations and to allow he/she to remain in the language (e.g., Evelyn, Erika).

9.5 Summary

This chapter examined language use as the principal theme of this study. Participants raised a multitude of individual and contextual factors as impacting their use of the language. Individual factors comprised: beliefs about the functions of English, L2 proficiency, ongoing and regular L2 exposure, opportunities for L2 use outside the classroom, target culture and language learning experience, as well as relevant teaching experience. Significant contextual factors consisted of: target language features, language use expectations, learners’ linguistic background, teaching levels, and the developmental stage of learners.

Maximising target language use in the classroom was the policy generally advocated by most participants though its reported use ranged in practice from 50-90% for focal participants due to several factors impacting participants and their contexts in varying ways. The data reflected participants using a variety of strategies to maximise language use in the classroom with varying levels of commitment to sole use of the language. A plethora of factors was at play impacting the timing, frequency, and extent of language used.

Chapter 10: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF SECONDARY THEMES

10.1 Introduction

The cross-case secondary themes which emerged in this multi-case study of non-native language teachers are clustered into four broad categories consisting of: identity, strengths and advantages, challenges, and perspectives as illustrated in table 9.5. A discussion of each theme follows below.

Table 10.1: Overview of Cross-case Secondary Themes

<p>Identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimacy and Ownership of the Language 	<p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target Language Maintenance and Improvement • Challenges to and Questioning of Proficiency and Qualifications • Teaching Level and Proficiency • Addressing Culture as a Non-native Speaker 	<p>Perspectives on Asian and European Language Teaching and Learning</p> <p>I Language Teaching</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orthography • Pronunciation • Language Variety <p>II Context</p>
<p>Strengths and Advantages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role modelling a Bilingual / Multilingual Identity • Teaching and Role Modelling as First Hand Language Learner • Addressing Culture as a Non-native Speaker • Voicing Diverse Perspectives and Challenging Perceptions 	<p>Perspectives on ‘Native Speaker’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning of ‘Native Speaker’ • Native Speaker as Resource vs. Authority. • Native Speaker as Teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder Views re: Teaching Orthography • Standardised Exams • Identity and Teacher Models • Minority Non-Native Teachers

10.2 Identity: ‘Legitimacy’ and Ownership of the Language

Increased linguistic competence and target culture knowledge and/or experience had direct spillover implications for participants’ affiliation and identity. Focal participants viewed themselves as native speakers of their L1, English with varying degrees of engagement with their language.¹⁰⁶ From amongst focal participants, Kathleen and KD extensively used their respective language for various social and professional purposes outside the classroom and throughout their interviews asserted a sense of ownership of their language. Anne viewed herself as an effective, legitimate teacher of French with sound metalinguistic knowledge though one lacking a cultural frame of reference and with limited affiliation with native speakers. Her affiliation with French was the most classroom-based from amongst the focal participants. Kathleen, on the other hand, adopted an Italian persona and viewed herself as “Italian at heart” (Interview: 04/05/04, p. 12). She was able to readily and confidently relate to and identify with Italian culture as well as native speakers, and her identity comprised that of Italian fiction writer as well as translator-interpreter. Other European language participants who voiced that the language and culture or some aspect(s) of it were an integral part of their lives outside the classroom included Linda, Bernadette, and Pavel.¹⁰⁷ Linda discussed having “a Latin soul” and that Spanish and French were “definitely a huge part” of her identity (Linda) in terms of hobbies and interests including friendships with speakers of these languages and recent participation in a literary circle with Francophones. Linda conveyed her challenge in defining her identity and stated “Sometimes it’s very difficult for me because I feel like I’m an Anglophone but I’m not really an Anglophone. I’m um- I have different personalities” and that “I do feel that I am sort of French and I am sort of Latin” (Linda). In addition, Linda discussed how her “ability to speak other languages enables me to understand different Canadians and different, you know, immigrant groups” and she believed that this understanding has been beneficial in relating to diverse learners in her multicultural teaching context.

The impact of target language and culture experiences on participants’ identity was also noted on the part of Asian language participants though to various degrees of

¹⁰⁶ Some *non-focal participants* in this study (e.g. Jan, Pavel, Maria, and Kage) had an L1 other than English.

¹⁰⁷ Bernadette reported having access to French by way of a native speaking partner, reading extensively in French and Spanish, and her exposure to media sources in both languages

involvement. Nancy identified herself as an English Canadian with a multitude of rich, cultural experiences in Asia and simultaneously as a Sinophile who admired and actively pursued opportunities to experience aspects of Chinese culture in and out of the classroom. KD identified himself as a multilingual individual and role model and excellent, native-like speaker of Korean who, at the time of his interview, found that aspects of his behaviour were more Korean, such as with mannerisms in social settings. Though Korean was already an integral aspect of KD's life due to interacting with his Korean spouse with her family and the local Korean community, he commented how his use and relationship with respect to Korean had become increasingly integrated with his identity and affiliation since the birth of his son. In addition to his university teaching role, he was also an author, speaker, and advocate for Korean foreign language education.

Despite her extensive exposure and use of Japanese outside the classroom through her spouse's family, Erika considered herself an outsider with respect to Japanese and its culture regardless of her attained proficiency and mannerisms with respect to Japanese.

I'm very much an outsider, but that's the way Japanese culture is, no matter how fluent I got in Japanese and how...Japanese manners- or how many- how much I used Japanese mannerisms, when I'm there. I'll always be an outsider. That's just the way it is (Erika).

Canadian-born and English native speaking multilingual Clover viewed herself as "a foreigner" in terms of both languages (Mandarin, Japanese) and mentioned that: "Even though I could probably look it, I don't feel- in my heart, I'm not Japanese; and in my heart I'm not Chinese enough to feel like I know what ... it really means to be um, brought up in China" (Appendix K).¹⁰⁸ Although she recognised her Cantonese-Chinese heritage, Clover distinguished herself from other native teachers not only linguistically but also based on affiliation.

The people who teach Chinese often are Chinese...and when I say Chinese I mean they're, their first, their strongest language is Chinese. So they have a different community that they communicate with whereas um...I'm one of the few people who teach Chinese but I don't (Clover).

¹⁰⁸ After English, in order of acquisition, Clover shared that Cantonese was her L2, followed by French, Mandarin and Japanese but that she had become significantly more proficient in her later-acquired Japanese and Mandarin as compared to French and Cantonese. She emphasised that all her language learning has been "Canadian-based" (Clover).

As well, assumed native ownership and identity by both learners and administrators was seen in Clover's case.¹⁰⁹ She reported that she was frequently assumed to be a Mandarin *native* or "Chinese, from a Chinese-speaking country" albeit one with a "different" accent, based on her physical traits, (married) Chinese surname, and fluency (Clover).¹¹⁰ To address the confusion and their questions she informed them that she had been born in Canada. For various reasons, assumptions about native status were also experienced in some European language cases, such as those of: Anne, Jan, and Pavel where stakeholders were surprised to discover their teachers' non-native status with respect to the language.¹¹¹ These participants reported that this assumption seemed to be based on accent, pace of speech, mannerisms, as well as routine classroom use of the language (i.e. routine forms of address, greetings).

10.3 Non-native Teacher Strengths and Advantages

Within the category of strengths and advantages four themes emerged: bilingual/multilingual role model, first hand language learner and role model versus non-native language teacher as outsider and 'guest', non-native teacher of target culture, as well as their practice of voicing diverse perspectives and challenging perceptions.

10.3.1 Role Modelling a Bilingual/Multilingual Identity

Nancy and KD role modelled their bilingual identity in their teaching practices with KD explicitly identifying the bilingual/multilingual individual as the goal to which learners are aspiring. Nancy adopted a bilingual teaching and learning model within her lower level classes at the secondary level based on pedagogical and linguistic needs. KD viewed his bilingual identity, as well as overall multilingual background, as a fundamental advantage given that a primary goal of teaching a modern language is the eventual formation of a bilingual and bicultural individual. Other participants who discussed their bilingual or multilingual identity in their language teaching included: Clover, Sally, Linda, and Bernadette.

¹⁰⁹ Clover stated that most of her learners were from Hong Kong, reflective of the demographics in her city, a Greater Vancouver suburb.

¹¹⁰ Born in Canada, Clover reported that her first exposure to Mandarin was in the Lower Mainland secondary school system in grade 9 at age 14 and that "my parents actually encouraged me to take Mandarin because they thought that I needed more Chinese, so I did that and I had a great time" (Clover, Interview). This was followed by an introduction to Japanese at 15. She indicated that Cantonese was her L2 in terms of acquisition however "that's not uh...equivalent to proficiency because my Japanese and Mandarin are much stronger than my French and Cantonese" (Clover, Interview).

¹¹¹ It could be argued that, although both were fluent English speakers, Jan and Pavel's respective Polish and Slovak accents may have also contributed to assumptions about their status.

10.3.2 Teaching and Role Modelling as First Hand Language Learner

Participants sharing learners' L1 asserted that the understanding and empathy gained from firsthand language learning experience allowed them to establish rapport with learners and facilitated teaching their respective languages. Practices stemming from this included participants' sharing of personal anecdotes for humour and illustrative examples of common pitfalls, as well as learning tips and problem solving strategies. Nancy and Doreen relayed how their experiences as adolescents acquiring Mandarin and Japanese respectively in the target culture highly resonated with their learners of similar age. In contrast, Hans relayed his challenge of understanding his learners' difficulties with German grammar because he had acquired German at the young age of six at school in Germany (Appendix L).

The advantages of common L1 for teacher and learner enabled many participants to draw on role modelling as a tool. For example, all participants used English for explanation to various extents and many drew parallels between English and the language's grammar. Kathleen helped learners see connections between words and other fine points about language such as etymology. The use of English as a pedagogical tool was highly prevalent in Asian language learning contexts. Participants such as Nancy and KD attributed this to the lack of cognates and greater linguistic distance and diversity between Asian languages and English which mandated an operable language of instruction in order to overcome learning difficulties and allow program goals to be met within the same fixed timeframe as other European modern languages.

10.3.3 Addressing Culture as a Non-native Speaker

Participants conveyed that target culture experience assisted in their teaching by being able to draw on it for purposes of illustrating concepts related to culture thereby strengthening as well as personalising their teaching. Based on their extensive and largely positive experiences with their respective target cultures, Kathleen, Nancy, and KD readily incorporated personal anecdotes as well as activities related to culture.¹¹² As an 'anthropologist' of Italian culture, Kathleen had collected cultural artifacts from Italy for personal interest and for explicit use to motivate conversation in Italian. Her interest in and

¹¹² KD addressed culture incidentally as it arose based on his and learners' interests rather than through any explicit instruction based on his belief that more motivated learners would experience the target culture firsthand and that his (and colleagues') role was "to provide them with the tools for when they go there" (KD). KD therefore encouraged learners interested in further study of Korean language and culture to engage with it further and directly by participating in Korean exchange (or other) programs.

sense of Italian culture was incorporated into her teaching by using culture as the context for conversation activities, organising opportunities to view and discuss various local Italian popular culture. Similarly, Nancy used cultural resources and media such as film out of personal and pedagogical interest and viewed language and culture as inseparably linked. She reported confidently incorporating culinary traditions, social and cultural issues and experiences to support and initiate language development, and continued to be actively involved in organising her school's cultural tour to China for learners both within and outside her program. Sally reported using many practices similar to Kathleen and Nancy. KD responded to learners' queries about Korean culture by discussing his experiences in various Korean-speaking contexts and those related to his research. The above participants felt confident presenting the target language culture and perceived this to be an advantage.

10.3.4 Voicing Diverse Perspectives and Challenging Perceptions as Outsider/Guest

As non-natives with insight into the target language and culture, participants' voicing of diverse perspectives and encouragement of learners to similarly reflect and question aspects of language and culture respectfully was consistent across most cases. This included challenging perspectives as a non-traditional visible minority role model in Asian language contexts such as in the cases of KD and Nancy. KD advocated that his non-native Korean status was "a great resource" since "it allows me to question absolutely anything and everything and to be critical of absolutely anything and everything, and it frees me of all the baggage that comes with it if you're Korean" (KD). KD elaborated on one of the core purposes of modern language teaching from his perspective.

And I mean I know think there's language teaching is really, (depending) on the language- that is the ultimate goal is to, is to - is to take on a critical awareness of the country and the culture that, you know, it goes with, this language you are learning (KD).

Therefore, as an outsider, KD argued that his questioning of the unquestionable in Korean resulted in the presentation of perspectives, debate, and discussion that would otherwise likely not have taken place. Nancy questioned monolingual language teaching practices and approaches related to teaching Mandarin as well as policies regarding cultural excursions. She encouraged learners to critically reflect and discuss on social and cultural issues such as government policy and the status of women through organised debates, role play, and responding to related media depicting these and other issues. As well, in a pedagogically

invested yet ideologically dispassionate way, Nancy argued that she was able to see the benefits of and drawbacks for using Hanyu pin yin versus Bopomofo to teach Chinese characters, a contentious issue amongst the home and school. Similarly, Clover emphasised the advantage of her “Canadian-based” experience in acquiring Mandarin and how she ideologically lacked ethnolinguistic ties to any country or region and its practices which gave her an advantage (Clover).

I think if you're too comfortable and you have your little group of friends, they're all from the same province, they all speak the same way, they've all had the same teachers, you learn differently from someone like me who learns from like, everybody. So um, I think that's why I feel, like I know, in a lot of cases, I know more than some of my students because I've talked to more people...Different types of people not just from one place (Clover).

10.4 Non-native Teacher Challenges

Negotiating and balancing the use of the language with English as a tool in the classroom was addressed in Chapter 9. Other significant challenges related to language use experienced by these non-native teacher participants included: maintaining and improving language proficiency, being questioned about language proficiency and qualifications, experiencing ‘glass ceiling’ effects in terms of placement and language access, and addressing culture.

10.4.1 Target Language Maintenance and Improvement versus Fossilisation

Maintaining and improving language proficiency to avoid fossilisation and dealing with a plateau in language development were voiced as challenges of concern relating to language use to various degrees in virtually all cases.¹¹³ Most participants also generally acknowledged a lack of ‘quickness’ in retrieving idiomatic expressions and lacking knowledge of or access to current expressions as a limitation in being a non-native. Unsurprisingly, this challenge was more pronounced for participants who perceived limited or no access to opportunities for *regular* language use outside of the classroom such as Anne (French), Maria (French), Sally (Japanese) and Frank (Japanese).

Part of this challenge included accessing relevant and appropriate (i.e. advanced) language learning opportunities as conveyed by Anne, Kathleen, Nancy, and several others. Participants were eager to improve or, at least maintain, their language proficiency but had become frustrated with attempts to find appropriate opportunities. They consistently noted

¹¹³ This challenge was not indicated in the cases of: KD (Korean), Pavel (Russian), and Jan (German).

that any local opportunities were geared to lower proficiency levels. Other than for French, opportunities such as cultural programs for non-native speakers or teachers were more complicated logistically (i.e. involved international travel) and infeasible as many were offered during the September to June school year.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, participants who voiced this challenge also indicated their need to locate external opportunities for access to language use and/or exposure. Kathleen shared that ongoing interpreting and translation freelance work outside the classroom, in addition to regularly meeting with Italian native fiction writers' group, kept her abreast of developments and current in Italian. She also kept current by accessing online news and by consulting with native speakers informally as needed. Others accessed the language through travel and/or seasonal work experience in target culture countries (e.g., Linda for Spanish) while some had access due to ongoing involvement and interaction with family members proficient in the language (e.g., Erika for Japanese). Clover discussed how her use of various languages for different purposes has impacted her overall language maintenance and improvement.

So I'd given up um, mastering- or I've given up mastery of one language to maintain many. I'm learning Korean right now by the way!... So I've given up trying to sound native or be native in one or more languages ... for the enjoyment and benefit of knowing ... four, five, six...being multilingual!" (Clover).

Thus, Clover questioned the need to struggle with language maintenance and improvement in her case and discussed her acceptance of the "sacrifice" of proficiency.

10.4.2 Challenges to and Questioning of Proficiency and Qualifications

The questioning of participants' language proficiency and qualifications was reported as a recurring challenge. KD's proficiency and especially his credentials and qualifications were questioned, in their "more pronounced form", mainly by non-heritage learners usually at the outset of a course (KD). Erika's practice of consistently and confidently using Japanese in the classroom was her strategy at the start of her courses and she commented that "as for them testing me in terms of speech and language, they find out very, very quickly that I'm a legitimate Japanese teacher, so that usually passes right away" (Erika). Bernadette and Maria found that the greatest resistance to their Spanish use came from heritage and/or native

¹¹⁴ Teachers of French may apply for the French Language Bursary Program, a federally-funded multi-week immersion experience taking place at various Canadian university campuses, and are placed in an appropriate level based on an interview and written test.

learners over vocabulary and led to overt questioning of their status as Spanish language teacher. Pedro (Korean) also encountered some resistance to his use and knowledge of Korean as a visible non-native speaker for grammatical terms and regarding grammar as a whole.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, Naomi and Erika found that mainly *non-native* parents questioned their proficiency and qualifications in relation to Japanese. Naomi reported that inquiries about her acquisition of Japanese were of an inquisitive nature and tone and generally due to their reaction of surprise.¹¹⁶ Erika found that non-native Japanese speaking parents of Chinese heritage questioned her usage of vocabulary and expressions, some aspects of grammar, as well as Chinese character use. Besides her proficiency and qualifications being challenged “because they see a white face and they think that I can’t”, Erika also reported that parents chose to “pull kids out of class right away, out of Japanese class, because they think it’s going to be a wasted year” (Erika).

Though Nancy and Doreen’s proficiency and linguistic qualifications were not overtly challenged in their immediate contexts, they found themselves to be the recipients of critical undertones related to their competence by some native colleagues in their professional associations.¹¹⁷ Also, in Anne’s case (French), interactions with native-speaking colleagues were generally characterised by hostility and judgement resulting in high levels of tension and self-consciousness about language use. In these cases, native colleague undertones and disapproval reinforced participants’ non-native status and resulted in them addressing their status as language teachers of their acquired language. Laura shared her experience with respect to questioning of her status as a non-native teacher.

I think there’s some extra level, degree, that you (are) always having to prove yourself, and of course there’s always this, again this sense of identity of – (there are) big debates about ... - in the field about, you know, how much can, can a white person know about China, being Chinese, about Chinese culture, you know, and some people are very hostile to the idea of white people, non-Chinese, being China specialists, or teaching Chinese (Laura).

¹¹⁵ Similar to teaching assistant Pedro (Korean), Jan (German) posited that questioning by learners was also related to his status as T.A in addition to that of non-native speaker.

¹¹⁶ Naomi added that *native* Japanese parents were extremely grateful for the offering and organisation of Japanese as a multi-level program within the school.

¹¹⁷ Doreen added her belief that native Japanese teacher colleagues’ perception of non-natives, such as herself, was based on culture and the fact that she and others are still somewhat “a novelty” (Doreen).

In terms of European language participants as a whole, challenges and questions focused mainly on choice and variety of language use by learners as reflected in the cases of Bernadette, Maria, and Kathleen.¹¹⁸

10.4.3 Teaching Level and Proficiency: A ‘Glass Ceiling’ for Non-Native Teacher Placement and Language Access?

It can be argued that barriers comparable to a ‘glass ceiling’ effect existed for some non-native teachers in this study in terms of teaching opportunities (levels taught), *as well as* access to the language.¹¹⁹ Though this term has been in use over the last few decades in reference to advancement barriers it is relevant to the professional and linguistic challenges faced by participants. In this study, it referred to barriers faced by participants based on their (visible) non-native status in terms of gaining advanced level or preferred teaching assignments and/or their access to speaking the language. Nine participants described their teaching level placement as solely beginner (i.e. Anne, Kathleen, Maria, Sally, Jerez, Linda, Bernadette, Jan, and Kage).¹²⁰ The question of which criteria determined the assignment of levels and a non-native teacher’s qualifications to teach beyond the beginner level became apparent from the data. From the data it became evident that some such as Jerez, Linda, and Bernadette taught their highly proficient language at a beginner level for reasons unrelated to proficiency as non-native teachers including satisfying timetable requirements and fulfilling a full-time teaching load. Others, including Maria (French) and Jan (German), indicated that teaching the language at the beginning level was desirable based on limited proficiency and a combination of reserved self-confidence and decreased likelihood of being challenged at more advanced levels respectively.

In contrast, focal participants KD and Nancy taught various levels (including that of advanced) and did not report any glass ceiling effects in teaching placement due to their

¹¹⁸ Participants who reported being questioned about language variety found that the situations involved those associated with dual or multiple means of expressing a concept, the case of one form representing more casual or less a textbook-like variety, or a dialect version.

¹¹⁹ Glass ceiling is a metaphorical term in use since the 1980’s referring to barriers to opportunities for qualified individuals in an organisation based on attitude or preference/bias, originally in reference to advancement barriers faced by women.

¹²⁰ Six non-focal participants taught two languages. Of these, five taught two languages (usually Spanish and French) one of which was at the beginner level, as noted here. Maria taught various levels of Spanish as well as beginner level French. Sally taught Japanese at her school as well as beginner level FSL to her homeroom class. Jerez taught various levels of Spanish as well as beginner level French. Linda taught various levels of Spanish and one class of beginner level French. Bernadette taught various levels of Spanish and beginner level French.

visible and/or non-native status.¹²¹ Doreen, Erika, and Naomi (all Japanese teachers) were other visible non-native participants teaching various levels, including that of advanced. However, Nancy and KD reported facing barriers to using their respective languages outside their teaching contexts to varying degrees. Nancy commented that accessing and using Mandarin outside of class in the Lower Mainland was problematic due to her visible non-native status; KD noted that this was more of an obstacle in target culture contexts but had become a more minor concern as his proficiency progressed though he still enjoyed challenging natives who refused to use Korean with him.¹²² Unlike Nancy, KD's spouse was a native speaker and his personal connection to and forms of involvement with the Korean community as well as with native colleagues combined with academic work related to Korean language and use, meant regular and frequent engagement with spoken and written Korean.

In contrast to assumptions made about and experienced by some (visible) non-native teachers in this study, Clover and Bernadette reported that they had self-imposed restrictions on potential placements of greater challenge based on self-awareness and self-assessment of their overall proficiency. Although comfortable teaching various levels of Japanese including senior levels, Clover declined offers to teach advanced level grade 12 Mandarin, preferring to teach the language at the beginner and intermediate levels. However she indicated that she would seriously consider undertaking academic advanced preparation to become more proficient in order to “feel comfortable” teaching Mandarin 12.¹²³ Clover elaborated that despite knowing the curriculum, her reluctance to accept the advanced level teaching assignment for Mandarin was based on the large amount of “very proficient students” who “should benefit from someone who knows more than I do” (Clover).¹²⁴ Similarly, based on her self-evaluation of her Mandarin proficiency as well as the interest

¹²¹ At the time of this study, KD taught (his preferred) senior level, third and fourth year courses, and Nancy, beginner through advanced including grades 11 and 12 within the IB program.

¹²² KD stated that his criteria for who ought to determine the language of use consisted of posing the question of who had purchased the travel ticket. He reported not challenging Korean speakers who had immigrated to Canada.

¹²³ Clover's views on the preparation required included returning to UWC to take a 300 and potentially a 400 level senior course in Mandarin as well as doing some independent study. Her rationale for pursuing a third year course was that “300 is way higher than that [i.e. grade 12 Mandarin], and you do things that you would never teach” (Clover).

¹²⁴ Interestingly, Clover's reason for discontinuing Mandarin through to her final grade 12 year *as a learner* was that, unlike French and Japanese, “there were a lot of um, students immigrating from Taiwan and other Mandarin speaking countries and I felt a little intimidated in class” (Clover).

and participation of proficient Mandarin speakers at the secondary level, Bernadette, too, declined an offer to teach Mandarin which she had (informally) acquired while teaching primary level EFL in Taiwan for two years. She reported having “conversational ability Mandarin; I can’t speak or read, that takes years and years and years of study” (Bernadette). As well, Bernadette expressed her reservation that it “would be very difficult” to teach the numerous “Chinese speakers who want to take the course” (Bernadette).

Some participants such as Jan and Pavel relayed experiencing and/or observing a glass ceiling effect due to stakeholder perceptions about non-natives’ proficiency and their qualifications including concerns that non-natives were more likely to be challenged if teaching advanced classes. They reported their belief that this effect readily existed about non-natives and was manifested in the form of hiring practices favouring their teaching of beginner level classes. The practice of hiring native teachers for advanced levels and non-native teachers at beginning levels was indicated as highly desirable to avoid learners’ questioning and challenging their proficiency and qualifications. Jan discussed “the politics of this department to put people who are not native speakers and don’t have that much experience in German 100 and German 110” due to it being “easier for both sides, so that it, uh, competence is not questioned” (Jan). He supported this policy as a non-native teacher and spoke of how his proficiency and qualification would likely be questioned at higher levels in that “it would be a problem in 300 or 200 level” rather than at the 100 level he taught (Jan). In addition to questioning was the factor of Jan’s perception of his proficiency in German.¹²⁵

I would probably (get) stuck at some questions at 300, 400 level...=with the vocabulary, grammar, not that much, but vocabulary probably. Or they would catch up more on mistakes I make....with the oral part yeah, just uh correct my (essays) something like that... So it’s, it’s actually working for both of us, for students and for me. And ... () () it works (Jan).

In a similar vein, Pavel conveyed his belief that the policy of hiring and assigning native Russian teachers to language courses was “good” because “then we avoid the problem of some students complaining about that” (Pavel).¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Jan was a PhD candidate in German at the time of this study.

¹²⁶ Although he indicated his preference for hiring native teachers generally based on his capacity as head of the program, Pavel added that there was “a place in a program like that, anywhere, and actually that it’s a desirable thing to have someone who is the outsider, who has to provide the program with some kind of an inner knowledge of what are the challenges, what is it that’s so difficult uh, to learning Russian” (Pavel). To address

10.4.4 Addressing Culture as a Non-native Speaker

Participants lacking or with limited target culture experience reported that conveying aspects of the culture was challenging. Asian language participants also reported that exposing learners to certain aspects was problematic due to mainly contextual factors. From amongst focal participants, Anne lacked target culture experience and struggled to incorporate culture, heavily relying on secondary source materials such as textbooks for use in teaching. She found incorporating Francophone culture, including current expressions, challenging and expressed frustration with the usefulness of secondary sources available due to their lack of current language (i.e. colloquialisms) and information.¹²⁷ In contrast, Kathleen also prioritised exposing learners to current non-textbook language though readily did so based on her experience with Italian in Italy and locally, as well as her ongoing connections and relationships with native Italians locally.

Participants generally noted that addressing culture involved role modelling culturally appropriate and relevant aspects of language and this challenge was most strongly underscored by those teaching Asian languages. For example, modelling or illustrating language expectations as per gender figured in the cases of Japanese language participants such as Naomi and Frank. Naomi especially shared how she came to consistently speak and teach using adult male Japanese given her context.¹²⁸ Doreen discussed personal anecdotes about the linguistic and cultural obstacles she overcame in acquiring Japanese including acquiring a male type of Japanese due to living in a predominantly male setting during her initial experience in Japan. Frank found it challenging to provide exposure to Japanese cultural expectations in terms of female models or examples and, when doing so through audio sources, found his learners ridiculed these. Exposing learners to different levels of politeness was noted by KD (Korean) as well as Clover (Japanese) who varied their language use with learners to accomplish this. Nancy indicated that she mainly spoke a colloquial form of Mandarin in class but that through thematic units, including role play, taught learners how to adjust their level of formality for different purposes (e.g., telephone use). In other Asian language contexts, participants explicitly taught and/or reviewed levels of politeness in

the status quo of majority native speakers teaching in the department he commented that he and his non-native colleague were going to continue to be “very much involved in the language program” (Pavel).

¹²⁷ Though hopeful about using the Internet for this purpose, Anne questioned its reliability.

¹²⁸ Naomi’s secondary level classes were all male at the time of this study.

preparation for trips exchanges, or other target culture experiences with some, such as Erika, practising these in class.

10.5 Perspectives

Participants' perspectives on the 'native speaker' were one focus of this study and are discussed below. The range of languages and teaching contexts examined in this study also revealed perspectives and reflections of interest in the teaching of European and Asian languages.

10.5.1 Perspectives on 'Native Speaker'

10.5.1.1 Its Meaning

In this study participants associated the term 'native speaker' of a language with 1) one's first language of acquisition in a target culture country or context in the home and 2) regular access from birth or early childhood, both of which resulted in native proficiency and competence. They used this as a point of reference during interviews. KD alone expressed a lack of acceptance, rejecting the term as a "myth" and, though he indicated that he preferred to avoid its use, acknowledged the term and his use of it as a convenient "shorthand" for first language (KD, Interview: 04/21/04, pp. 3, 2). Other participants in contexts with multilingual learners, such as Clover, similarly mentioned that the definition was multifaceted and complex in multicultural contexts including Canada. Some participants, including Bernadette and Jan, stressed that the language of the social environment (home and/or school) in which one was brought up in was key in determining if someone was a native speaker.

The definition of this term was also acknowledged as more complex and problematic in reference to Asian languages given the aspect of literacy and cultural knowledge with respect to orthography (i.e. Chinese characters). For example, Nancy noted how some colleagues outside her teaching context were native readers rather than native speakers of Mandarin based on their advantageous high level of Chinese character literacy which they transferred to teaching Mandarin (as Cantonese speakers).

10.5.1.2 In Relation to Self

In relation to themselves, most participants identified that they were native speakers of English with the exception of Maria (Greek), Jan (Polish), Pavel (Slovak), and Kage

(Cantonese).¹²⁹ Four participants assessed their language proficiency as ‘5: Excellent/Native-like’ and these were: KD (Korean), Pavel (Russian), Linda (French), and Bernadette (Spanish and French). They expressed that they were extremely confident and competent in their language use and some (e.g., KD, Bernadette) indicated that they had “passed as a native speaker”. The two Asian and six European language participants who self-assessed their language proficiency at ‘4: High/Near native-like’ (including Kathleen) noted that fine, subtle differences between themselves and natives was the point of differentiation and that these differences included the latter’s quickness and speed of use, use of current expressions including new vocabulary, and, minimal, if any, fossilisation as a function of time away from the culture or target language speaking context.

10.5.1.3 Native Speaker as a Linguistic and Cultural Resource versus Authority and Gatekeeper/Judge

The theme of native speaker as a linguistic and cultural resource as well as authority and judge/gatekeeper resonated strongly across focal and other cases. KD reported experiencing the authority and gatekeeper/judge aspect of this theme by native speakers in Korea which he attributed to a bias for practising English and associating Korean use with Koreans. He also observed that regardless of accent and other non-native audible and visible features, accuracy (form) was critical so as to not be a barrier to entry into conversation with natives. Nancy reported that her interactions were disrupted or halted when she made mistakes while living in China. Pavel recounted various experiences with native peers as authority of the language. He believed that his ongoing interest in across a spectrum of contemporary Russian literature and corresponding familiarity with idioms and expressions “on any level” resulted in it being “very difficult to, to trap me” (Pavel).

The non-native as expert or specialist based on their life’s work or study of their respective language and its culture was reflected in the cases of KD and Laura. They argued that their extensive, acquired knowledge and expertise minimised the assumption of the native as a linguistic and cultural resource and authority. KD argued that his knowledge and ability to articulate and discuss the Korean language, its structure and history, role

¹²⁹ In this instance, participants’ native language was indicated in parentheses *however* parentheses usually indicate language taught. Kage was born in Hong Kong and immigrated to the Lower Mainland with her parents at age 12. Jan and Pavel were born and raised in Poland and Slovakia respectively.

internationally, as well as sociocultural aspects of it qualified him as a resource and authority for Korean. Laura believed that, in addition to target culture experience, her extensive study of Chinese language and culture rendered her a resource and authority.

I want people to understand China and Chinese things. And even if they're Chinese they won't always understand, you know, and so I like to make them understand it more and help them understand it more ... (Laura).

As seen above, Laura argued that Chinese native speaker did not automatically translate to Chinese resource or expert.

10.5.1.3.4 Native and Heritage Learners as a Resource versus Authority

Some participants including Bernadette, Jan, and Pavel attempted to access native and/or proficient learners as a linguistic model/resource.¹³⁰ For example, Bernadette spoke the language with natives who always made up part of her classes to model what “a natural, spontaneous conversation sounds like” (Bernadette).¹³¹ Heritage and native learners as a linguistic resource was a recurring theme particularly in Asian language teaching contexts for orthography. For example, Erika (Japanese) regularly accessed the three quarters of Asian learners (mostly Cantonese and Mandarin speaking) as a resource for presenting and teaching kanji.

To varying degrees, across cases, heritage learners and native speakers were encouraged or expected to be peer tutors with varying degrees of success.¹³² Of the focal participants, Nancy adopted the strategy of using these learners as peer tutors “to assist and explain and not necessarily do, but just to be a support” to other Mandarin learners such as with homework which lacked in-school support for Mandarin (Nancy). In contrast, Frank and Bernadette experienced frustration with the challenge of accessing native peer tutors’ strengths linguistically though reported reasonable success doing so as a cultural resource. Bernadette experienced frustration in encouraging locally-based peer tutors “to speak, and to

¹³⁰ In terms of accessing native speakers as a resource, Pavel provided the example of designating one of three classes per week a designated “conversation day” where students were divided into smaller groups with a minimum of one Russian native speaker to serve as a “valuable resource” (Pavel).

¹³¹ Bernadette modified her speech to native learners so that others did not “feel left out” and could “catch some of it” as an “interesting challenge” (Bernadette).

¹³² Nancy and Pavel reported that from the outset they explicitly articulated the expectation of peer assistance as a peer tutor to incoming high proficiency heritage and native learners as part of their commitment and responsibility. Clover and Doreen hoped that these learners would adopt this role and encouraged them to do so. Others, such as Naomi and Evelyn, attempted to access them as a resource by placing them within groups of learners with little or no linguistic background.

be spontaneous, they don't want to do that; they don't want to be singled out, [they don't want to stand out" from peers (Bernadette). Frank attempted to discuss his concerns about peer tutor Taka's rate of speech with him as well as the need to "provide a safe environment" for learners (Frank).¹³³ On the other hand as a cultural resource, Frank and Bernadette found greater success here in interacting with these learners one-on-one. Having been away from Japan for seven years at the time of this study, Frank accessed Taka's current knowledge of Japanese culture to update his knowledge about pop culture to incorporate it as part of his strategy to engage learner interest by relating to the interests of high school students in Japan. Similarly, Bernadette indicated that access to cultural information through peer tutors was beneficial to her teaching and of interest to other learners (e.g., food traditions), particularly given the wide range of Spanish-speaking cultures represented in her classes.

The role of judge/gatekeeper on the part of these learners was experienced mostly by KD as well as in the European language cases of Maria, Bernadette, and others, in the form of challenges and questioning as discussed earlier under challenges. KD experienced overt gate-keeping by some heritage learners in senior classes which he attributed to their association of the use of Korean with Koreans. He also encouraged heritage and native learners to solicit their native parents' input for their questions challenging his Korean use including matters such as standard versus non-standard varieties of Korean. Jan believed that heritage learners were satisfied with his explanations and the class, though sometimes "they rarely, they catch on those mistakes...and...they correct me and I say: 'Yes I'm Polish, I'm tired and also make mistakes'" (Jan).

10.5.1.3.1 Native *Colleagues* as Resource versus Authority

The cases of Anne and Nancy illustrated how native colleagues have been a resource as well as an authoritative, judge/gatekeeper sometimes resulting in tension and less congenial professional relations. Anne's friendship with a French native colleague who adopted a mentor/cheerleader role with her and other non-native colleagues, provided access to and use of French outside of classroom teaching in a positive way. This was in stark contrast to earlier experiences and ongoing interactions with French native teachers on staff

¹³³ Taka, the peer tutor Frank discussed in his interview at the time of this study, was an international student from Japan at Frank's school. Unlike Bernadette and others' locally-based peer tutors who were highly proficient heritage or native learners, Taka was an international student from Japan at Frank's school.

which Anne found negative, judgemental, and condescending.¹³⁴ Nancy similarly experienced the authority and gatekeeper/judge aspect of this theme through her involvement with native Mandarin teachers as part of a professional association. Consequently, she reported looking forward to working with associate student teachers as colleagues because the interaction would challenge her proficiency and particularly because of the opportunity to use and verify aspects of Mandarin.¹³⁵

10.5.1.3.2 Native-speaking *Community Volunteers* as a Resource

Some participants including Erika and others shared how they accessed native speaker community volunteers or guests as a linguistic and cultural resource for their teaching practice. Of particular note was Erika's regular and ongoing use of a Japanese volunteer teaching assistant for one third to one half of class time in addition to herself as a linguistic model and for pedagogical support because "there's areas that the kids would benefit from having somebody more proficient than myself that is a native speaker" (Erika).

¹³⁶ The volunteer's role working individually with Erika's highly proficient learners to provide enrichment (e.g., reviewing a newspaper article in Japanese together) was found to be especially effective and helpful. Sally and Doreen reported inviting Japanese guest speakers and visitors from Japan or from various Japanese community Lower Mainland programs during the year to help enrich units of study related to culture as well as to model spontaneous conversation in Japanese.¹³⁷

10.5.1.3.3 Native *Spouses and Social Contacts* as a Resource versus Authority

Some participants indicated that their native spouse played a significant resource-authority role. Erika viewed her situation in maintaining the level of Japanese she attained in

¹³⁴ Anne noted that in her secondary school teaching context: 1) French native teachers generally taught in the French Immersion and Cadre (Francophone) programs though would sometimes be assigned an FSL class to round out their timetable; and 2) non-native French teachers largely taught in the French as a Second Language (FSL) program. Anne listed the following as examples: critically correcting aspects of her and others' French use and not sharing information about upcoming pedagogical and cultural events and activities of possible interest with FSL teachers.

¹³⁵ Nancy shared that associate student teachers who had been assigned to her had been native speakers, often from Taiwan or China. She was the sole Mandarin teacher at her school at the time of this study. Nancy stated that she preferred to ask a student teacher questions about Mandarin rather than a senior level learner though at times she did so.

¹³⁶ Erika reported that her Japanese teaching assistant volunteer came in once a week for each of her five Japanese classes ranging from grades eight through 12. This volunteer position rotated annually and Erika shared that she modelled and trained them in how to lead and carry out language activities, especially those involving conversation, as they did not have teacher training.

¹³⁷ Sally commented that interacting with guests in Japanese extended her modelling of the language and illustrated its use beyond classroom language lessons.

Japan as not desperate due to the fact that “I have access” via her spouse with whom she reported regularly consulting about various linguistic matters (e.g., She regularly asked him to proofread the written work of highly proficient learners as well as materials she had designed). Bernadette discussed how her native French-Senegalese partner was a linguistic and cultural resource.

For other participants, including KD, their spouse’s family and extended social circle was a significant linguistic and cultural resource also. KD reported regularly and consistently using Korean with his spouse’s family and within the local Korean community. Willa discussed how her involvement socially with the Chilean diaspora community in Quebec City over 22 years via her former native spouse resulted in not only her acquisition of Spanish but also in eventual integration into Chilean culture.

So in terms of culture of the language, in terms of knowing the people, I feel I’m authentic in that way...culturally authentic. Both for French and for Spanish, because I married a Chilean, you know, I married into the culture. It’s like I’m not presenting something I don’t have experience with.

I don’t know if I could teach the language without having had that, personally, you know, I think it’s been giving me a lot of background and confidence to share and to talk about the culture because you can’t- I don’t think you can separate language from culture. So I guess that’s been what’s given me confidence to teach because I didn’t’ teach [Spanish before (Willa).

As reflected above, Willa viewed her long-term submersion experience and life experience within the Chilean community as the source of her confidence in teaching the Spanish language and presenting aspects of its cultures. In addition, Erika, Clover, and Hans all found that their spouses’ family and relatives locally were a valuable linguistic and cultural resource.¹³⁸

The theme of social contacts as a resource and authority was strongly reflected in the cases of Kathleen and Bernadette. Kathleen reported that her regular contact with native speakers continued to provide invaluable access to the Italian language and culture both in Italy and Canada. Bernadette found that “speaking to a native speaker they have, you know, superior vocabulary and I can pick up some new terms” (Bernadette).

¹³⁸ Clover indicated that “with my husband, we’re lazy so we speak English” (Clover). She reported speaking Mandarin with *her parents* in addition to her parents-in-law. Hans similarly reported speaking English with his wife; however they spoke German when with their children and with both sets of German-speaking parents who used German with the grandchildren.

10.5.1.4 Native Speaker as Teacher

Some participants shared their belief about the native teacher's strength as linguistic model to various degrees during their interviews. However most participants stressed the paramount importance of teacher training in modern language pedagogy *and* second or additional language acquisition.¹³⁹ KD and Bernadette viewed natives as valuable linguistic models though underscored that bilingual and multilingual models were equally, *if not more*, important and applicable as these embodied that which learners were becoming. Bernadette indicated that as long as native teachers have had an additional language learning experience they at least will be better able to relate to learners' *experience* in terms of "the mechanics...the psychology...the frustrations...the motivations" and that this ought to be a requirement for teachers (Bernadette). Erika had had direct experience as a native teacher and reflected on this *in relation to* her non-native status as a Japanese teacher at the time of this study.

Well that's when I went over to Japan, and I was teaching English, I had no training at all, you know, and...most people who go over don't have any training, and it's not very helpful for the kids...you're just hired because you speak English, that's it you know, and it doesn't make a good teacher (Erika).

The above passage reflects Erika's conviction about learners' need for a trained teacher based on her teaching experience in Japan as a native teacher of English. KD shared his belief that "the ideal thing" was for learner exposure to and instruction from both trained native and non-native teachers, whether via team teaching or alternating between each, as each has a contribution to make.¹⁴⁰

Pavel and Laura indicated their *preference* for the native teacher as linguistic model for language teaching and learning. Pavel discussed his department's hiring practices and emphasised that the native teacher was favoured to "avoid the problem of some students complaining about that" (Pavel). Laura based her native teacher preference on having had non-native teachers during her acquisition of Chinese with the prevalent experience "that they were bad... And so I really did believe, very strongly, that I needed native [teachers]"

¹³⁹ This referred to acquisition of a non-native language.

¹⁴⁰ KD elaborated on this belief to include participation by both in co-authoring instructional language materials in that "some of the best teaching materials are authored by teams that include both kinds of instructor, but which are also extremely rare, at least in the field of Korean" (KD).

(Laura). This perspective impacted her current, conflicted impression of native versus non-native teachers including that of herself.

as a teacher you- I was – I always thought essentially of being a fraud, you know, that I should not be doing this...because you know, I am not a native speaker, and I have always, you know, in the past, as a student, I always felt what I wanted a, were native teachers.

On the other hand, I do see that there's an advantage to having a teacher who's been through it themselves and knows what the pitfalls are all that sort of thing, and who can - can steer students, you know, in various ways. But I was – I never felt competent enough or trained enough to be that person (Laura).

Consequently, Laura indicated her preference for teaching Chinese literature in order to use the language as a means rather than the end in that “you need the language to write the literature” (Laura). In a similar vein, qualifying his native teacher bias Pavel expressed that

I still think that there is uh, a place in a program...that it's a desirable thing to have someone who is the outsider, who has to provide the program with some kind of an inner knowledge of what are the challenges, what is it that's so difficult uh, to learning Russian, right? (Pavel).¹⁴¹

Bernadette shared her belief about native teachers relating to and working with learners' challenges, *particularly at the beginner level*, in that “non-native speakers, teachers, that have had to learn it themselves...are better able to explain these little pitfalls and um, tricky bits of grammar” (Bernadette). Others such as Doreen also shared their observations of native teachers relating to the challenges of acquiring the language.

I've seen teachers who are native speakers who are brilliant and I've seen others who don't know their language well enough to teach it. They speak it, without a fault, but to get at some of the problems the kids have, they have trouble relating to that (Doreen).

As reflected above, based on her experience and observations, Doreen believed that native speaker status did not automatically render a language teacher pedagogically effective.

10.5.2 Perspectives on Asian and European Language Teaching and Learning

In this study, both issues related to teaching the language as well as those related to the teaching context emerged in Asian and European language teaching contexts.

Perspectives for these issues are presented below.

¹⁴¹ Pavel indicated that he and another non-native colleague who were involved in directing and coordinating the Russian program were the “outsider” in his department at the time of this study.

10.5.2.1 Issues Related to Language Teaching

Language teaching issues included those related to: orthography, pronunciation, and language variety.

10.5.2.1.1 Teaching Orthography – Asian Languages

The orthography of Asian languages presented participants and learners with distinct and varying degrees of challenge in teaching and learning to read and write in the language. For participants, these mainly lay in presenting and assessing Chinese characters. Nancy commented on the slower pace of assessing and evaluating characters on examinations due to some uncertainty about their accuracy. Erika exasperatingly shared how she would “never learn all the kanji, the Chinese characters” (Erika). Participants adopted strategies in response. For example, Clover advocated for and used computer technology both for herself and her learners to facilitate developing literacy in Mandarin over the long term and thus to minimise orthography as a barrier to language use especially at lower levels.

Participants commonly found that learners had specific challenges based on their linguistic background related to attitude and perception as well as background knowledge. They reported gaining insight into recognising and addressing these in their contexts. In terms of teaching Japanese orthography to learners of Chinese background, Doreen and others found that the mental aspect was a significant challenge in terms of shifting gears and “making them care about learning the Japanese style characters” in order to write in Japanese instead of wholly drawing on their Chinese-based knowledge (Doreen).¹⁴² In contrast to Frank’s belief about his external colleagues’ relative ease in teaching Japanese orthography to classes made up of significant numbers of Asian heritage learners, Naomi and others shared that teaching Japanese orthography incorporated “many Chinese characters” to the extent that even for those with Asian backgrounds, reading and writing Japanese was still a learning process (Naomi). As well, Naomi made reference to the other challenge that “...real Japanese uses many, many Chinese characters which represent meaning, and they have a

¹⁴² Erika stated that “three quarters of my classes” were Cantonese or Mandarin-speaking with most attending Saturday heritage classes for their respective heritage language (Erika). She shared that Korean-speakers would have normally also had an advantage in writing kanji but indicated that the ones in her classes generally didn’t “because they were born here” (Erika) in contrast to her Japanese classes in Japan where the Korean learners “all knew Kanji because in Korea they use their own alphabet but they also use kanji” (Erika).

different pronunciation in Japanese than they used to have in Chinese” (Naomi). Clover and Kage also encountered resistance from Chinese learners who underestimated differences between character use in Chinese versus Japanese in their belief that they already knew kanji.

In terms of teaching orthography to non-Asian speaking learners, Doreen described the need to overcome the intimidation and attitude concerning orthography amidst “the foreignness” of Japanese and “getting a handle on reading and writing and everything being totally brand new” (Doreen). She saw herself as an ideal resource for those with no Asian language background given her status and background knowledge with which to address the “perceived advantage” of learners who could “read and write Chinese” (Doreen). Doreen described the need to assure these learners of their capability of learning characters in that she succeeded in doing so at later age (of 19). Erika, similarly found there was “tension” with non-kanji background learners believing that: “Oh it’s so easy for them” (i.e. Chinese native and heritage learners) which she sometimes observed was “an excuse” and rationale for lower grades. She acknowledged Asian learners’ limited advantage by stressing that “The only thing they can do is write it, they can’t even say it, in Japanese” (Erika).

10.5.2.1.2 Teaching Orthography – European Languages

Challenges related to teaching and learning orthography were not highlighted in European language cases to the same degree as for Asian languages. Of the European languages taught in this study Russian was the most diverse orthographically with its Cyrillic alphabet. When orthography was discussed during his interview, Pavel indicated that

There’s no problem with this at all and this is the biggest bugaboo. And within a week everybody knows how to write and read Russian. That’s the- This is nonexistent...This is not a problem...And for the reason that uh, that is actually quite surprising and that is that these strange things in the Russian alphabet are not so strange if you divide them into three groups.

Letters which are identical as in English alphabet and have an identical pronunciation, letters that are identical but have different pronunciation, and completely weird letters...and these weird letters are also not weird because half of them are either Greek, which you already know like alpha, beta, kappa, and all that. So what do they- clue into this, like ‘f’ that’s the Greek ‘f’ that Russian uses, that’s fine. And ‘p’ is the Greek ‘p’...And so what is then different? What comes from Hebrew for –tsch and -sch, right? And uh, in Hebrew- alphabet it is really, it comes from the Hebrew alphabet, right? So you have these, it’s sort of made up of these three uh, if you can say- well say the Greek, right, then Latin or the Roman alphabet, and the Hebrew alphabet. It’s kind of a synthetic orthography, right?..That takes, as I said, one week, max (Pavel).

As reflected above, Pavel found that categorising the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet simplified and facilitated teaching and learning these though he also observed that grasping the phonetic aspects of these letters was more problematic particularly for monolingual English learners.

10.5.2.1.1.1 Strategies to Address Learners' Orthographic Challenges

To address these orthographic challenges, participants shared various, detailed strategies to assist learners in overcoming these. The highlights of these for overall learners included:

- Repetition
- Mnemonic devices to help learners learn Chinese characters such as breaking down parts of a character¹⁴³
- Supplementary materials for practicing characters
- Learners engaging in their “own writing” in class from the outset, from the simplest of forms, progressing to more extensive journal writing (e.g., Doreen, Erika).
- Teacher verbalisation of sentences aloud *in English* to model sentence structure ‘in reverse’ relative to English (e.g., Naomi, Erika).¹⁴⁴

Other strategies for addressing diverse learners' orthographic challenges within participants' Asian language classrooms are outlined in Appendix M.

10.5.2.1.2 Teaching Pronunciation

Teaching pronunciation was also a relevant issue for participants for which a few key perspectives are outlined. Nancy found that teaching the tonal aspect of Mandarin was challenging for many though considerably easier for learners with an auditory learning style. In the Mandarin contexts in this study, participants teaching Cantonese native readers noted that Mandarin pronunciation was troublesome for them and that this presented challenges

¹⁴³ Nancy provided an example for teaching the character ‘kick’ and stated: I’ll point out that it has the foot radical which makes sense. Foot gives it meaning. What do you kick with? You kick with your foot. The character ‘eat’ has the mouth radical, it makes sense” (Nancy).

¹⁴⁴ Naomi noted that the effectiveness of English as a tool when teaching ESL learners varied depending on their comprehension skills and familiarity with the language.

with oral performance tasks such as class presentations.¹⁴⁵ KD promoted access to online technology to support the development of learners' oral Korean skills due to a lack of class time for doing so and its relatively lower priority.

With respect to European language contexts, pronunciation issues were less pervasive in teaching though arose in terms of modelling. Participants teaching French and Spanish emphasised the importance of providing learners with specialist teachers who were comfortable and confident in their use, including pronunciation, of the language. Overall, participants reported that exposure to media was helpful for additional oral language exposure besides supporting themes and lesson concepts.

10.5.2.1.3 Modelling and Adjusting Varieties of Language

Modelling and adjusting varieties of language emerged as an issue across languages though doing so with respect to gender added an additional, more complex, dimension for participants teaching Asian languages in this study. Naomi commented that she intentionally taught and spoke an adult male form of Japanese in her all-male classroom and that this practice had extended to impact her Japanese outside class with either gender in the same manner. Frank discussed the challenge of conveying and modelling expectations with respect to gender for female learners in his Japanese classroom and he reported using media to assist with this. Whereas Naomi justified and readily gained acceptance for her modelling practice with respect to gender on the basis that she was preparing her male learners to use Japanese for professional and business purposes, Frank found that his overarching emphasis on teaching culture was insufficient to convince his learners to take language variety with respect to gender more seriously. Besides modelling, Doreen used personal anecdotes about linguistic and cultural mistakes made in acquiring Japanese including those about learning a "male" type of Japanese during her initial experience in Japan (Doreen).

Asian language participants such as KD, Nancy and others (e.g., Naomi, Erika) reported that modelling socially and culturally appropriate language was an important part of teaching their language and that they adjusted their level of formality (politeness) when addressing and talking to learners.

¹⁴⁵ This referred to native readers, rather than native speakers, based on their knowledge of and literacy with respect to Chinese characters as was the case with Cantonese-speaking learners in Nancy, Laura, and Clover's Mandarin classes.

As well, presenting colloquial forms of the language was noted as a priority by participants including Kathleen and Nancy who incorporated this by way of anecdotes usually about how they had encountered given terms or expressions. Frustration in doing so was expressed by those who lacked target culture experience, such as Anne, as well as by many participants who had had this experience but felt it had become less relevant for this purpose due to the relatively long amount of time that had passed. In any case, those lacking regular access to the language outside the classroom experienced higher levels of frustration in modelling and adjusting their language for various purposes compared to those with access.

10.5.2.2 Issues Related to Teaching Context

Though issues related to teaching context were more particular to Asian language contexts, some were present across the various languages in this study. Context-related issues which impacted teaching and learning the language included: negotiating stakeholders' views on how to teach orthography, promoting non-native and heritage teacher and learner identities including teaching models, teaching as a minority non-native teacher, and preparing learners for standardised examinations.

10.5.2.2.1 Stakeholders' Views on Teaching Orthography

The teaching of orthography also gave rise to some native speaker-based debates such as in the cases of Nancy and Clover for Mandarin between native parents and teacher-colleagues. These participants indicated that they were most challenged on the teaching of simplified versus traditional characters by parents who had learned traditional characters in their schooling and advocated the same for their children.¹⁴⁶ Nancy also indicated that colleague teachers outside her school vocalised their perspectives on the teaching of simplified versus traditional characters along political lines and culture with heightened tension due to the issue of articulation between elementary and secondary schools which differed in their emphasis here.

¹⁴⁶ Nancy illustrated the example of the traditional character for a whistle with 22 strokes which she found many learners preferred because it contains three character parts: the character ear, 'I', and heart all perceived to contribute to its meaningfulness. In contrast Nancy taught the simplified character for this concept with seven strokes.

10.5.2.2.2 Standardised Examinations

As discussed earlier, participants in secondary contexts reported that writing was prioritised in preparing learners for standardised provincial examinations at the time of this study *regardless of language taught*.¹⁴⁷ In Asian secondary teaching contexts, Doreen and Erika related that the impact of the standardised examination on teaching augmented the already increased emphasis on reading and writing “because that’s what’s examined” making it “a hard struggle” to integrate oral activities (Doreen).¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless Doreen and Erika stressed that learners’ ability to communicate in the language was their main goal at all levels and that, with increased teaching experience, they had begun moving away from preoccupation with preparing learners for the provincial examination. Not losing sight of her main goal of enabling learners to communicate in Japanese, Erika discussed her dilemma with respect to priorities in the context of her private school employer’s expectation of a high level of success on the provincial examination.¹⁴⁹ They found that learners were able to perform to produce writing in the language in the range of forms required.

10.5.2.2.3 Non-native Teachers and Learners: Identity and Teacher Models

The issues of heritage language speakers and their identity as well as heritage speakers as teacher-models were present in this study. The question of identity, including self-identification, as a heritage language speaker came across in the cases of Clover (Mandarin) and Hans (German) which was more problematic due to the former’s physical features. Clover self-identified as a native-speaking English Canadian multilingual teacher model. Within his family unit and as a teacher, Hans saw himself as a strong bilingual model with German culture and language teaching experience and training.¹⁵⁰ Both participants’ heritage and their link with it through teaching and family life informed their identity but did not define it. Hans insisted that the choice of German as his home language was arbitrary,

¹⁴⁷ At the time of this study there was no oral component on provincial examinations for the modern languages in this study. More recently, some examinations in modern languages have incorporated an oral and/or listening component as discussed earlier under contextual factors in chapter 9.

¹⁴⁸ Doreen accessed many instructional and assessment concepts from the IB Japanese curriculum she was also involved in teaching which emphasised oral skill development as she found it “approachable and easy to use” (Doreen).

¹⁴⁹ Naomi commented that this was also the case in her context.

¹⁵⁰ As well, Hans indicated that he had undergraduate and graduate degrees in German from two Canadian universities and that his spouse also held a graduate degree in German.

due to it being a common second language for him and his spouse. Therefore, besides proficiency and use of the language, identity was related to participants' ownership of the language and culture.

While acknowledging the needs of heritage learners, some visible non-native participants, particularly KD and Laura, strongly advocated for the pedagogical needs of non-heritage language learners. They also called for changes to teacher language models. KD called for more "second generation Korean Canadians and Korean Americans to become teachers of Korean" as bilingual/multilingual teaching models. In reference to the value of bilingual/bicultural scholars and teachers whom she described as "a rarity", Laura was hopeful in that there was "a whole new generation of young Chinese scholars coming out" and though some did "not have the depth of knowledge in Chinese" she believed that they had "the potential to get there" (Laura).

10.5.2.2.4 Reception of and Response to Minority Non-native Teacher-Participants

Some participants' status as a minority non-native speaker, amongst majority native colleagues in their context or within their language, impacted their identity and language practices, and this was particularly the case for visible non-native Asian language participants. The reception of colleagues and learners (and parents in some cases) to minority non-native teachers impacted their experience.

The higher propensity for language teachers in Asian language teaching to be native speakers had implications for non-native teachers' experience and sometimes pedagogy. For example, in contrast to her preference for dual language use in the classroom, Laura found that there was a propensity for sole language use amongst native colleagues which had implications for learner language use expectations as well as colleague relations. Nancy, Doreen, and others indicated that their visible non-native status resulted in an underlying criticism toward them as non-native teachers from native colleagues. Nancy indicated that, though subtle, definite "undertones" existed on the part of native teacher-colleagues of Mandarin toward non-natives in her language association.

I think that there are people who feel that I shouldn't be teaching Mandarin probably...I mean I know that when I was the Mandarin rep, you know you experience ageism, sexism, racism in all sorts of different ways. Ageism, sexism, racism exists across cultures...I'm younger than most...um, non-Chinese um.....what's the other one? Sexism, well sexism doesn't really fit... but I don't let that - that worry me because I really, I really think I'm a good teacher, and I'm a good language teacher and I'm a good Mandarin teacher. But I think first

and foremost I'm a good teacher and if you pop me in an algebra class I could muddle, I'd be awful but I could make it through (Nancy).

Nancy dealt with this by reflecting and asserting that she was a competent teacher in terms of the Mandarin language, modern languages, as well as pedagogically overall. Similarly Doreen indicated that amongst Japanese teachers in the Lower Mainland there was "certainly an undercurrent that's out there" and she shared her teacher-colleagues' perception "that foreign- foreign teachers, like me, aren't- can't possibly do it as well as they can... 'How can you possibly know your language as well as we do?' Well I don't" (Doreen). Resolving to "pay very little attention to it", Doreen believed that their response was culturally-based and tied to the fact that non-native teachers were still somewhat of "a novelty" amongst Japanese teachers (Doreen). Laura believed that the positive reception and response to her as non-native increased in proportion to her demonstrated knowledge and proficiency in that "The more you know, the more you show that you know, the more they'll tell you, the more respect they'll give you" but that "there's always this sense of, you'll never know as much as the Chinese" (Laura). Laura agreed that their assessment was accurate "in many ways" stating that equivalently educated and experienced natives "have the edge, definitely; they (know they) (have) the edge" (Laura).

In some European language contexts, the non-native 'visible' identity of teacher-participants as a minority and their relative proficiency was the focus of native colleagues' response as observed in Anne's case where the credibility of non-native teachers was brought into question by native French-speaking colleagues. Besides work environment, she found that tension between the two groups impacted her and other non-native FSL teachers' access to information and full participation as teachers within the school which perpetuated the cycle of hostility and poor relations.

10.6 Summary of Secondary Theme Analysis

Several secondary themes emerged from this multi-case study of 22 non-native teacher-participants of various European and Asian languages. These themes were categorised and then discussed under the broader categories of: identity, non-native teacher strengths and advantages, challenges, and perspectives. The first explored participants' sense of legitimacy and ownership of the language. The following themes were discussed as strengths and advantages of teacher-participants: role modelling a bilingual/multilingual

identity, teaching as a first hand language learner, addressing culture as a non-native speaker, as well as voicing diverse perspectives and challenging perceptions as outsider/guest. The various challenges highlighted included: maintaining and improving the language, addressing challenges to and questioning of proficiency and qualifications, dealing with ‘glass ceiling’ like barriers in terms of placement and linguistic access in some cases, and addressing culture. Perspectives on the native speaker discussed included: perceived meaning, role of linguistic and cultural resource versus authority and gatekeeper/judge, and that as teacher. Lastly, Asian and European language teaching and learning contexts were discussed in relation to issues about teaching the language and its context.

Chapter 11: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

11.1 Introduction

This final chapter presents conclusions and implications for the principal theme of non-native teachers' language use, followed by those pertaining to the secondary themes related to identity, strengths and advantages, challenges, and perspectives on the native speaker as well as those related to Asian and European language teaching and learning. Implications are outlined for policy, theory, and pedagogy. The chapter concludes with reflections on this research.

11.2 Language Use

Overall, this qualitative, multiple-case study of non-native modern language teachers found that participants' target language use was a multifaceted, complex process influenced by a multitude of individual and contextual factors as outlined in Figure 9.1 (Chapter 9). Target language use varied amongst the four focal participants from 50 to 90% of the time, and, from the larger set of 22 participants, from 10 to 90% and 35 to 100% for Asian and European language participants, respectively.

Unrelated to their proficiency, participants such as KD and Kathleen made deliberate choices *not* to use the target language in many instances based on their experience and professional judgment, as well as previous ineffective attempts to solely or predominantly use the language. Participants reported adopting strategies to help them continue using the target language while teaching as well as to compensate for their lack of proficiency (e.g., Anne). Though other contextual factors such as language type were also at play, as discussed, participants generally indicated that their language use reflected their existing and emerging bilingual/multilingual learners (e.g., Sally, Frank, Nancy).¹⁵¹ However, some participants also reported low levels of proficiency and lamented that this impacted their language use at times and was a barrier that resulted in frustration. Thus, although a threshold level of proficiency in the language was a necessary prerequisite enabling greater use of it in teaching, higher proficiency was not necessarily synonymous with higher or more frequent levels of target language use reported, and vice versa.

¹⁵¹ Sally indicated that English, Japanese and French were regularly used for examples during Japanese class in her elementary school context. This was facilitated by the fact that she taught her homeroom class these three languages.

The concept of teacher reflection and awareness of language use was significant in promoting deliberate and strategic language use in this study. Participant recognition of boundaries with respect to L1 use was significant (i.e., as a tool versus a substitute for lack of proficiency) and participants shared various practices as strategies to maintain target language use in the classroom. Also significant, though outside the scope of this study, was that other non-L1-L2 languages were also being used in these diverse multilingual contexts.

In terms of policy, recognising the validity of teachers' selective and strategic use of learners' L1 or dominant academic language, particularly in late-entry language programs, would help resolve the intrapersonal and interpersonal tension residing in this aspect of teaching the language. The purpose and objectives of modern languages curricula, including language use expectations in relation to expectations in courses offered, need to be considered, and possibly reevaluated, given that time constraints to meet academic requirements and timelines were noted as a contextual factor in this study. Are target language use expectations reasonable and attainable, especially for later-entry point contexts in mid-secondary school, given academic expectations?

In regards to theories concerning language use in the classroom, this multi-case qualitative study supported the perspective of learners' L1 as tool or resource of value to support language learning (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Atkinson, D.,1993; Castellotti,1997; Chambers, F, 1991; Chambers, G.,1992; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007; Duff, & Polio, 1990; Franklin, 1990; Macaro, 2001, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Turnbull, 2001; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002; Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009; Wells, 1998).

Though a necessary prerequisite, teachers' proficiency was not found to be related to language use in this study in contrast to other studies that found higher levels of teacher proficiency and fluency resulted in increased L2 use and vice versa (Chambers, 1991; Franklin, 1990; Turnbull, 1999b). Although participants' proficiency was self-reported, some educators and researchers (e.g., Turnbull, 1999b) have articulated that teacher self-perceived proficiency and fluency is also highly significant in target language use.

Teacher beliefs and values, including attitudes about L1-L2 use, was a significant factor in this study as in the literature (Atkinson, 1993; Duff & Polio, 1990; Franklin, 1990; Lee, 1987; Macaro, 1997). Teacher beliefs relevant to L1-L2 use cited in the literature applicable to this study included:

- Learners' need to have the language explained to them before it could be learned or understood leading to a teacher's overreliance on the L1 (Lee, 1987).
- The possibility and desirability of sole target language use only with highly motivated classes (Macaro, 1997).
- The preferred use of the L1 to explain grammar, meanings, instructions, discipline (Franklin, 1990; Macaro, 1997; Mitchell, 1988) as well as teaching about the culture, history and the target language (Duff & Polio, 1990).
- Teaching and task content, including grammar, influencing L1-L2 use in this study as it did elsewhere with the L1, English, considered more effective than the L2 (Duff & Polio, 1990; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002).

Participants in this study also found that the language of learning materials played a role in their L1-L2 use as noted in Duff and Polio (1990) and Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) where materials and pedagogical approaches in the L2 corresponded with higher L2 use. However in this study, though some participants reported that L2 materials facilitated L2 use, others found the reverse in that providing learner access to materials in the L1 at the introductory stages to secure concept understanding and familiarity led to a sense of assurance in L2 use.

11.3 Identity: Legitimacy and Ownership of the Language

Overall, ongoing and/or prior engagement with the language, particularly through interpersonal means, impacted participants' sense of legitimacy and ownership of their target language by generally increasing both. For participants who lacked regular access, earlier, prolonged experiences in the target culture also established a sense of legitimacy as a competent user and teacher of the language. Some participants mentioned that using their language(s) in and outside the classroom reflected their bilingual/multilingual identity and that this was beneficial to their teaching in terms of more effectively relating to diverse learners. Participants in Asian language teaching contexts asserted that although they were legitimate teachers, their sense of ownership and affiliation with the language positioned them as outsider, regardless of their proficiency level and cultural familiarity. In any case, participants conveyed the view that their understanding of learners as emergent bilingual or

multilingual individuals and knowledge of modern language teaching, via relevant training and/or experience, strongly contributed to their legitimacy as language teachers.

From the data, perhaps the main advantage participants in this study brought was their role modelling of a bilingual/multilingual identity by virtue of teaching and role modelling as first-hand language learner which reflected their experience. Valorising the contributions of the proficient non-native teacher as multicompetent user (Cook, 1999; 2003) is needed as is steering away from (exclusive) use of and reliance on the native speaker as the (ideal) model and measure of optimal proficiency in teaching and learning. Revising the policy of language use in language programs to acknowledge English and other shared L1s as a potential tool would reflect the bilingual/multilingual practices taking place. In terms of curriculum policy, extending the use of the L1 as a tool in the curricula of other modern languages would facilitate and validate teachers' use of the L1 to help learners acquire their L2 or additional language.

This study added to the theory and prior research that code switching is a 'natural' and 'normal' use of language both within and outside the classroom as a strategy, rather than a practice to avoid, given learners' status as emergent bilingual or multilingual individuals (Castellotti, 1997; Causa, 1996; Cook, 2001; Kramsch, 1997; MLA, 2007; Py, 1997). Moreover, non-native teachers' identity embodies this status and model (e.g., Soriano, 2004), including the goal of translingual and transcultural competence embodying "the ability to operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, pp. 3-4).

Discussing teacher models, including those who are non-native bilingual/multilingual, in language teaching departments would initiate or further conversations about progressing beyond the native as teacher model. Presenting and discussing the variety of models and related issue of ownership in language teaching and learning would help candidates, whether non-native or native, to negotiate their language teacher identity. Teacher-colleague support of minority non-native teachers is particularly needed to enable optimal performance and functioning whilst resolving challenges similar to those reported in this study. In addition, native-non-native dichotomy discussions, engaging teacher-candidates in those concerning minority non-native teacher issues and their implications is needed so that they are aware of these in their teaching careers.

By sharing non-native perspectives and reflections as in this study, non-native teachers could help further deconstruct native-authored perceptions for their colleagues and learners as part of promoting critical thinking. Therefore promoting the development of critical thinking about language and culture in modern language pedagogy courses as part of teacher education is in order.

11.4 Strengths and Advantages

Participants' role modelling their bilingual/multilingual identity and first hand language learner status assisted them in establishing rapport with learners as well as in effectively executing their programs. Reflective of bilingual/multilingual individuals' practices, this role-modelling included the use of English as a tool, helping learners make L1-L2 connections, relaying personal experiences in language acquisition and use, as well as (in some cases) accessing their background knowledge of other heritage languages within the classroom.

Most participants viewed teaching culture as intertwined with language teaching in that appropriate and effective language use involved a knowledge and understanding of cultural contexts. Those who had had a longer-term engagement with and/or experience with cultures represented by the language reported readily accessing this experience, as well as their accumulated knowledge, in their teaching.

Participants shared diverse perspectives on commonly-held culturally-based perceptions, encouraging learners to do the same. They perceived thinking critically about aspects of the language and culture to be an important part of learners' overall language acquisition and experience, as well as an advantage stemming from their non-native status.

This study supports a general policy goal of valuing and promoting the diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds of teachers (and learners), whether non-native or native. Government support of heritage and international language programs within Canada's framework of multiculturalism through expertise and federal resources is desirable as their goals are supportive of learners' eventual development of translingual and transcultural competence, a key success factor and source of enrichment of quality of life in today's world.

The theme of non-native teachers' diverse perspectives and reflections on perceptions as outsiders/guests in this study contributes to broader discussions about and repeated calls for perceptual shifts concerning language teacher effectiveness within the native-non-native

dichotomy (Rampton, 1990; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1996; Sullivan, 2001). In this study, non-native language teachers advocated and reported facilitating critical thinking about the language and its culture, thereby helping to further shift the focus on what they accomplish pedagogically. This finding contributed to the literature concerning non-native teacher contributions in their contexts which included their promotion of various perspectives such as through the use of diverse materials (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 1999).

Furthermore, the sense of teacher legitimacy and language ownership which non-native teachers also expressed in Arva and Medgyes (2000) was underscored in this thesis, in terms of teaching learners in consideration of their preferences and needs. Non-native participants' knowledge and experience with respect to learners' needs and goals in preparing them for local standardised examinations in this study was an advantageous attribute, one that has also been highlighted in the literature (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Tang, 1997). This theme contributes to the ongoing long-term language use issue in the literature in that, like high proficiency, a high degree of language ownership did not readily result in a transfer to sole language use by non-native teachers in teaching the language.

11.5 Challenges

The majority of participants' challenges were linguistically-related in terms of maintenance and improvement, proficiency and qualifications, as well as access.

Maintaining and improving the language was mentioned as a significant challenge by most participants in this study. Though the time constraints of teaching a full course load contributed to this challenge, participants' difficulty in finding *relevant and appropriate*, advanced-level language learning opportunities *locally* or within *practical* means was a more significant factor. Participants reported that a plateau in their language use had led to slower speech, reduced reaction time during interactions, and a decreased ability to efficiently access any previously-acquired vocabulary and colloquial expressions. Decreased levels of confidence and comfort in teaching the language were also reported, particularly by those lacking access to use of the language outside the classroom (e.g., Nancy and others). In contrast, those who were highly engaged in using the language for a variety of purposes outside the classroom on an ongoing basis (e.g., Kathleen, KD), reported minimal, if any,

plateau or fossilisation effects. Overall, four participants assessed their proficiency in the language as ‘Excellent-Native-like’ and eight as ‘High/Near-native like’.

Participants’ proficiency and qualifications were challenged and questioned by others (as well as themselves) in their most pronounced form in Asian language contexts in this study, though this was also reported in some European language contexts. Their visible non-native status was a factor amongst other issues at play. In order to deal with this challenge overall, participants addressed stakeholders and/or selectively heeded criticism. However criticism by native-speaker colleagues within their more immediate teaching context resulted in particularly high levels of frustration, stress, and tension (e.g., Anne). Though negative and sometimes professionally awkward, participants reported that routinely encountering this challenge prompted them to address it by self-validating their qualifications and competence as a non-native teacher.

Barriers for participants in terms of teaching placement and language access appeared to exist to some extent in this study. Although participants such as Kathleen taught at the beginner level for reasons seemingly unrelated to proficiency from their point of view, others such as Jan and Maria explicitly indicated that doing so was preferable and optimal as compared to teaching at advanced levels where language proficiency would likely limit their ability to teach confidently and result in it being challenged. As well, some, such as Jan and Pavel, discussed how departmental hiring practices had implemented a glass ceiling effect for non-natives by assigning them to teach beginner-level classes, regardless of qualifications, to minimise challenges to and questioning of their proficiency. However, two of the four focal participants, Nancy and KD, who were both also visible non-natives, taught *at various levels (including advanced)* and reported minimal or virtually no obstacles in terms of opportunities. Interestingly, some participants ‘self-administered’ a glass ceiling effect by declining or restricting their opportunities based on self-perceived inadequate proficiency as well as their knowledge of the context and its pedagogical demands (e.g., Clover, Bernadette).

In terms of language access, Nancy acknowledged that accessing Mandarin as a visible non-native speaker outside the classroom was difficult and that this limited her ability

to partake in discussions to maintain and improve her Mandarin.¹⁵² This was in stark contrast to Kathleen, who used Italian outside class on an ongoing basis for various social and professional non-teaching purposes and was often misidentified as a native. Participants who had native spouses or close family members or friends reported ease of access to the language and its extensive use outside of teaching (e.g., KD and others). However, they also reported that access to the language with natives generally was contingent on demonstrating a threshold level of proficiency (particularly accurate form) as well as natives' reaction to their non-native status. Inadequate proficiency limited opportunities to maintain and improve the language, which only further reinforced the cycle of lack of, or insufficient, access.

Teaching culture was also an area of significant challenge for some. Participants with limited or no culture-related experience found it most challenging to address culture, thereby relying more often or exclusively on secondary sources. Some participants noted that extensive time away from the culture had implications, particularly in relation to their personal connection as well as in addressing its more current aspects. However, those teaching Asian languages expressed the view that, regardless of their cultural experience and knowledge, addressing aspects of it, including appropriate levels of politeness and language use per gender, was problematic due to contextually-related challenges.¹⁵³ Amongst others, these included meeting course expectations and timelines, and helping learners inextricably understand cultural context in acquiring cultural concepts. However, contextual factors such as the presence of native or heritage learners and the language's positioning in the local community also sometimes presented advantages in participants' teaching of culture.

The linguistic and related challenges faced by non-native language teachers in this study also have policy implications in terms of access to and funding for linguistic professional development, target language proficiency standards, and employment opportunities. Allowing language teachers to periodically take a short-term leave for language upgrading purposes is necessary, as is the need to be open to negotiating details for longer leaves abroad. Recognising teachers' efforts to maintain and improve their

¹⁵² KD experienced a glass ceiling barrier to language access when attempting to use Korean with learners in senior level courses.

¹⁵³ Naomi prepared learners to use culturally-appropriate Japanese by adopting and modelling an adult male Japanese manner of expression, while still illustrating other distinctions with respect to gender. This was facilitated by an all-male school setting.

language(s) would provide positive reinforcement and incentive. To this end, in order to enable more teachers to maintain and improve their language, encouraging post-secondary institutions to offer higher proficiency level courses and/or allow teachers to audit more advanced credit courses is required. For teachers altering or adding to their teaching assignment, maintaining some standard or expected level of threshold proficiency and training in modern languages would ensure that they are competent to teach and model the language. At the pre-service level, the expectation of a threshold level of proficiency in modern languages taught in teacher education is needed or, if not, including a language course(s) component as part of the teacher education program (as implemented at UBC for French to improve candidates' proficiency) to further challenge candidates and promote lifelong learning of their language(s).

Standards in target language proficiency as well as in modern language pedagogy are important in validating modern language teachers and their profession as a whole and providing bilingual/multilingual models of proficiency for learners. Thus competence that includes an appropriate level of language proficiency needs to be incorporated into policies for selecting, hiring, and evaluating teachers for language teaching placements. Explicitly identifying and communicating the criteria for hiring and placement transparently is also required to ensure equitable opportunities regardless of teachers' ethnolinguistic or geographical origin and not based on linguistic skills alone.

As well, outlining domains of competence for the hiring or placement of teachers would establish concrete goals for improvement thereby facilitating efforts here. However, screening and hiring policies for language teachers, whether non-native or native, that are transparent and *value* teachers for their relevant knowledge, experience, and training, rather than status, is of benefit to all stakeholders in education. Doing so will also better ensure that non-natives are able to address challenges to and questioning of their proficiency and qualifications. As was seen in Pavel's case, less favourable perceptions of non-natives as teachers and hiring practices favouring the native as teacher can exist *even* when non-native teachers are in positions of power, due to concern over stakeholders' perceptions of and challenges to non-native teachers. Thus, although non-native teachers can ensure they themselves are prepared and qualified linguistically and pedagogically, a mental shift needs

to continue amongst decision makers and stakeholders in education in considering rather than discounting the non-native teacher and discontinuing glass ceiling practices.

Challenges pertaining to language maintenance and improvement highlighted non-native teachers' deliberate efforts to improve their linguistic proficiency, as noted and recommended in the literature (e.g., Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Medgyes, 1992; 1999). This study confirmed that a sufficient level of language proficiency was important to non-native teachers and, that if necessary, shortcomings as L2 user (Cook, 2003) ought to be rectified by the non-native teacher as a professional responsibility.

The challenges encountered by the participants somewhat resonated with Braine's (1999) edited collection of scholarly articles by non-native English teachers, including Thomas and others, who described how the "native speaker fallacy" has negatively impacted their confidence and credibility in and out of the classroom. Rather this study aligned more closely with studies such as Reves and Medgyes (1994) that found that: "...the higher the non-NESTs proficiency in English, the less self-conscious, hesitant and insecure they will be" (p. 364) as participants with higher reported levels of proficiency in their language did not emphasise challenges to and questioning of proficiency and qualifications as a significant challenge in their teaching to the same degree as those reporting lower levels.

However this study strongly confirmed the additional challenge that visible non-native teachers encountered as documented in prior studies with respect to non-native teachers of English (e.g., Amin, 1997, 1999; Thomas, 1999). Similar to Thomas and Amin who discussed how they and other non-native English teachers were judged negatively by learners and colleagues whether based on their speech, and physical appearance, visible minority participants in this study also reported similar experiences in their context.

Barriers to promotion and language access faced by participants in this study further highlighted the need for non-native teachers to be effective on their own terms (e.g., Arva & Medgyes, 2000) and that attributes of professional competence, including an appropriate level of proficiency, ought to be the means for selecting and assessing teachers rather than birth affiliation. The need to openly acknowledge and legitimise differences in language proficiency of native and non-native speakers, and recognise their differences as obvious and natural is also called for (e.g., Reves & Medgyes, 1994). The findings of this study supports calls in the literature for decision-makers to inquire about how qualified an individual is as

language teacher in order to *shift* the focus from who the person is to *what* he/she knows (Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Rampton, 1990) or, from one that is norm-referenced or native speaker to criterion-referenced (Seidlhofer, 1996).

Barriers faced by non-native teachers could be addressed by encouraging proficient non-native language teachers to more confidently assert their strengths and advantages in and out of the classroom. Encouraging departments to establish ongoing conversation groups or venues where either professional issues or issues of personal interest (i.e. hobbies or leisure pursuits) would be discussed by native and non-native teachers of a given language(s) would work towards breaking down barriers surrounding non-native perceptions, as well as enabling non-natives' increased access to the language.¹⁵⁴ In this study, participants reported that relations with colleagues and stakeholders reflected perceptions that non-native teachers were viewed in terms of what they lacked (i.e. a non-target language background). Assuming language proficiency as a prerequisite, stakeholders need to focus on how to benefit students by promoting best practices of all teachers rather than profiling non-natives. Furthermore, discussing the native-non-native dichotomy as part of teacher education, particularly with modern language teacher-candidates, will raise awareness of non-native bias and barriers and, in doing so, help promote their elimination.

The challenge of addressing culture as a non-native speaker could be remedied by teachers' increased collaboration with respect to resources, knowledge, and strategies. Establishing an online bank of language and culture-related sites available for both teaching and/or academic purposes (similar to those found within university language department web sites) would facilitate this as would establishing an online blog concerning addressing and integrating culture in individual teaching contexts. Outlining suggested resources for target culture(s) in online curriculum documents would provide relevant secondary sources, particularly for those lacking target culture knowledge and/or experience. Other implications for practice include the need to organise the means to enable language teachers' ease of accessing and reviewing more complex linguistic and cultural resources for classroom use. Incorporating issues and strategies involved in addressing and teaching the target culture within modern language pedagogy courses in teacher education, including those related to

¹⁵⁴ Credit for this recommendation is given to Kathleen who reported her admiration of this practice by Spanish language teacher-colleagues in her department at the time of this study.

both Asian *and* European target languages in the Lower Mainland context would proactively assist candidates.

Although native teacher advantages with respect to cultural knowledge have been examined in the literature at various times (Davies, 2003; McNeill, 1993; Inbar, 2001; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Seidlhofer, 1996) including subconscious knowledge of rules and intuitive sense of meanings being defined as native advantages, this study advocates that non-native teacher-participants' investment in choosing to acquire the language in most cases within the target culture(s) makes them capable to effectively address it with learners.

11.6 Perspectives on 'Native Speaker'

11.6.1 Its Meaning and Relevance

Participants defined the term 'native speaker' as a common, useful reference to an individual who had socially acquired rather than academically learned a language from birth or as a young child in a target culture and/or in the home. Based on this, participants believed that they could not attain native status as learners later in life. Focal participant KD described and rejected the term as a "myth" and, although he reported his preference to eliminate its use, reported that it was a practical, common term of convenience for one's first language.

Overall, participants described how the term was multifaceted in their Lower Mainland and other multilingual contexts as many learners (including participants themselves) used various languages for different purposes and were competent or becoming so in more than one language. Defining the term was also reported as more complicated with respect to Asian languages, given the cultural knowledge required to acquire literacy with respect to Chinese characters. Chinese language participants, for example, provided examples of colleagues and learners who were native readers rather than native speakers of Mandarin as well as examples of fluent speakers who needed development with respect to Chinese character literacy.

In relation to self, the term 'native speaker' for 18 of the 22 participants resonated with self-identification as a native English speaker.¹⁵⁵ Though the remaining four were

¹⁵⁵ The exceptions were a Canadian-born participant of Greek heritage as well as three others who had immigrated to Canada later in life from Poland, Slovakia, and Hong Kong.

fluent in English, they stressed how the social environment of acquisition, acceptance, as well as a strong preference and need for expressing states of emotion and humour in their non-English native language were contributing factors to their stronger affiliation with their first, native language.

Focal participant KD's rejection of the term 'native speaker' resonated with others in the literature who viewed this and related terms as inaccurate and inappropriate given the multidimensional links existing between people and languages (Kachru, 1992; Rampton, 1990) and view of the traditional distinction between native and non-native as non-functional and in need for a displacement of terms such as 'native speaker' and 'mother tongue'.

The perspectives of many participants in this study supported a "reality definition" proposed by Davies (2003) that includes those who acquired the language through school as a lingua franca, being an exceptional learner, or long term residence in a target language country (p. 214) and a 'blurring' of the traditional native-non-native distinction (e.g., Kachru, 1992, Rampton, 1990).

The participants' experiences also resonated with Davies' (2003) assertion that membership in a speech community is determined by non-natives' assumption of confidence and identity. Many participants shared that they lacked the confidence to assume that they had the same linguistic competence as a native or equivalent speaker. Even those participants who reported excellent/native-like proficiency stated that because the language had not been a part of their (earlier) socialisation they could not identify with being a native of the language and its culture.

Yet their views also simultaneously resonated with the proposal in Arva and Medgyes (2000) that natives and non-natives are "two different species" in that they differ in terms of language proficiency and teaching behaviour.

11.6.2 Native as Resource versus Authority

The native speaker as a linguistic and cultural resource versus authority and gatekeeper/judge emerged across cases in this study in the context of a variety of relationships including those with: colleagues, learners, community volunteers/guests, spouses, and family or social contacts.

Native colleagues served as resources and authorities and when mutual respect existed between them and non-native participants, these roles co-existed and positively

impacted participants. The role of (critical) authority had particularly negative implications in some cases. Participants, such as Anne, with lower self-reported proficiency levels indicated that this critical authority role represented a source of significant tension and stress.

Some participants accessed native and/or heritage learners as a linguistic model or resource with varying degrees of effectiveness due to interest and peer influence. The expectation for these learners to serve as peer tutors somewhat offset the aforementioned obstacles. Accessing them as a cultural resource was reported as a more positive and successful experience. As gatekeeper/judge, these learners figured most prominently in KD's case (Korean) as well as in some European language contexts.

Community volunteers were regularly accessed by Japanese language participants as a resource, linguistically and culturally, to support and enrich their programs. Some also found that occasional native and heritage guest speakers represented an invaluable resource, modelling spontaneous adult interaction in the language, for example.

Native-speaker spouses and social contacts provided access to the language and culture and represented a key linguistic and cultural resource for some. Beyond informal conversations, some participants reported deliberately soliciting their input for tasks such as proofreading self-designed instructional materials as well as in assessing the written work of highly proficient learners. Participants generally found that use of the language with a native spouse and/or interaction within a diaspora community increased confidence in teaching the language and culture.

The cases in this study somewhat reflected perspectives in the literature promoting collegiality or unity in lieu of competitiveness or isolation of native versus non-native teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Medgyes, 1999; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Soriano, 2004). When there was mutual respect between native and non-natives teachers in this study, the role of the native as resource and authority positively coexisted and resulted in collegiality and collaboration for the benefit of learners.

Participants' experience with the native as resource versus authority via their learners, spouses, and social contacts, as well as speech community volunteers and guests were, overall, more harmonious and congenial. Thus, although not teacher-colleagues, these parties' role reflected the spirit of unity between native and non-native teachers advocated in the literature indicated above as well as Medgyes' (1999) recognition of the value that

natives can bring as linguistic models. However other than with learners where issues of power could come into play, participants relationships with these adult parties were personal or social.¹⁵⁶

As indicated, besides authority and gatekeeper, natives represented a resource to participants in this study and this role is further encouraged. Participants reported that the inclusion of and access to native community guests enriched the language learning classroom. However, extending this practice to include bilingual/multilingual guests would be beneficial and more inclusive and progressive as reflective of the purpose of and findings in this study. Involving and continuing to promote native learners and proficient heritage learners as a resource as peer helpers and tutors would continue to benefit the language classroom and, in particular, help raise the status of lower English proficiency learners in the school. Doing so would enable these tutors to contribute a valuable much-needed resource such as in Nancy's case as sole Mandarin teacher of a multi-year program in a school lacking homework support for Mandarin language learners.¹⁵⁷

11.6.3 Native Speaker as Teacher

Participants generally acknowledged that the native as teacher was potentially an effective linguistic model though not necessarily and readily an effective teacher. Regardless of teacher native/non-native status, participants voiced the view that language teacher training or other equivalent experience, as well as acquisition of an(y) additional language, was most helpful as a prerequisite to understanding and effectively teaching emerging bilingual or multilingual individuals. Though some participants indicated their preference for native speakers as language teachers due to personal learning experience and/or political factors in their context, they and others highlighted the strengths and advantages of the trained, proficient non-native teacher.

In terms of the native as teacher, this study, in part, confirmed Seidlhofer's (1996) warning against "an automatic extrapolation from competent speaker to competent teacher based on linguistic grounds alone, without taking into consideration the criteria of cultural,

¹⁵⁶ Many participants shared their policy and/or expectation that native and highly proficient heritage learners serve as peer tutors, linguistic and cultural resources, and/or help provide in-class support. In some cases, including Pavel's for Russian, this policy and/or expectation was formalised and tied to the learners' overall evaluation and grade. This aspect of the teacher-student relationship was further unexplored as it was outside the scope of this study.

¹⁵⁷ Nancy reported that at the time of this study there was organised concentrated homework support in place for most other academic areas.

social and pedagogic appropriacy” (p. 69). Participants’ perspectives concerning this theme contributed to the position that the sociocultural turn in SLA research and increasing number of multilingual, multicultural speakers internationally continue to challenge the validity of the native speaker (only) model for foreign language study (Kramsch, 1997). Participants reported disappointment that their strengths as trained and competent language teachers often went unrecognised by different stakeholders.

Based on observation, experience, and/or acquired secondary knowledge, this study’s non-native participants reported similar advantages of the native teacher in terms of language and cultural knowledge as examined by Davies (2003) and others (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Gill & Rebrova, 2001; Inbar, 2001; McNeill, 1993; Seidlhofer, 1996). Consistently cited as core advantages for teaching and modelling the language, these consisted of fluency, creative use of language, and a subconscious knowledge of rules and intuitive sense of meanings.

11.7 Perspectives on Asian and European Language Teaching and Learning

11.7.1 Language Teaching

Asian language participants found that teaching orthography presented distinct challenges as a non-native teacher as well as with respect to learners’ overall experience with it. For participants, accurately presenting and assessing Chinese characters was of concern as was continuing to master them more fully. They found that extra preparation for related lessons and caution when assessing these were useful strategies as was accessing various learners’ background knowledge of characters for presentation in class. Computer technology was also used by some to eliminate orthography as an obstacle for themselves as well as learners in using the language.

Participants found that with experience they gained insight into identifying challenges particular to different language groups of learners encountered in acquiring Chinese characters as well as relevant strategies. Multilingual participants such as Clover accessed their range of languages to scaffold learners’ progress in orthography, and she reported highlighting differences among Asian language orthographies.

Teaching orthography was not highlighted to nearly the same extent by participants teaching European languages. Some European language participants such as Bernadette and Linda, however, reflected on the need to improve this aspect of *their* Romance languages for

themselves in order that it be more congruently aligned with their reported high oral proficiency.

However, participants in secondary contexts *across languages* emphasised the fact that learners' success on provincial standard examinations required sound orthographic knowledge and skills due to the examinations' focus on these at the time of this study. Although provincial curriculum across languages outlined objectives and activities for writing across grade levels, aspects of orthography for Asian languages were generally outlined in greater detail across grade levels in terms of strategies for teaching characters and their cultural significance.

Participants found that accurate pronunciation was highly relevant to teaching the language in terms of modelling and was a basic prerequisite for language access outside class, though was somewhat of a problematic aspect of the language to acquire in the classroom.¹⁵⁸ They indicated that teaching pronunciation presented challenges for various reasons including: learners' linguistic background and experience as well as their learning style(s), relative higher priority of other aspects of the program, and learner access to proficient modelling of the language throughout the program. In some cases learners gained access to practice via online or dedicated software means. Many found that personal stories about pronunciation errors they had made enriched and entertained while providing instruction in this aspect of the language.

Overall, participants who had had longer-term intensive experiences in the target culture(s) reported higher levels of confidence in the accuracy of their pronunciation. Together with the ability to think in the language, they indicated that accurate pronunciation represented a mark of passage or threshold in terms of proficiency and, hence, competence.

Although language variety was an issue across cases in this study, Asian language participants found that gender added another dimension to this issue whereas European language participants reported addressing this issue primarily with respect to regional standards. Japanese language participants adopted approaches to address gender ranging from the use of media and modelling a male versus female form of the language, to sharing related anecdotes from their experience. Asian language participants indicated that they also

¹⁵⁸ As touched on earlier, visible non-native teachers' accuracy in pronunciation did not automatically result in access.

modelled and discussed socially appropriate language as per the culture in recognition of its importance in language acquisition and use. Presenting colloquial and other forms of the language was also reported across languages and incorporated through anecdotes and modelling. Irrespective of language, those with longer-term experiences in the target culture or regular ongoing access at the time of this study reported more readily adjusting and modelling their language use in terms of variety.

Participants in secondary school contexts called for qualified specialists in lieu of generalist teachers for modern language teaching to ensure that learners would have access to proficient speakers of the language as well as to ensure pedagogically sound programs.

This study indirectly contributes to the discussion inspired by Duff and Li's (2004) study about the applicability of findings in European to non-European language contexts. In this study, the teaching and learning of non-European languages involved particular challenges in teaching aspects of the language due to typological differences between the target language and English. Asian language participants generally indicated that their L2 use at the time of this study was at the maximum possible, largely given the type of language they were teaching in relation to English which is consistent with findings in Duff & Polio (1990). They also reported that English/L2 differences including orthography had a strong impact on their language use in terms of favouring L1 especially due to concepts in the L2 lacking cognates in English as also reported in Polio and Duff (1994). Although participants teaching European languages in this study identified language type as a factor that impacted language use in favour of the L2, they indicated that assumed transfer sometimes led to confusion or errors in communication (e.g., for German vocabulary resembling that of English).

However, participants reported that multilingual learners, speaking related yet different Asian languages encountered other challenges in studying Asian target languages. Thus, this study contributes to disseminating non-native teachers' perspectives on their experience teaching (and learning) Asian languages in English-speaking school contexts, an area that is very underrepresented in the research.

Linguistic challenges and aspects of concern involved in teaching the language reported by non-native participants in this study resonate with those discussed and reported by others (Amin, 1997, 1999; Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Seidlhofer,

1996; Thomas, 1999). As in this study, pronunciation was seen by non-native teachers as a problem area in some studies and they were concerned about transmitting errors and inappropriate usage to learners (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Consistent with Jenkins' (1998) finding for English non-native teachers, some participants in this study reported being adequately prepared in how to address issues pertaining to oral proficiency including pronunciation and attributed their specialised training (i.e. graduate level training in language pedagogy or other equivalent) as having had a large impact here.

As seen in this study, participants overall were highly aware and well qualified to teach about language variety with respect to national and regional standard, gender, and socially appropriate forms of address. They addressed some aspects of language variety in their contexts explicitly while others were addressed implicitly when challenged by native or heritage learners about their language use (e.g., standard versus non-standard vocabulary use). Some participants in this study conveyed their difficulties in teaching colloquial expressions and appropriacy, which was consistent with some studies (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Reves & Medgyes, 1994).¹⁵⁹

As was the case in some of the literature pertaining to English non-native teachers (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 1999), in this study non-native teachers' role of teacher and learner had a positive outcome on the creation of their programs which included the promotion of various perspectives. Asian language non-native participants expressed alternative perspectives on teaching orthography, usually in contrast to those of native colleague-peers and stakeholders, with the aim of making choices based on what was best for learners in their program context. Though perspectives and concepts proposed in the literature have promoted collegiality or unity in lieu of competitiveness or pigeonholing/isolation of native versus non-native teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Medgyes, 1999; Soriano, 2004), non-native participants in this study reported varying degrees of native-non-native cooperation overall but this was tenuous with respect to orthography.

¹⁵⁹ In this study, participants reporting this as an area of difficulty in teaching also had had no or very limited experience in the target culture. The reference to these studies in the literature is to illustrate common areas of difficulty in teaching as a non-native language teacher and it is acknowledged that there are other individual and contextual factors at play.

11.7.2 Contextual Aspects of Teaching the Language

In some Asian language teaching contexts, participants' were challenged on and negotiated their approach to teaching orthography on a regular, ongoing basis. In particular, those teaching secondary-level Mandarin reported that native teacher-colleagues and parents advocated for the teaching of traditional characters in Mandarin based on their learning experience and political reasons.

Secondary level participants found that high-stakes standardised examinations prioritised the teaching of reading and writing as a focus in preparing learners to the detriment of listening and conversation oral-based activities.¹⁶⁰ This seemed to be exacerbated in Asian language contexts due to English and the target language belonging to linguistically and culturally distant language families. As well, across levels, participants indicated that learners' ability to use the language communicatively was the main purpose of their course and relayed that, as previous learners, this had been either their main source of enjoyment *or* had been completely lacking in their language learning.¹⁶¹ In addition, in some cases participants' status was tied to learners' success here.¹⁶² Though they were concerned about the impact of exam preparation taking time away from conversational language use in class, participants reported that, with increased teaching experience, a holistic approach to language teaching provided learners with growth in their overall language skills and abilities synergistically.¹⁶³ However, participants generally expressed surprise and disappointment that oral and listening skills were not assessed on these high stakes examinations at the time of this study despite their inclusion as areas of linguistic and pedagogical importance in the curriculum.¹⁶⁴

Rather, teacher models as bilingual/multilingual non-natives including heritage speakers were suggested in this study by participants as a priority for language teaching and learning. Asian language participants called for more heritage and non-native learners to

¹⁶⁰ Secondary level participants reported that the value of these examinations was 40% of the course grade at the time of this study.

¹⁶¹ KD (Korean) was a notable exception to this and emphasised learners' need to the target culture for oral practice as well as to apply strategies taught in class.

¹⁶² i.e. In private school settings

¹⁶³ It should be noted that most participants such as Nancy and Doreen who relayed this observation provided continuity in learners' program in that they taught the range of levels offered at the school.

¹⁶⁴ As indicated earlier in chapter 9, this has been somewhat remedied for some modern languages taught in the B.C. school system.

become Asian language teachers in that their bilingual/multilingual identities would reflect and provide more relevant models for the many such learners in these contexts. European language participants supported the prerequisite of language teachers having had second or additional language learning experience, regardless of background, to empathetically relate to learners as well as to better inform their language teaching practices.

Participants who were non-native minority teachers found that this made it more difficult to negotiate their teacher identity and language and other practices, and this was particularly the case for *visible* minority participants in Asian language teaching contexts.¹⁶⁵ Native colleagues' and learners' (including parents' in some cases) largely critical response to their ability to teach the language resulted in participants' reflection on their identity and questioning of their language teaching role and practices. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, participants shared how they had arrived at the belief that they were qualified, competent teachers with non-native advantages though they listened to these responses as contextual information that was culturally-based. As well, some Asian language participants at the university level shared their belief based on the observation that the positive responses they sometimes received were in proportion to their demonstrated knowledge and proficiency of the language and culture but that it would still, nevertheless, be difficult to fully attain an equivalent level of knowledge and proficiency possessed by an educated and experienced native teacher. Though less prominently and in fewer cases, participants' non-native minority status in some European language contexts also impacted their self-concept. Tense relations and limited, constrained communication with native colleagues limited participants' use of the language as well as full participation in their context.

Increased awareness of the diverse linguistic backgrounds learners bring to the language classroom should guide policy and pedagogy. Thus, in curriculum and program policies, emphasising diversity in learners' background with respect to the orthography, pronunciation, and language variety of the language being taught is necessary to highlight these for teachers, whether non-native or native.

In order to address the above and something that was already being done in some contexts in this study, learners should be streamed, either formally and/or informally, where

¹⁶⁵ Non-native minority status refers to non-native teachers as a minority in a mainly native speaker context (e.g. Anne, Kathleen).

there are significant proportions of native or proficient heritage language learners (and possibly speakers of other Asian languages for orthography). Doing so would enable more effective and efficient use of teacher time as well as minimise the challenge of addressing learners' self-comparisons and perceptions with respect to more proficient peers' ability particularly during earlier stages of acquisition.

Perspectives on standardised exams in this study reflected a number of concerns and raise a number of questions. In terms of course policy, considering the purpose of a course is in order. Is the course driven by an academic exam-driven objective or is communicating in the language the main purpose? Are both possible in the course timeframe that exists? And, if communicating in the language is an important part of the course why was this not included and assessed on high-stakes standardised exams in most of the contexts examined? These questions are worth reviewing in light of participants' indication that tight course timeframes with respect to objectives was driving some key pedagogical decisions and practices. A case could be made for including listening and speaking on the provincial examination for modern languages given the emphasis on communicating in the language in the curriculum as well as it being in learners' interest.¹⁶⁶ An argument could be made for the need to adjust the proportional weight of 40% for standardised provincial exams at the secondary level if listening and speaking components are excluded.

There is a need for curriculum and program policy to clearly articulate whether courses are academic or practical in nature at different levels given participants' varying interpretations of course purposes and mandates in this study. Doing so would also facilitate teachers' prioritising and implementation of learning objectives. Also, consideration of the number of objectives for Asian relative to European languages is in order given linguistically and culturally diverse orthography relative to learners' academic language of English.

11.8 Further Research

This study's findings are suggestive of further research related to language use including:

- Assessing the role and impact of teachers' language use awareness and effect of feedback/reflection by conducting interviews about language use accompanied with pre-and post-interview video recordings of participants in their classes.

¹⁶⁶ As indicated some modern languages have included these components for some languages.

- Adding to the research on language use which has focused on that of specific European language teaching contexts (i.e. French, some Spanish) research involving first hand classroom observation of language use in Asian language classrooms of non-native as well as native teachers.
- Further considering the question of whether use of the L1 and/or code-switching is used to compensate for a lack of L2 proficiency rather than for learners' benefit.
- Further examining native teachers' target language use and its negotiation in L1 majority contexts, particularly for languages other than English.
- Conducting additional research into how teachers' language use is affected by heritage and native learners in Asian language teaching contexts and how teachers' language use impacts these learners.

Findings based on other themes in this study had implications for further research including:

- Further research pertaining to the identity of visible non-native language teachers in Asian and European language contexts.
- A continued research focus on non-native teachers' accomplishments pedagogically and linguistically given the data in this study and repeated calls in the literature for shifts in perceptions of the strengths and attributes of the non-native versus native teacher.
- Investigating heritage language learners' perspectives on non-native teachers.
- Examining how non-native teachers approach teaching contentious areas such as orthography.

11.9 Reflections on this Research

11.9.1 Reflection on Decisions and Limitations

Although a background questionnaire was also administered, the semi-structured interview was the principal tool used to study participants' experiences. Given the emphasis on language use in this study, it is noteworthy that participants' language teaching and L1-L2 use were not directly observed. As with language use, participants self-assessed and were asked about their proficiency in the language. It is argued that the probability of deliberately misrepresenting their own proficiency, as well as language use, was minimal/low because as

researcher, I brought the benefit of similar non-native status and language teaching experience as fellow, *yet distant*, peer. Thus any comparisons made concerning L1-L2 use and proficiency were made based on self-reported data which, it may be argued, would be of concern in a quantitative study.

Four focal cases were chosen based on the criteria defined earlier. Focusing on four focal participants, regardless of which, posed both a strength and a limitation, in that analysis centred on these with the other 18 cases not emphasised to the same extent. Yet, Anne, Kathleen, Nancy, and KD were the focal participants and represented *diversity* in terms of target language including international status, teaching context, gender, amongst other criteria. With this choice the question arises of how the analysis would have differed with an alternative set of focal participants.

In terms of my role in the research process as a non-native teacher, I could relate to participants' non-native language learning and teaching experience overall yet was able to maintain a degree of objectivity in that I was distant in not having had any local or recent involvement in any of their contexts. I believed that I would be particularly unfamiliar with Asian language teachers' context and was concerned that this would impact my ability to engage in effectively interviewing them. Consequently, I attended symposia concerning Asian language learning and teaching issues and reviewed Asian language teacher blogs and other such discourse on the internet.

As a fellow teacher, this exploratory study confirmed that there were a multitude of factors at play in these non-native teachers' language choices and use and that the interplay amongst them was complicated and exacerbated by factors including language type as well as identity and ownership including visible non-native status. It increased my awareness of issues across languages faced by non-native teachers, particularly those related to orthography and race in Asian language teaching contexts. In terms of language use specifically, I discovered that participants who planned for and anticipated using English as a tool, experienced less angst and tension in doing so as compared to those whose language use was impacted by factors such as fatigue or lack of proficiency and confidence, established linguistic habit, or boundaries. This study confirmed that non-native teachers' experience in using the language in the target culture or elsewhere intensively was a source of confidence and comfort in language use overall. I also discovered that there were other fellow non-

native teachers effectively sharing some of their humbling experiences as language learners with their students to advantage and as part of the human experience in language acquisition. Although I had had experience interviewing (focus groups and market research), the one-on-one interviews for this study were generally more intense and involved requiring judgement in pacing and wording of questions. I honed my interview skills such as recognising when it was time to listen or talk, or follow-up, and I learned to be comfortable with silence as a time for pause or reflection on the part of both participant and researcher.

11.9.2 Interview-based Research

This qualitative study was based mainly on primary data from one-on-one interviews though data from background questionnaires and email correspondence were also used. Conducting interview-based research meant weighing its strengths and limitations relating to how the data was gathered, analysed, and (re)presented. Given the research questions for this exploratory study of non-native of teachers of various European and Asian languages, this research approach presented many advantages. The potential to yield rich qualitative data reflective of people's experience in the area of focus was one. The human aspect and contribution reflected in the interactive exchange of perspectives yielding unique data reflective of collaboration between participant and researcher, particularly in the conceptualisation of the research interview as social practice (Talmy, 2010) was another. As well, interview-based research was relatively more humanising and empowering for participants to voice their experiences and perspectives as in this case in that interviews are a format with which many people are relatively comfortable sharing their experiences rather than being 'studied'.

However, there were some concerns and issues that were consciously considered and weighed in carrying out interview-based research for this study. This included the validity and reliability of the data as well as the potential for researcher bias, distortion, and influence during the interview and in data analysis and reporting. Interview questions therefore underwent considerable revision which included doing some 'pre-interviewing' with other non-native language teachers outside this study. The eventual set of questions better reflected the study's purpose. There is also the argument that interviewer invisibility in representing and analysing interview data in the interview as research instrument approach, has resulted in a lack of acknowledgement of their role and impact (Talmy, 2010). Talmy

argues that there is often a lack of attention to issues associated with power in how the interview unfolds, which data is presented, as well as in relation to differences in status and experience between interviewer and interviewee. The researcher screens, edits, filters data resulting in the question as to what was omitted and why. As well, overreliance on recurring examples rather than questioning those that were outliers or unique was a concern, which was exacerbated with the use of focal participants.

Acknowledging the data as co-produced by the researcher and interviewee conceptualises the interview as social practice (Talmy, 2010) and language as social interaction (Demo, 2010) and includes methods of analysis such as discourse analysis. Talmy (2010) argues that ideology and theoretical assumptions have not been critically considered in qualitative applied linguistics' interview research practices in contrast to other disciplines (i.e. in framing research questions, data collection, and analysis).

I viewed the interview data in this study as having the potential to provide a multiple case study account of non-native teachers' experiences and I openly shared my language teaching/learning background and experience with participants. During the interviews, some participants asked about my perspectives pertaining to language use and/or the native speaker in language teaching and other related questions including linguistic background. This interchange was part of the interview and I believe that it facilitated some participants more openly sharing views and experiences after/while listening to mine. However, as part of my thematic analysis, my contributions were not explicitly included in analysing and presenting the data since this study's focus was on participants' experiences and perspectives. Stake (2006) was used in organising, reflecting upon, and analysing the interview data systematically and critically, and this source was a useful reference in this regard as well as in assessing the prominence and utility of cases.

In terms of differences in status and experience between interviewer and interviewee in terms of the issue of power, these varied. Table 11.1 below provides a picture of some of the aspects of participants' status.

Table 11.1: Summary of Participants' Status

Status	European Languages	Asian Languages	Total
Certified Teachers	8	7	15
University Faculty	1	1	2
University Instructors	1	1	2
Graduate Student Teaching Assistants	1	2	3

As seen above, most participants were similar to my status as a certified teacher and graduate student with post-secondary language teaching experience. Therefore with the majority of participants I shared similar status and/or experience as a peer without being a colleague. The greatest difference in status between researcher and participant was in two cases of university faculty participants. However, what is more significant is that these, as well as participants overall, were interested in anonymously sharing their experiences as non-native language teachers. As well, I propose that the diversity in participants' status was an advantage in studying non-native language teachers' across a variety of teaching and learning contexts.

Although many of the interviews took place within participants' teaching context or their actual classroom the learners and administrators were not interviewed.¹⁶⁷ As such, data pertaining to them in this study is from secondary sources as it originated from participants' accounts. Though this study did not include triangulated perspectives (Duff, 2008), it encompassed interviews with 22 non-native participants teaching a diverse variety of Asian and European languages in various contexts, ranging from elementary to post-secondary in both public and private school settings, which contributed to the validity of the data produced.

11.10 Closing Remarks

While proficiency was considered to be one factor in teachers' language teaching effectiveness and a basic prerequisite for language use patterns in class, this study revealed that it was not the sole factor in determining these non-native teacher-participants'

¹⁶⁷ A few participants chose to ask learners present coincidentally about their point of view for some questions.

effectiveness and success as reflected in the non-native teacher strengths and advantages presented. These non-native participants acknowledged that though they faced challenges as non-natives, their self-recognition of their advantages including language ownership as bilingual/multilingual individuals was a source of strength in asserting their identity as target language teachers and speakers. The use of L1-L2 boundaries or zones largely reflected language use choices and practices that were deliberate and strategic.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Teacher Interview Questions

Study: The Non-native Speaking Modern Language Teacher (NNSMLT): Experiences, Challenges, and Perspectives

Questions 1-6 self and L2, 7+ program, policy, strategy, and attrition issues.

1. Please describe the circumstances leading to your acquisition of this second (L2) or third (L3) language ? How was this language acquired?
2. How would you describe your accent in speaking this language? Why this variety?
3. How would you describe the term ‘native speaker’?

How do you see yourself as a speaker of this language? (lifelong learner, role model, authority, NS, near-NS, non-NS with much knowledge, etc.)

How do you present yourself to your students?

How do you compare yourself to the ‘native speaker’ for this language?

If applicable i.e. L2 learner role mentioned: How do you manage the dual roles of teacher as L2 role model and L2 learner?

4. Which language do you use with native speakers in social settings? In the classroom?

With native speaking colleagues at your teaching site?

Please tell me about the mix or proportion number of NS relative to NNS speakers in your program context.

5. What professional development (PD) is available to you as a teacher of this language? As a learner/speaker of this language?

What are your PD needs at this time in teaching this language? How are these being addressed?

What PD activities have you been involved with?

6. Why did you become a teacher of this language?

Teacher Interview Questions (cont'd)

7. What are the linguistic and cultural objectives for your students in the program you teach?

What is your policy concerning first-second language (L1-L2) use?

What is your department's/school's policy concerning L1-L2 use?

How do you motivate students to use the target language?

Do you use this target language outside of the classroom?

Where and when do you use this language outside of the classroom? How often?

Please provide approximate percentage of time and hours per week? For which activities?

8. Do you find yourself speaking a different type of L2 (i.e. modified e.g. simplified version)?

If so, where, and with whom?

9. Please describe the teaching methodology you use.

Which methodology or methodologies do you prefer to use?

What has shaped this choice and preference of methodology?

To what extent has your years of experience shaped that?

10. Which strategies have you found to be most effective in teaching this language?

What is the most difficult aspect of teaching this language to your students? Why?

What, for you, was the most challenging element/aspect of learning this language? Your students?

Why? How do you help students overcome this challenge?

11. Are there any students in your class(es) who are native or near-native speakers of this target language? How do you address their needs?

Any native-speaking parents of students? Any discussions with them regarding your proficiency in the target language?

Teacher Interview Questions
(cont'd)

12. How do you incorporate the teaching of culture in your class(es)?

13. What has been the greatest contributing factor (or factors) to your effectiveness as a second or foreign language teacher? Why?

What do you see as your greatest challenge in your second or foreign language context? Why?

14. What are the qualities (pedagogical, linguistic) necessary for the successful second or foreign language teacher?

15. What are your plans with respect to this profession?

16. What would you like to add with respect to your overall experience? Anything else to share?

In all cases, ask participants to give examples (of a situation, incident). Probe with why or how, etc.?

Thank you very much!

Appendix B: Transcription Conventions

[Current speaker's talk overlapped by another's (other party's talk indented).
=	Sentence or thought cut off or completed by other speaker (no overlap).
-	Sentence or thought is unfinished by speaker due to their own accord.
...	Deleted material for reporting purposes based on relevance to topic at hand, and speech utterances reflective of pausing or thinking aloud.
<u> </u>	Spoken emphasis
CAPITAL	Speech that is louder than the rest of the interview.
"..."	Reported speech of another party.
(())	Author's descriptions pertaining to and relevant to interaction.
(empty)	Author's inability to hear what was said.
(word)	Possible, likely hearings
.,?;:	Punctuation indicates speaker's intonation.

Based on: Gubrium & Holstein (2001)

Appendix C: Informed Consent Background Information

Title of Study: The Non-native Speaking Modern Language Teacher (NNSMLT): Experiences, Challenges, and Perspectives

Principal Investigator

Dr. Patricia Duff
Associate Professor
Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
604-822-9693

Co-investigator

Sabina Grodde
M.A. Student
Language and Literacy Education
Faculty of Education
604-000-0000

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine non-native speaking modern language teachers' (NNSMLTs) teaching and learning experiences in the modern language classroom. The study will ask you as a non-native speaking modern language teacher about your experiences, challenges, and perspectives concerning second or foreign language teaching and learning. Data will be analysed for themes related to issues faced by non-native speaking teachers using and teaching their second or additional language. The results of this research study will be published as a graduate thesis as part of an M.A. degree and, possibly, in professional or academic journals with no reference to participants by their actual names.

Study Procedures

Your participation will involve being interviewed by myself, Sabina Grodde, co-investigator for this study, master of Arts student in the Department of Language and Literacy Education and second language teacher. During your interview you will be asked to reflect on and discuss your experiences as a modern language teacher of your second or additional language to help us understand your perspectives with respect to language teaching and learning. Interviews will be audio taped to ensure accurate recording of responses and to verify data. At that time you will also be asked to respond to some questions about your linguistic and pedagogical background. For those who agree, you will be asked to share your program/course outlines. This study is not an evaluation of teachers' performance, their program, nor school or institution.

Participation or Non-participation

Please be aware that your right not to participate in this study is respected. Participants are free to withdraw from the project at any time without any negative consequences.

Consent Form page 1 of 4
03/09/30 version

Confidentiality

Participants will not be identified by name and pseudonyms will be used to refer to the university/school, course, and all teachers in any reports of the completed study. Audio-tapes and transcribed and other documents will be kept in a secure filing cabinet and will be identified by a code number. Data records will also kept on a computer floppy disk and a backup disk copy will be made; these will also be identified by code number. The co-investigator (myself) and the principal investigator, Dr. P. Duff, will have access to the data.

Benefit to Participants/Compensation

Teachers who agree to be interviewed will be offered a gift certificate of \$15 at the conclusion of their interview. Language teachers may also welcome an opportunity to discuss their teaching and linguistic experiences with a modern language teacher colleague undertaking graduate work in Modern Language Education.

Future Uses of Data

Data for this study will not be destroyed at the completion of the study. They will only be used for the purposes outlined in this consent form, as directly related to this study. Data will be kept in a secure location in the co-investigator's office and may be used for publications related to modern language teaching and learning. The data will not be used for other purposes without the consent of teacher participants.

Time Requirement

Participants will be asked to dedicate 1.5 - 2 hours for their interview.

Contact Information

If you have any questions or desire further information or feedback with respect to this study, you may contact Sabina Grodde at -----@----- or (604) 000-0000.

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the University of British Columbia Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598.

Consent

If you are willing to participate please indicate your consent to do so by reviewing and completing the attached forms.

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

**Title of Study: The Non-native Speaking Modern Language Teacher (NNSMLT):
Experiences, Challenges, and Perspectives**

If you are willing to participate in this study, please fill in the information below. Please keep a signed copy of page 3 for your own records as well as information pages 1-2.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of the participant signing above.

Please keep this copy for your own records.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

**Title of Study: The Non-native Speaking Modern Language Teacher (NNSMLT):
Experiences, Challenges, and Perspectives**

If you are willing to participate in this study, please fill in the information below. Please keep a signed copy of page 3 for your own records as well as information pages 1-2.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature

Date

Printed Name of the participant signing above.

Please return this page to the interviewer.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Consent Form page 4 of 4
03/09/30 version

Appendix D: Background Questionnaire

Study: The Non-native Speaking Modern Language Teacher (NNSMLT): Experiences, Challenges, and Perspectives

Pseudonym _____

Background Questionnaire

1. I am or have been a modern language teacher of the _____ language for _____ years .
(if you teach more than one language, please indicate additional language(s) with respective number of years in the space below).
2. I am a teacher at the:
elementary level _____ grade(s) _____
secondary level _____ grade(s) _____
university level _____
college level _____
3. What is the proficiency level of this language for the class(es) you teach?
(please determine this level for each class you teach)
beginner _____
intermediate _____
advanced _____
4. What is your nationality or ethnic background? _____
5. What is your L1 (first language(s) or mother tongue(s))? _____
6. How much do you currently use your L1? Please check your response:
never _____
seldom _____
sometimes _____
often _____
always _____
7. Please indicate the age at which you first gained exposure to your L2 (and any other additional languages). _____
8. Where (which country or countries) did you acquire your L2? In which context (school, work, etc.)?

Teacher Background Questions page 1 of 3
03/09/30 version

Background Questions
(cont'd)

9. How would you describe your overall L2 proficiency? Please circle your response:

- Needing much additional development
- Adequate, though needing some development
- Good
- Very good
- High/Near native-like
- Excellent/Native-like

10. Please respond to the following statements with respect to your L2 use and activities in the classroom.

		Strongly Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly Agree
1.	It is acceptable to explain difficult or abstract concepts or points in students' L1.				
2.	I consistently use the L2 with my students.				
3.	I encourage my students to pursue target language and cultural experiences outside the classroom.				
4.	When seeing that my students are having difficulty understanding the L2, I switch to their L1.				
5.	I reward students for using the target language.				

Background Questions
(cont'd)

11. Please respond to the following statements with respect to your L2 use and activities outside the classroom.

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.	I comprehend proficient users of this L2 including native speakers.				
2.	I can write extensively in this L2 in a variety of forms from personal letters to reports and compositions.				
3.	I can communicate in various settings about a range of topics with few or no grammatical errors.				
4.	I read and listen to various forms of L2 media: newspaper articles, magazines, web sites, novels, radio, television. Please underline those, if any, that apply.				
5.	I actively participate in social or professional discussions about my area of work or study.				

Thank you very much!

Appendix E: Coding: Categories and Coding Example

Categories

Native Speaker Definition (perspectives)
Native Speaker Comparison
L1-L2 Beliefs
L2 Use-students
L2 Use-peers
L2-Use-parents
L2 Modification
Grammar
PD Available
PD Needs
Local Familiarity with Context/Student Rapport
Preferred Methodology
Teaching Culture as Non-native (advantages)
L2 Teaching Strategies/Advice
L2 Role Model
L2 Learner Empathy
Identity
Personal Impact
Motivation of Students (general)
L2 Motivation
NNST as Strength
Native Acceptance
Native as Authority
Native as Resource
Native as Model
L2 of Choice
Mistaken for Native (reactions)
Linguistic Ceiling (in/out of class)
Power/Politics
Vocabulary-challenges
Pronunciation
Preferred Affiliation
Native/Heritage Students
Target Language Promotion
Keeping up/Improving the Language
Covering Curriculum Using L2
Proficiency (status quo)
Proficiency Questioned
Generalists' Proficiency
ESL Students
Teaching Culture (challenges)
Standardised Examinations

Coding Example from Anne's Transcript (French)

Transcription Page:

Researcher (R): That you wouldn't mind sharing?

Anne (A): Um, actually when I teaching at a school, and uh, I wanted to get into the area of teaching French ...

R: Oh so you were teaching English?

A: I was teaching some other courses, English and some other courses. And...um, and I know I'm not the only one who's had this experience because a few of us in that same District or area have discussed this in regards to the same grouping of people. But um, the people sort of in charge of the French program were native speaking...and

R: Program, at the school?

A: At the school. And, when they found out there were just straight FSL learning ... teachers coming in to teach the FSL program ... um, they were not very pleased and so anytime we would speak in the staffroom or in a meeting, we would get corrected all the time with our grammar and words that we might be saying and we just learned not to say anything because it was rather embarrassing to have another colleague correcting you. I mean you wouldn't do that to someone in English. So why is it okay to do that in French or any other language? And it really put a lot of the people off in that District in terms of ... just wanting to speak, outside of the classroom situation.

R: I see. Would they, would the native speakers always add you in French though?

A: Um, no actually unless we were in a meeting or in a sc...ng or unless we initiated it, they would always speak English to us, yeah.

R: And maybe they were doing that with everyone so?

A: Oh yeah. Um...but even if we tried to initiate in French times they would just switch over to English too because I think they felt it was just easie hem or, you know, they didn't like the pace of the conversation. Like we really...FF ke we were looked down upon because we weren't at that level of proficiency that the e.

R: And it sounds like there were quite a few of FSL - these teachers at your school? So I mean=

A: =Yeah. They're at other schools now but, at the time=

Anne

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Categories noted in margin of highlighted transcript passage by researcher:

Native Acceptance
L2 Use-peers
Power/Politics
Native as Authority

Appendix F: Themes of the Multi-case Study with Categories per Theme

Theme 1: L1 versus L2 use in the classroom: Policy, Practices, Values, Beliefs, and Rationale
L2 Use-students
L2 Modification
Local Familiar./Student Rapport
L2 Teaching Strategies
Challenges (curriculum coverage in L2, proficiency, emphasis on exams, FSL generalists' proficiency, local familiarity with students and context, native/heritage studs, language promotion)
L2 Role Model
L1-L2 Beliefs
Impact
L2 Motivation
NS as model
L2 of choice
Being Mistook for Native
Linguistic Ceiling
Vocabulary
Value/Importance of pronunciation

Note: Numerous categories representing participant challenges are grouped accordingly in this table for simplicity and due to space. Examples of categories relating to challenge include: pronunciation, orthography, native acceptance, native/heritage students, target language promotion, keeping up/improving the language, covering curriculum using L2, proficiency status, proficiency questioned, ESL students, teaching culture, and standardised examinations.

Theme 2: Non-native Teacher Contributions

L2 Teaching Strategies-key
Grammar,
Local Familiar./Student Rapport, - key
Challenges (TL Promotion),
L2 Role Model,
L2 Learner Empathy,
L2 Motivation
Impact,
L2 Motivation,
NNST as strength

Theme 3: 'Legitimacy' and Ownership of the Language

Questionnaire responses Table I&J re: TL use outside the classroom, background data in tables
Grammar,
Challenges (own proficiency, generalists' proficiency, NS students, TL Promotion),
L2 Role Model,
Identity,
Local Fam/Student Rapport-key
NS as Authority,
NS acceptance,
NS as model,
NNST as strength
Being mistook for NS
L2 Motivation
L2 of choice
value/imp of pronunciation,
Affiliation
L2 use-peers
*Power/Politics

Theme 4: Affiliation and Identity
NS Comp, L2-Use students L2 Use-peers, L2 Use-parents, L2 Role Model, L2 motivation key Identity, NNST as strength, Being mistook for NS Affiliation L2 modification Challenges
Theme 5: Native Speaker: Linguistic and Cultural Resource and Model versus Authority and Judge/Gatekeeper
NS Definition, NS Comparison L2 of Choice L2 Use-parents, NS as Authority, NS acceptance, NS as a resource, NS as model Challenges L2 Use-Students L2 modification L2 teaching strategies
Theme 6: Addressing Culture
Questionnaire response re: encouraging students to pursue experiences outside classroom Culture, L2 Teaching Strategies Challenges Local Familiarity/Student Rapport Identity, Impact, Motivation of students, NNST as strength, NS as a resource, L2 of choice L2 Motivation

<p>Theme 7: Language Use: Maintenance/Improvement versus Fossilisation Tables I & J re TL Use and Activities outside the classroom L2 Use-peers, L2 Use-parents, L2 Modification, L2 Teaching Strategies PD Avail, PD Needs, Challenges (L2 Fossilisation, own proficiency), L2 Role Model, Identity, Linguistic ceiling (teaching beginner-intermediate level), Vocabulary, value/imp of pronunciation L2 role model L2 use students</p>
<p>Theme 8: Challenges to and Questioning of Proficiency and Qualifications L2 Use-parents, Challenges (Proficiency Questioned, NS students), key L2 Role Model Identity, NS as Authority, NS acceptance, Vocabulary, Value/Importance of pronunciation Power/Politics</p>
<p>Theme 9: Is there a linguistic ‘glass ceiling’ for Non-native Teachers in terms of levels taught and opportunities, and access to the language? Challenges Linguistic ceiling key L2 Use-Students</p>
<p>Theme 10: Teaching Heritage and Native including ESL Learners versus ‘True Beginners’ L2 Use-students, L2 Modification, L2 Teaching Strategies, Challenges (ESL Studs, local familiar. w studs and context, NS studs, TL promotion), L2 Role Model, L1-L2 Beliefs, Impact, Motivation of students, L2 Motivation, NNST as strength, L2 of choice key NS as resource Preferred Methodology</p>
<p>Theme 11: Asian and European Contexts Challenges L2 Teaching Strategies</p>

Appendix G: Prominence of Each Cross-case Theme

(Per Stake 2006)
 (one indication of relevance of the case)
 Ratings: H (high) M (middling) L (low)

Cross-case themes:		<i>European TL's.</i>		<i>Asian TL's.</i>	
		Anne	Kathleen	Nancy	KD
T1	L1 vs. L2 use	H	H	H	H
T2	Non-native teacher contributions	M	H	H	H
T3	TL Legitimacy and ownership	M	H	M	H
T4	Affiliation and identity	M	H	M	H
T5	Perspective on Native speaker	H	H	M	M
T6	Addressing Culture	L	H	H	M
T7	TL Use: Maint. vs. fossilisations	H	M	H	L
T8	Challenges & questions to qualifications	L	L	M	H
T9	Linguistic Glass Ceiling	H	H	L	L
T10	Teaching heritage and native speakers vs. true beginners	L	M	H	H
T11	Perspectives on Asian vs. European contexts	L	L	H	H

Appendix H: Utility of the Cases for Further Developing Each Theme

(Per Stake 2006)

Ratings: H (high) M (middling) L (low)

Cross-case themes:		<i>European TL's.</i>		<i>Asian TL's.</i>	
		Anne	Kathleen	Nancy	KD
T1	L1 vs. L2 use	H	H	H	H
T2	Non-native teacher contributions	M	H	H	H
T3	TL Legitimacy and ownership	M	H	M	H
T4	Affiliation and identity	L	H	M	M
T5	Perspective on Native speaker	H	H	L	M
T6	Addressing Culture	H	H	H	L
T7	TL Use: Maint. vs. fossilisations	H	H	H	L
T8	Challenges & questions to qualifications	H	L	L	H
T9	Linguistic Glass Ceiling	H	H	H	H
T10	Teaching heritage and native speakers vs. true beginners	L	M	H	H
T11	Perspectives on Asian vs. European contexts	L	L	H	H

Appendix I: Frank's Case

Teaching Culture as a Pedagogical Priority in a Homogenous English Linguistic Context

Frank indicated that in addition to linguistic differences between Japanese and English, his virtually homogeneous context in his school community impacted his approach to teaching the core areas of Japanese, including orthography, in terms of priority and language use. Focusing on maintaining student interest amidst reasonable challenge, he reported teaching Japanese in contrast to his colleagues in the more culturally diverse Lower Mainland. He prioritised Japanese culture in his program to maintain interest in the language. Based on his participation in a network of Japanese teachers outside of school, Frank reported observing that

...their circumstances are quite a bit different, because teachers in - in Vancouver and Burnaby and Coquitlam, they tend to have a much more multicultural thing, so they tend to teach - it comes down to even - they teach very, very differently from the way that I have to teach, because of the people I'm teaching to. Even on the most simplest thing, for example, Japanese people have the Chinese writing system, they have a writing - syllabic writing system that's used for English words, and a syllabic writing system that's used for native Japanese words. And the Chinese characters are used for ideas in general. Ideas are nouns and verbs, mostly.

And the way I teach it is, I teach mostly the stuff for English words, to start with, so the students can write their name. Because all their names are English. So then they can go home to their parents and say, look, I can write Japanese, here's my name. And feel proud of it like they've accomplished something very early on in the class. For all the other teachers, this is an absolute no-no. You cannot teach them that language - or that syllabery first - that syllabic characters first. You have to teach the native Japanese ones, so they say, because, that's the way they do it in Japan...

And for many of the people [Japanese teacher colleagues in the Lower Mainland], when they have Korean students in the class, or Chinese students in their class, or sometimes even Japanese students in their class, it makes more sense to teach the Chinese characters first...So, my teaching, compared to their teaching, they would look at what I'm doing and say, you're backwards, you're doing it backwards. And it comes down to even as things as basic as that. So= ...If I was to throw the Chinese characters at them, I'd have half the class drop on me in the first week. It would kill my program. Within two years I would have no classes.= ...I start throwing them [characters] in their once they've mastered the first set... That would be after about three months...then I start [() teaching the second ones... It's a different order but for many Japanese teachers this is a life or death thing, this is a huge thing that - that separates [() people...It makes sense for them to teach that way. And it makes sense for me to teach my way (Frank, Interview: 03/24/04, pp. 21-23).

Unlike other participants, teaching culture was Frank's main priority in his Japanese program, based on his rationale that learners were most likely to retain cultural rather than linguistic knowledge from his two year program.

...I've thought an awful lot about how to teach my students. My students, because they're in [this Lower Mainland small town well outside Vancouver], they don't have a lot of exposure to other cultures, =...It's a very - it's very homogeneous, except for the First Nations. We have about 15% of the school is First Nations. but the rest is like Anglo-Saxon Protestant... We did have one Chinese student at our school, last year ((laughs)) and we had two East Indians, out of 800 students. That's just about as pure as you're going to get. So these kids, I mean, most of them have never been to Vancouver. So they're really cut off from the outside world.

And so what I've - the way I figure it is - when they learn - whatever they learn from me, the first thing they're going to lose, is they're going to lose the vocabulary... The second thing they'll lose is their grammar and the final thing that they'll lose, if they lose it at all is the culture. So I teach my class in inverse proportion. So I teach mostly from culture, then to grammar, and then the vocabulary... I put all my time and effort into something that they'll be able to take away from the classroom for the rest of their lives. So I spend a great deal of time going on about how the Japanese culture works, how it's different from ours, how it's similar from ours, and how does that relate [to their own...I would say probably about 40% of it is culture....And uh probably about ... you know, probably about 35% of it is grammar (Frank).

Based on the rationale above, Frank reported that about a quarter of his program was devoted to using the language.

Appendix J: Language Use on Modern Language Provincial Examinations

European Languages

The provincial exams for the European languages in this study expressed the instructions preceding each examination section and task in English.

Of the European languages consisting of French, Spanish, and German taught at the secondary level by participants in this study, the French provincial exam reflected the highest amount of language use. A review of the provincial ministry web site www.bced.gov.bc.ca/exams revealed that the French provincial exam's multiple choice questions (and multiple choice responses) in the reading section were almost wholly in French unlike Spanish and German exams where English was used. This practice continued as reflected on the 2008-09 exams for these languages. More relevant to this study is the fact that even in 2006-07 the French grade 12 exam continued to include:

- 13 short response exam questions in English based on two French passages (Authentic Documents 2 and 3) with students expected to provide short written responses in English
- a continued emphasis on writing with half of the exam's value for writing competency in French. Furthermore the specific writing task scenario was described in English immediately followed by the French equivalent. To contrast, the 2006-07 German and Spanish 12 exams evaluating written expression in the language provided instructions and task questions in English only.

The French exam, however, continues to move in the direction of more French language use with 2008/09 revisions to the grade 12 exam which also applied for 2009-10. One revision was: "The Authentic D [section] with written answers in English have been removed."

Learners' comprehension of authentic documents in French continued to be evaluated but now with all multiple choice questions and responses in French as of 2008-09. At the time of this study to this day, the reading component on the Spanish and German exams continued to have learners respond to English questions based on reading passages in the language and choosing English responses. In addition, the writing component for Spanish and German

continued to have learners respond in their respective target language to a task or question conveyed in English.

Spanish and French have recently have expanded the range of linguistic competence being examined in that more emphasis will be placed on listening and/or speaking. For Spanish both listening and speaking components were added in 2008-09, a factor which was more conducive to integrating target language use in preparing for the exam. In terms of the speaking component for Spanish, instructions as for all areas are in English and task specific questions are in Spanish with the English equivalent (e.g., ¿Cómo es tu casa? What is your house like?). Listening and speaking together now make up one third of total exam marks while reading and writing are each worth one third. This distribution of marks for Spanish is better understood in examining its Table of Specifications and Description of Examination where it states that: “School assessment measures performance on all curricular outcomes, whereas provincial examinations may evaluate performance on only a sample of these outcomes” (<http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/exams/specs/grade12/sp/2008.htm>).

Similarly, the French provincial exam added a listening component in 2008-09, valued at 21 % of the exam with the remaining value almost equally distributed between reading and writing. There have been no exam revisions for the German exam (during or after the time of this study) which continues to evaluate only reading and writing in addition to linguistic competence (by way of cloze passage). At this time more emphasis is given to reading than writing German on the provincial exam.

Asian Languages

a) Language(s) of Provincial Exam for Mandarin

On the 2005-06 and 2006-07 grade 12 exams for Mandarin, simplified and traditional versions were provided with learners choosing one of these versions. The ability to read Chinese characters is critical in reviewing the exam (e.g., passages in languages) as is the ability to read and understand English in order to follow exam instructions and questions as well as respond to reading comprehension multiple choice questions. All instructions and exam section titles on both versions of the exams are in English.

- In the first part of the exam (A) worth 20 marks, three to four linguistic competence questions are posed in English with choices in Mandarin. The remainder of the

multiple-choice questions and possible responses are in Chinese characters with some questions including pin yin.

- In the second part (B), reading comprehension, worth 34 marks, passages are in pin yin or Chinese characters. However multiple-choice questions and possible responses are all in English.
- The last part C, written expression, worth 36 marks consists of constructing sentences in Mandarin, writing a note (scenario described in English though names of people in scenario also provided in Mandarin to include an expected target language response), and lastly: completing a story (prompt provided in both languages) in 2005-06 whereas there was a written response to picture in 2006-07.

Revisions made in 2008-09 (which also stand for 2009-10) reflect more Mandarin use. The listening component and cloze test added in 2008-09 increase the amount of Mandarin. With these changes, preparing learners for the provincial exam better reflect the broader aspects of acquiring Mandarin.

b) Language(s) of the Japanese Provincial Exam

Similar to other modern language provincial exams is the fact that English seems to be consistently used as a tool to convey exam instructions and expectations on the Japanese exam as well as convey questions and aspects of target language passages. English is used both solely and with Japanese. Of the 54 multiple choice questions on the 2005-06 exam, the 15 multiple questions, in Japanese, examining linguistic competency in part A include multiple choice responses in Japanese. On the other hand in part B, reading comprehension (39 marks) though passages are generally in Japanese, multiple questions and possible choice responses are in English.¹⁶⁸

A review of the 2006-07 exam sees similar practices with respect to the use of English and Japanese. All question instructions and section headings continue to be in

¹⁶⁸ Two passages on the Japanese 12 2005-06 exam include roman numerals though otherwise, text is in the TL. The written response section in part C (36 marks) consists of open-ended questions asking for a response in Japanese. In this section English is used extensively in task descriptions/questions. For example, though a map diagram is labelled in the TL the task's scenario is in English. Consequently, the story completion task uses both Japanese and English for the 'story starter' prompt. For the reaction to picture, both the task description and picture are in English with no Japanese.

English including in the newly added Parts A and B for listening and speaking respectively. Speaking component questions and topics are in both Japanese and English side by side. The reading comprehension component (36 marks) continues to include passages in Japanese with virtually all multiple choice questions and possible responses in English. However three passages contain minimal English words e.g., one English word in parentheses, another expresses car model names and makes in English and three passages (recipe, TV guide listing, and classified ad) use roman numerals for measurement quantities, time, and price, phone numbers, and distance (kilometres). The written component (24 marks) expects Japanese written responses though uses English to convey task expectations. The first task, asking students to produce a letter or note, is described entirely in English and includes a small table with possible idea prompts for content in English. The second writing task, in the form of a composition, is based on writing prompts expressed in both Japanese and English. The 2008-09 Japanese exam specifications and description reveal a similar linguistic layout and grading distribution for this exam.

Appendix K: Clover and Hans: Non-native Teachers of ‘Heritage’

The non-native heritage status of Clover (Mandarin) and Hans (German) was noteworthy due to the connection to, yet distant ownership of, their respective languages. Clover’s comments about her identity illustrated her sense of ownership of Chinese.

I would say I’m Canadian first ... Uh and then ... I guess Chinese Canadian ((chuckles)), Chinese born Canadian, no Canadian born Chinese, CBC. Oh gosh, uh, I’m not a banana. NO, I am a banana, but I’m not washed out, or whatever that other term is because um.....gosh I don’t even know if I’m a banana anymore, because inside I don’t feel like one, you know, one colour or another ((laughs)). Uh, I don’t know. That’s a hard, that’s hard. I usually, I just say am born in Canada but I can also speak various other languages and hopefully that’s a satisfying answer for most people...

Born and raised in Canada. But I can’t label myself anymore. I used to say I’m a banana. I don’t think that applies anymore. Because bananas, you’re supposed to be like, you know, like, yellow on the outside and white on the inside but I’m not exactly white on the inside and that term is changing too, right, because it’s not like uh...people who are white are one way...you know, they’re very, diverse as well so (Clover).

The above passage reflects Clover’s view of her identity as a multilingual Canadian. Raised as “a good Canadian kid with some Confucian background”, she discussed her Cantonese-speaking parents’ encouragement of her and her brother to “continue learning Chinese or being able to use Chinese” due to the importance of maintaining their heritage which led to her study of Mandarin in secondary school (Clover).¹⁶⁹

Hans considered himself a “German-speaking European” and English native and identified himself as a highly proficient German speaker.¹⁷⁰ At the time of this study he considered himself to be a potential dual native German-English speaker who needed to spend an extended period (i.e. a year or so) in a German-speaking environment again after last being in Germany in 1990. As well his great-grandmother had been German, and he and his non-native German-speaking spouse were raising their children in German which was facilitated by the fact that both sets of grandparents spoke German and keenly did so with the children. They had made their decision due to being highly vested in language learning, and the fact they both shared German as an additional common language.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Clover also shared that despite her Hong Kong University-educated parents having used more English outside the home earlier for professional reasons, they were using more Chinese in their daily lives at the time of this study.

¹⁷⁰ Hans considered himself to have been a German native speaker in grade six due to his submersion in the school system in Germany during the early primary years of his education.

¹⁷¹ Hans reported that both he and his spouse held graduate degrees in German and were of German descent.

More related to giving them the tools giving them an advantage, than heritage. Yes, I mean if I spoke French then we could speak French at home because my wife's a French immersion teacher. That would be the language, but German is the language that we both speak and so German is the language we're giving them just so that they have two languages. Our kids all have British citizenship if they want but they don't have to speak (German) () It's just being given the tools to understand about the language knowing what an advantage that will be for them (Hans).

This passage reflects Hans' more instrumental motivation for the use of German as a home language and ambivalence toward his German heritage.

Appendix L: Linda and Hans: ‘Native Speaker’ *in lieu of* a Glass Ceiling Effect

Some participants such as Linda (French) and Hans (German) reported that their high native-like proficiency and ease of use with the language based on its relatively earlier acquisition presented a different type of challenge when teaching beginners as well as in explaining aspects of the language. Linda’s near-native status in French and experience teaching in the Francophone cadre and French immersion programs resulted in some challenges when teaching her beginning FSL course. She reported underestimating the level of difficulty of concepts for her FSL learners. Linda referred to “the trap of the native speaker” more than once in her interview in that she was sometimes distant from the experience and reality of the beginning language learner in FSL. However, when she has “had that rear its ugly head a couple of times” she conveyed the necessity of doing “a very fast rewind” (Linda). Though a non-native, Hans’ intuitive sense of German made it more difficult for him to explain aspects of German “portraying the learner side, because I learned it as a child without having to do the grammar without having to learn vocabulary, just I was immersed in it...it just sounds right...” (Hans). Having his first exposure to German grammar at university, Hans found that “I didn’t really learn grammar until I had to teach it” and that, to his disadvantage, he lacked the ability to relate to how his learners perceived and grasped grammar in the earlier stages of learning (Hans).

Appendix M: Strategies for Addressing Learners' Orthographic Challenges

a) Non-Asian Background Learners

In addition to the above, strategies for teaching orthography to learners with no Asian languages background in this study were outlined by participants including Nancy and others. These encompassed:

- More frequent and regular practice using provided supplementary instructional support materials.
- Visualising and associating characters with symbols (as in Nancy's example above).
- Taking into account a learner's learning style (e.g., visual) was found to impact their progress with respect to orthography.
- Working with learners individually and providing support and encouragement to combat the significant obstacle of overcoming learners' perception of learning characters as extremely difficult (e.g., Nancy, Doreen).¹⁷²
- Doreen encouraged learners to solicit their peers' successful strategies and to work with someone to review characters.

b) Chinese and Other Kanji-proficient Learners

Participants in Asian language teaching contexts, including Clover, Erika, and Kage, conveyed that teaching Japanese orthography to Chinese and other Asian language speaking learners involved a significant transition cognitively. Strategies for doing so comprised:

- Modifying the program to acknowledge background knowledge and simultaneously emphasise areas for development; this included increased expectations about the number of characters to acquire.¹⁷³
- Assessing kanji-proficient learners using modified tests wherein they had to indicate how to pronounce characters in Japanese; omitting stroke order from assessments was also indicated.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Doreen reported continually emphasising that "once you get this, you understand that you've got them all? There's only 50 of these characters, you're going to be just fine" (Doreen).

¹⁷³ Erika adjusted her program to provide "different work when it comes to kanji as I do the other students" and that for reading and writing there were essentially "two programs for that portion" (Erika). For example, "they'll have 40 kanji, and they have to know how to say it all in Japanese, whereas the other kids would have, say 15 kanji, and they have to know how to read it and write it...and say it too" (Erika).

- Acknowledging Chinese learners’ advanced knowledge of kanji, Chinese characters, and engaging this knowledge for Japanese by encouraging them to model it for the class was recommended by participants including Erika who chose to “just embrace that difficulty that I have and I ask the [Chinese] kids”.¹⁷⁵

c) Target Language Native Learners

Participants, including Nancy, outlined that their approach to teaching orthography to native learners included:

- Making modifications for more advanced, challenging reading and writing-related tasks and evaluations. Nancy altered related assignments for native students without gearing her program to them and Erika drew from her university course and other study materials. Erika also accessed newspaper articles for them to read and respond to in written form.
- While welcoming these learners, maintaining that their contexts were second or additional language programs and they heavily weighted student growth and effort in the language as criteria for evaluation to equitably give them credit for their linguistic knowledge and proficiency.¹⁷⁶
- Working to further these learners’ writing and reading development by *coaching* them to further improve their skills (e.g., providing feedback such as expanding or clarifying ideas). Doreen commented that “It’s got nothing really linguistic about it, it’s more style”.
- Accessing a native speaker as a linguistic resource to verify orthography and to facilitate in assessing and evaluating native learners’ writing was reported by some including Erika for Japanese who stated that after initially assessing it: “I’d also take

¹⁷⁴ Erika indicated that if learners, overall, knew each kanji but were unable to pronounce them in Japanese then they would not earn marks.

¹⁷⁵ Kage is of Chinese heritage as is Clover though the latter identified English as her native language.

¹⁷⁶ Nancy shared that some of her lower overall marks were for native Mandarin students who “bomb because they don’t... focus on the ((pin yin))” and/or spend more time on other academic credits and “I’ve got some kids not passing... You have the attitude; what normally comes with that is the attitude, you know: ‘I can do this, why bother?’ Okay. Then do it really well” (Nancy).

it home to my husband to make sure, you know and see if he could give any extra criticism or critique, or you know, praise that I couldn't give.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Erika's spouse is (native) Japanese.