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English on the Streets of Sweden: An Ecolinguistic View of Two Cities and a Language Policy*

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The position of English vis-à-vis Swedish in Sweden is gaining attention because of a growing concern that the encroachment of English in certain Swedish domains will result in Swedish simultaneously losing ground. A current language policy proposal, entitled *Mål i mun*, commissioned by the Swedish government addresses this concern, in part, by outlining recommendations for the respective roles of Swedish and English (a) in primary, secondary, and higher education and (b) in public, commercial, and governmental settings with the aim of strengthening Swedish. The present paper uses an ecolinguistic framework to offer a glimpse of the complex ways in which English is integrated with daily life in the two Swedish cities of Lund and Malmö in order to illuminate the efficacy with which *Mål i mun* might impact the relationship among the teaching, learning, and use of English in Sweden.

Introduction

English has long been a part of Swedish education and society, beginning even before the Second World War (Haugen 1990). Fergusson (1994) noted anecdotally the great English proficiency of the Swedish speakers he encountered in daily interactions. In fact, it has been suggested that English is developing as a second, rather than a foreign, language in Sweden as well as other Scandinavian nations and is thus gaining status there (Phillipson 1992). The position of English vis-à-vis Swedish is increasingly receiving attention in the literature because of concern that the encroachment of English in certain Swedish domains may result in Swedish simultaneously losing ground (e.g., Berg, Hult, & King 2001; Hollqvist 1984; Hyltenstam 1999; Westman 1996). A current language policy proposal, entitled *Mål i mun*, commissioned by the Swedish government addresses this concern, in part, by outlining recommendations for the respective roles of Swedish and English (a) in pri-

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mary, secondary, and higher education and (b) in public, commercial, and governmental settings (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002a). The success of such a policy depends heavily upon continuity between the reality policymakers imagine and people's actual experiences (Schiffman 1996). Keeping this in mind, this pilot study offers a glimpse of the complex ways in which English is integrated into daily life in two Swedish cities in order to explore the possible relationships among Swedish, English, and the language policy proposal *Mål i mun*.

English in Sweden

The growth of English around the world has received extensive attention in the (socio)linguistic literature (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Crystal 1997; Kachru 1992/1983; Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 1992; Ricento 2000). The widespread use of English in Europe continues to be documented as it becomes evident that English is emerging as the de facto *lingua franca* of the European Union (Loonen 1996; James 2000; Smith 1996). In Sweden the use of English is described as quite pervasive, being commonly employed in "the mass media, 'popular' culture and entertainment, education (on all levels but especially at higher stages), science and research, the business world, to name a few evident examples" (Melander 2001: 13).

The prevalent use of English in Sweden has led many linguists to become concerned about the position of Swedish in relation to English (Ljung 1986; Mannberg 1986; Teleman 1992; Westman 1996). Indeed, empirical studies have found substantial use of English for instruction, reading, and research at major universities (Gunnarsson & Öhman 1997; Teleman 1992) and for corporate communication in the banking, engineering, and transportation industries (Hollqvist 1984).

In terms of language status, it has been suggested that English and Swedish in Sweden is beginning to settle into an asymmetrical relationship. According to Hyltenstam (1999), with the prominence of English in higher status domains like higher education, commerce, and industry, the position of Swedish becomes threatened to the point where there is a risk of a two-tiered society developing in which English is used for high status interaction and Swedish for lower status, common daily interactions. Moreover, Hyltenstam holds that the strong position of English internationally, especially in the European Union, is a potential threat to the strength of Swedish as a national language because Swedish may cease to be used for governmental purposes. This leaves Swedish to be used only in unofficial domains. Similarly, Westman (1996) and Teleman (1992) express concern for the future of Swedish. Both see a strong potential for a diglossic situation arising between English and Swedish in Sweden: "The position of Swedish as the standard language in Sweden would

weaken or cease if we let English force it out of certain domains"
(Westman 1996: 187, translation mine). Taken to an extreme, some believe
this could lead to an elite Euro-identity centered on English while
Swedish becomes reduced to a low status, private language (Teleman
1992). Yet it is not clear that the situation is, in fact, so dire.

Melander (2001) explains that while English use does, indeed, seem to
be growing in Sweden, more research is needed to understand the nature
and implications of its growth.[1] As Boyd (1999) points out, more English
use in certain domains like education, research, politics, and popular cul-
ture does not necessarily imply a threat to Swedish. Rather, there is room
for both English and Swedish in Sweden:

> English is the main vehicle for Swedes to communicate with people out-
> side of Sweden, both in speech, writing, and via all the new means of com-
> munications from radio through TV and the internet. Clearly this must be
> seen as being of enormous value to a large segment, indeed all of the pop-
> ulation. Its role implies not only "transatlantic connections," but global
> ones. The position of Swedish, and the loyalty of its speakers, including
> those of us who speak it as a second language, guarantees a relatively
> secure future for the language, at least during the next hundred years.
> (Boyd 1999: 246)

Still, Melander believes that the position of Swedish in relation to
English should not be ignored. He notes that there is cause for concern;
for example, there is the potential for social inequality arising between
those with high English proficiency, and concomitant access to high sta-
tus social positions, and those without. In addition, it is possible that
Swedish will lose prestige if English becomes associated more and more
with high status as well as intellectual pursuits. So while both Swedish
and English have their place in Swedish society, Melander sees it as
important to ensure that they remain at least on equal footing. In sum, he
states, "It is an important task to try to make sure that Swedish can be
used in as many domains as possible, even if one does not believe that the
present reduction of the use of the language may easily spread to other
areas" (Melander 2001: 28).

Mål i mun

The concern over the position of Swedish in Sweden led Teleman and

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[1]Melander contends that diglossia is not an appropriate concept for explaining and understanding the
relationship between Swedish and English in Sweden. Rather than using concepts like diglossia,
Melander proclaims the need for new conceptual frameworks to explain new sociolinguistic phenome-
na. In contrast, Swedish has been characterized as a minority language in relation to English within
the EU and elsewhere (Hyltenstam 1999).

Westman (1997) to call for an overt national language policy for Sweden. They note that the position of Swedish as a national language has been taken for granted both by legislature and the population in general. Further, they contend, though it has historically been a strong national language with a rich literary and cultural tradition, English now threatens that position. The ongoing use of English in numerous areas of life, they state, endangers the status of Swedish as a "complete language," that is to say as a language for use in all public and private domains. In the absence of an overt national language policy they believe that this threat is not likely to disappear. Thus, Teleman and Westman advocate an explicit national language policy, stating,

> [T]he global and European integration makes it necessary that we decide which way we want the national language and society to move in the future…it is now the right time politically to lay the language policy groundwork that will guide future political decisions so that the nation does not find itself in a language situation that nobody truly desires. (Teleman & Westman 1997: 21, translation mine)

This is a sentiment echoed by Gunnarsson, who writes,

> Swedish speakers should not be afraid of the Anglo-American influence on the Swedish of tomorrow but we must ensure that it occurs on our terms...unwelcome external influences on our language should be resisted. Completely preventing external influence is impossible, and probably undesirable. Language policies should instead aim at adapting changes to the Swedish context, to incorporate them into traditional Swedish patterns and structures. (2001: 65)

Championing Swedish as the one and only language of the Swedish nation is both pointless and futile. Indeed, despite the mounting concerns among researchers about the relative positions of English and Swedish in Sweden, none of these researchers are advocating Swedish-only. Rather the hope seems to be for an overt language policy that might serve to create a climate for balanced multilingualism in Sweden.

 As a first step towards creating such an overt national policy, the Swedish government in 1997 commissioned the Swedish Language Council (Svenska språknämnden) to construct a draft action program for the promotion and protection of Swedish in light of multilingualism in Sweden. The Swedish Language Council published its program, with the primary recommendation that the position of Swedish be established by law, in a 1998 issue of its publication *Språkvård*. In 2000, the Swedish parliament created the Committee for the Swedish Language (Kommittén för svenska språket) to review the Swedish Language Council's program and to craft a language policy proposal. The committee's report was published in 2002 as *Speech: Draft Action Programme for the Swedish Language*

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[2] The translation of the title is that of the committee which published a brief English summary of the document which is available online (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002b).

(*Mål i mun*: *Förslag till handlingsprogram för svenska språket*)[2] and designated SOU 2002:27.[3] This report is currently under review by the Swedish government and expected to go before Parliament in the spring of 2004 (Leena Huss, personal communication, March 21, 2003).

Mål i mun was crafted as a comprehensive[4] language policy proposal for Sweden such that,

> [(a)] Swedish shall be a complete language, serving and uniting our society, [(b)] Swedish in official and public use shall be correct and shall function well, and [(c)] everyone shall have a right to language: Swedish, their mother tongue, and foreign languages (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002a: 22)[5]

In all, the report includes eighty recommendations[6] for the treatment of Swedish in relation to other languages in Sweden. English has a particularly prominent place in the proposal, which states explicitly that "English has won an increasingly strong position internationally, thereby also becoming a more and more important language in our country" (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002a: 21).[7] Accordingly, a number of the policy proposal recommendations reflect an attempt to strengthen the position of Swedish in domains which have been identified as areas where English is increasingly being used.

The rise of English in education and research is noted as a particular threat to Swedish since this is believed by the policymakers to mean that Swedish is being used less and less for academic/research purposes which may ultimately lead to a loss of higher level Swedish. Several other thematic areas in which the policymakers contend that Swedish needs to be strengthened are also noted in the report, including politics and government, commerce, healthcare, media, and information technology (IT).

While the need to strengthen Swedish is central to the proposal, the importance of English is also acknowledged in the proposal. For instance the proposal states that, "…it is obvious that in many contexts it is necessary to employ English and that more and more people need increasing proficiency in English" (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002a: 21).[8]

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[3] The first stage of creating legislation in Sweden is often a report which is then reviewed and acted upon by a parliamentary committee. Each year, the Swedish government publishes the reports, designating them as such (SOU) followed by the year in which they are published and the order in which they appear. *Mål i mun* is the twenty-seventh government report in the year 2002.

[4] The policy does address concerns of multilingualism in Sweden in general, including issues of language rights. However, the focus of this paper is the relationship between English and Swedish and the implications of this policy proposal on that relationship. The myriad issues of overall multilingualism in Sweden will be left for another forum.

[5] As translated in Kommittén för svenska språket (2002b).

[6] See Kommittén för svenska språket (2002b) for a complete listing of the recommendations in English in pdf format.

[7] As translated in Kommittén för svenska språket (2002b).

[8] As translated in Kommittén för svenska språket, 2002b.

Accordingly, many of the eighty recommendations serve to answer the question: "What can we do to ensure that Swedish continues to develop as an all-round language, while not hindering the employment of English in all the connections in which its use is required, and making sure that everyone acquires the knowledge of English they need?" (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002a: 21).[9] The proposal's objective with respect to English, then, is not to create Swedish monolingualism but to foster a climate for multilingualism, to keep Swedish strong but encourage proficiency in English (and other languages) as well.

Language Policy, Society, and Linguistic Culture

Schiffman (1996) explains that effective language policy formation and evaluation must include close attention to the complete social context of language use and then consider a policy in relation to that context. In order for an overt language policy to be successful it must fit the sociolinguistic reality of the people it is designed to influence:

> The closer the representation of policy comes to the representation of users' competencies, and allowing for differing proficiency and gradient-ranking of ability, as well as gradience in the expectations the policy makes of the citizenry, the better the 'fit' of the policy to the linguistic reality, and the less tension there will be between the two. (Schiffman 1996: 49)

The language policy analyst must be concerned with the relationship between language policy and what Schiffman (1996) terms linguistic culture, which includes the complex relations of "…behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language" (5).

Schiffman (1996) explains that in examining linguistic culture one must attend to the different functions to which languages are put in a society. He identifies three basic functions of language: language as code, language as text or discourse, and language as culture. This is an important distinction because there is often a tendency by researchers to focus on only one of these functions, ignoring the others. This is a mistake because, as Schiffman comments, these functions are in "*nested* relationships":

> Language as code is nested in language-as-text; there can be no texts without code after all. Language-as-text is nested in linguistic culture, but not identical to it—the ideas, beliefs, myths, attitudes, and prejudices found in a text, though seen as inherent in the text, may have been current in the culture before that text was ever composed. (Schiffman 1996: 58)

Sweden, like nearly all polities of the world, has a complex system of linguistic registers and repertoires in which these nested relationships are

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[9] As translated in Kommittén för svenska språket, 2002b.

deployed for specific functions. As my findings will suggest, English may have an important role to play in the repertoires and registers of a number of settings in Sweden, something that should be accounted for in an effective language policy. *Mål i mun* was drafted based on available sociolinguistic research so there was an attempt to address actual language use in the proposal. As noted earlier, though, this research has tended to focus on specific high status domains so it is unclear what the full impact of *Mål i mun* might be.

Methodology

This study is a preliminary examination of English in the linguistic milieux of two Swedish cities. The aim here is to make an initial attempt to map the sociolinguistic reality with which the proposed language policy *Mål i mun* must contend. Following Schiffman, it is theorized that the position of a language in a particular area is heavily related to how it is used and perceived in daily interaction as well as to macro-level societal pressures. In this way, the position of English in Sweden might not come only from an increasing need for high status international communication but also from the use of English in daily social interaction. It is in this vein that the present paper explores the topography of English in the two Swedish cities of Lund and Malmö in order to attempt to do justice to the nested relationships of language function by highlighting the complexity of English in Swedish linguistic culture. Haugen's (1972) ecology of language concept is used here to guide this study towards revealing the multiple inter-related factors that contribute to the current position of English in Sweden as reflected in Lund and Malmö.

Conceptual Framework

Haugen (1972) introduced the ecology of language as a way to "[cover] a broad range of interests within which linguists can cooperate significantly with all kinds of social scientists toward an understanding of the interaction of languages and their users" (328-29). Haugen traces his ecology of language idea back to an earlier paper by Voegelin and Voegelin (1964) who state that "in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area…"(cited in Haugen 1972: 328). More recently, Haugen's idea sparked by the Voegelins' work has been expanded:

> Pragmatics and discourse analysis, anthropological linguistics, theoretical linguistics, language teaching and research and several other branches of linguistics discovered the usefulness of ecological parameters such as interrelationships, environment and diversity…in the early 1990s, all the different approaches which some way link the study of language with ecology were brought together, and a unified—though still diverse—

> branch of linguistics was established which was called ecolinguistics. (Fill
> & Mühlhäusler 2001: 1)

The ecology of language, or ecolinguistics, provides a lens through which
to investigate a language's "interaction with other languages in the
minds of bi- and multilingual speakers…" together with "its interaction
with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication"
(Haugen 1972: 325). Its focus on examining holistically all factors that
contribute to the position of languages in the social environment makes
an ecolinguistic framework ideally suited for illuminating linguistic cul-
ture. Through an understanding of linguistic culture one can begin to
view insightfully the relationships among a nation, its communities, and
language policies. This is especially salient in a social environment where
an influential second language, like English, features prominently in a
linguistic ecology.   The impact of that second language cannot be
addressed until it is fully comprehended and appreciated (Mühlhäusler
1994, 1996). When policies are created and evaluated, it must be in light
of the social circumstances in which both language education and target
language use occurs (Spolsky 1978). It is in this sense of interconnected-
ness that an ecolinguistic framework serves as the foundation for the
exploration of the linguistic environments of Lund and Malmö with the
aim of exploring (a) the relationship among Swedish, English, and lan-
guage policy and, (b) by extension, the social context in which English
language teaching and learning takes place in Sweden.

Context

Lund and Malmö are located in the south of Sweden in the Skåne
region. Malmö is a port city that has evolved as a center for commerce
and industry. With the construction of the Öresund Bridge joining
Malmö with Denmark, the city is increasingly being marketed as a hub
for international trade. Indeed, many major companies have offices in
Malmö and it is a popular destination for shopping and tourism. The city
is home to a diverse population, ranging from Middle Eastern, African,
and Eastern European immigrants (among others) to young people
attending local colleges and universities to families that have lived in the
area for several generations. Malmö is among Sweden's largest cities like
Göteborg and Stockholm. Like any other major city in the world, it is not
without occasional occurrences of major crimes, protests, and violent acts
of racism, though these are not daily concerns.[10]

Situated about twenty minutes away from Malmö by train, Lund is
best known as a university town. It is the home of Lund University
founded in 1666 to serve as an institution to "Swedify" southern Sweden

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[10] See Pred (2000) for an account of racism in Sweden.

after the region was ceded to Sweden by Denmark. Today Lund University is among the most well respected institutions of higher learning in Sweden. As a result, scholars and students from throughout Sweden, Europe, and the rest of the world come to the university to teach, study, and conduct research. For this reason, Lund, too, is a city with some diversity though there are fewer immigrant communities here than in Malmö. City dwellers in Lund include students, faculty, and longtime residents. Like Malmö, it is also a popular destination for shopping and tourism.

In the summer of 2002, I taught at Lund University during which time I lived in a small town between Lund and Malmö, providing me easy access to both cities via bicycle and bus. Throughout the summer I spent many hours on the streets of both cities as well as in the company of my students, other university faculty, family, and (new) friends collecting data for this study.

Research Methods

This study took place over the three-month period from June through August 2002. During this time, field data were gathered in Lund and Malmö using photography, field observations/notes, and informal interviewing of a variety of people with whom I had contact during the three months. Data collection resulted in contextual examples of both spoken and written public English use in the two cities. In addition, online archives of the Swedish newspapers *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Metro* (Skåne) were mined for articles and editorials related to the issue of English use.

Data collected through the different media described above were integrated to form a multifaceted picture of the ecolinguistic position of English in the two cities. Field observations and photography were triangulated through informal interviews/conversations as well as by examining the ideas expressed in Swedish newspapers, which offered a wider societal perspective on how English was represented in the media. The language policy proposal *Mål i mun* was then analyzed in light of these findings in order to establish a preliminary sense of what, if any, continuity exists between the contexts of language use imagined by policymakers on the one hand and on the other hand the ecolinguistic environments people experience, as reflected in Lund and Malmö.

Findings and Discussion

Over the course of the summer it became evident that the role of English in the lives of the people living in these cities was quite complex. English appears to be emerging as an influential element in Swedish lin-

guistic culture. My findings suggest that English serves diverse functions in each of Schiffman's nested relationships of language as code, language as text/discourse, and language as culture. The policy proposal *Mål i mun* appears to be an attempt to address the role of English in Sweden's linguistic culture, taking into account many, but not all, of the complexities revealed in these relationships.

English on the Streets

Perhaps the most striking impression of English in Sweden, in these cities in particular, is related to language as code. As many travelers to Sweden have reported, it does not take long to find that English proficiency is quite good. Nearly everybody one meets, from ticket salespersons, train conductors, and bus drivers to people standing on the street corner will be able to answer questions in English with relatively little difficulty. Beyond this, most people with post secondary education will be able to hold their own in conversations using English.

Indeed, as I found on more than one occasion, the need to communicate using English presented itself in common daily interactions. Tourists would frequently stop and ask me for directions, assuming that I would be able to answer them in English. Several service encounters, particularly in fast food establishments, also required the use of English. These jobs are increasingly being filled by newly arrived immigrants whose English proficiency is far stronger than their Swedish as they have only begun to take government Swedish courses. Many a time when beginning my order in Swedish I was asked if I knew how to speak English.

Apart from spoken English, English in the print environment is also rather striking. While one is strolling down the streets of both Lund and Malmö the eye is drawn to English words and expressions on storefronts and signs. English appears in some store names to communicate what goods or services a merchant provides. There are shops like "Rising Sun Solarium," "Malmös Military Shop," and "The Krogen."[11] The "Scandinavian Metal Foundation" is a "specialist in Metal hardrock and subculture," you are "*välkommen* to drop in" at "Exotic Body Piercing," and the "Levi's Store" has a "sale up to 50% off now on."

English appears prominently in unsanctioned "print" environments in the two cities as well. English graffiti, including both single words and longer expressions, is common on streets and buildings. Likewise protesters' signs are sometimes written in English, communicating their thoughts about impending war, human rights, and homelessness. In addition, street performers often employ English signs to request compensation for their open-air routines.

In all, English seems to have a daily role as a medium of communica-

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[11] This example is particularly interesting. Definiteness is redundantly expressed by the English "the" and the Swedish morpheme –en.

Figure 1
Välkommen to drop in
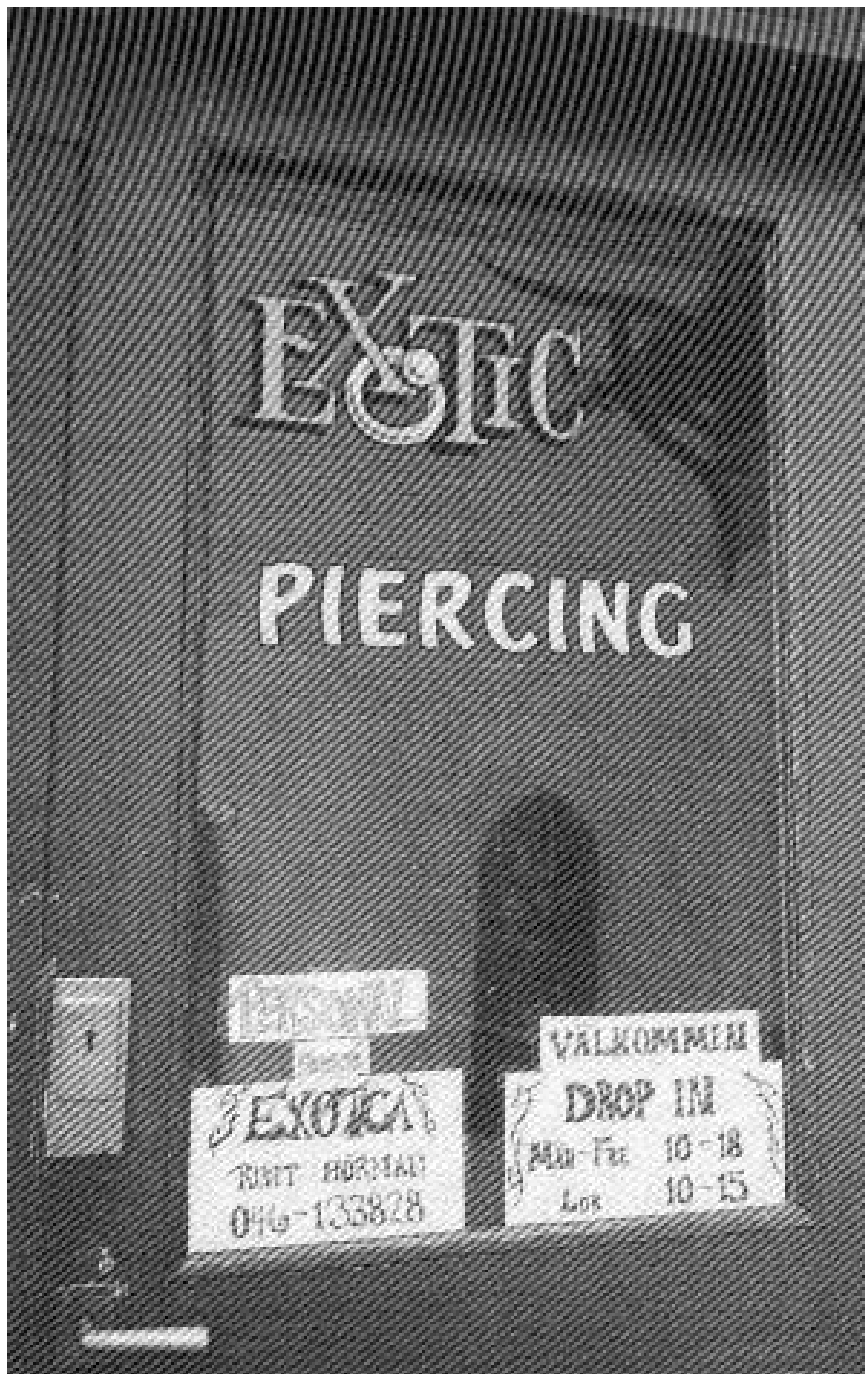
tion in these two cities. Whether to provide directions, order food, resist the establishment, sell products, or ask for money, English seems to fill a need. Recalling Schiffman's nested relationships, where language as code is intimately related to both language as text and language as culture, let us consider why communicating in English might be important for people in these everyday contexts.

First, there seems to be a sense of English as a *lingua franca* for some. Several of the people I encountered expressed the feeling that with internationalization, including more immigrants coming to Sweden and more Swedes having dealings abroad, they can reach a wider audience using English. As one of my informants put it, "That's the way it is in modern life. You need English because not everyone knows Swedish" (SJ, interview, August 4, 2002, translation mine). This sort of "practical" motive seemed to be behind the language choice of one protester with whom I spoke. When I inquired as to why he chose English for his posters he responded, "I want people that come here to see my message. If I write in Swedish, tourists would not understand" (Anonymous, interview, July 15, 2002, in English).

It is possible that similar thoughts were behind choices to compose the words "monkey see, monkey do" in English on the side of a building directly across from Lund University's administration building as well as to write other graffiti throughout both cities. Like the protester and my informant, perhaps the author of the words "monkey see, monkey do" believed that choosing English would ensure that almost everyone who passed the words would understand them. Likewise, street performers on busy squares frequented by tourists would certainly want as many people as possible to comprehend their pleas for compensation so they might choose to use English with similar reasoning. So these kinds of practical concerns could lie behind some daily English use to a certain extent.

There is another set of beliefs that people seem to have about English, however, in terms of what it represents as a cultural symbol. One of my informants expressed the sentiment clearly. When I asked her about the presence of English in Malmö she stated,

> I think it's a good thing. I've lived all over Sweden and most places are just dives. People are stuck in their small town ways—backwards. Malmö feels like a real city, like New York. It has an international feel to it, like it's connected to the rest of the world somehow. It's the only place in Sweden where I want to live. Otherwise I would probably live out of the country. (KL, interview, July 26, 2002, translation mine)

English, then, appears to represent for some more than just the ability to communicate with a wider audience; it emerges as a symbol of international connectedness, modernity, and progress. This informant compared Malmö with smaller towns that she believed were not progressive

or open to change. Malmö, where people from all over the world live together and where commerce and industry thrive, was painted in a positive light, and the presence of English for her stood as a sign of this. The use of English in storefronts and other public communication is perhaps a way to index this meaning of English as well. English, in this way, might be seen by some as a symbol of reaching out, not just to non-Swedish speakers but also to change and progress. Continuing further, by looking at how language as text or discourse is nested with both language as code and language as culture, the embedded position of English in Swedish linguistic culture begins to emerge even further.

English is becoming an integral part of the Swedish language itself, especially among young people. Just as in many other countries around the world where the addition of English elements to the local or national language is the bane of many purists, complaints about *Svengelska* (Swenglish) are present in Sweden (Melander 2001). English words or expressions are frequently overheard to be spoken by adults and children alike in their daily speech. I frequently heard English expressions or words used in conversations while I was sitting at cafés, waiting for trains and busses, or shopping in stores. The words "yes" and "no" were quite common as was the tendency to answer questions with quips like "Good idea," "I don't know" or "It doesn't fit." Profanity, of course, was regularly employed together with Swedish discourse, most often the word "fuck." This word in particular seems to be so prevalent that it was the subject of a letter to the editor:

> [T]here are plenty of English people who do not use the word 'fuck' in everyday situations. There are some who only use the word when a computer crashes, when a car gets a flat and in other frustrating situations…so everyone who does not have English as a mother tongue does not have to feel the need to use the word every five minutes to sound English, thank you very much. (Språktomten 2002, translation mine)

The writer's comment suggests that not only is this word in particular problematic but so is the "Englishness" that it, and perhaps other English words, indexes. Some, as shown in another letter to the editor, see the presence of English words and expressions in everyday Swedish discourse as positive: "We move ahead in international situations and we get more ways of expressing ourselves. Some examples from recent weeks: 'Det här projektet är alldeles för *risky*'[12] … 'Det är lite *heavy* att jobba så sent'[13] … In print these word choice strategies cause problems but in speech they can be helpful and increase understanding" (Josephson 2001). Though sometimes an English word or expression is used when there is no Swedish equivalent, as in computer terminology, more frequently English words come in places where there is a choice between

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[12] This project is far too risky.
[13] It is a little heavy to work so late.

Swedish and English. One can easily use Swedish to communicate that something does not fit or that someone has a good idea. Swedish certainly does not lack profanity in its lexicon. Why then, is the choice to use English words in these places so common?

Considering language as discourse being nested with language as code and language as culture, the decision to pepper Swedish with English in discourse might become clearer. Rampton (1995) explores the complexity of speakers' use of multiple languages in social interaction and the sociolinguistic implications of language choices. Specifically, he introduces the concept of crossing:

> [It] focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ…This kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate, and that analysts could usefully devote more time to. (Rampton 1995: 280)

"Prestige languages," he continues, "become the object of intensive play, remodeling and transvaluation, their meaning reshaped in ways that ultimately…consolidate group solidarity" (Rampton 1995: 288). It is quite possible that using English words and phrases in Swedish discourse is a way to draw upon the nested relationship between language as code and language as discourse in order to negotiate the place of English in Swedish linguistic culture. To use English words and expressions is to evoke ideas and beliefs about English and to appropriate them as part of the Swedish linguistic culture. In so doing, the English words cease to be exclusively English and to a certain extent they become reshaped as Swedish.

By using English expressions in discourse, on signs, or on storefronts, people are perhaps indexing beliefs and ideas about what English represents for them, including progressiveness and international connections. As a cultural process this is certainly nothing new. Symbols and ideas transgress national borders all the time, becoming reinvented for local purposes (O'Dell 1997). As O'Dell describes, language "…is an aspect of culture, and linguistic change must obviously be recognized as a part of cultural change…" (1997: 24). Cultural change that includes indexing English with development is problematic, however.   As Pennycook explains, "[I]f we allow English to continue to be viewed as the language of modernity, development, and progress, while other languages are viewed as the purveyors of tradition, history, and culture, we fail to grasp the opportunity to shift the cultural politics of language" (Pennycook 2001: 216).

It is this very concern that the language policy proposal *Mål i mun* purports to address. But does the policy proposal take into account the complex role of English, which seems to contribute to the potentially

emerging position of English in Swedish society?

Mål i mun and Linguistic Culture

In all, *Mål i mun* should be commended for its valiant attempt to incorporate the complexities of English use in Sweden. It is clear that a concerted effort was made to consider Swedish linguistic culture when crafting the policy proposal. Indeed, current research on the use of English in Sweden is cited throughout the proposal. Further, as a whole, the proposal is not reactionary. Nowhere does the proposal champion a return to an imagined but non-existent state of Swedish monolingualism, nor does it suggest that the only way to strengthen the position of Swedish is to weaken the position of English. Rather the policy proposal is quite explicit about the need for both English and Swedish in Swedish society.

The section of the proposal where English appears the most prominently is in some of the recommendations for education and research[14] :

> Recommendation 3: The regulatory framework for upper secondary school shall be amended to require schools to teach Swedish in all years of upper secondary education.

> Recommendation 4: Universities and other institutes of higher education should augment elements in their students' programmes that promote better oral and written skills in both Swedish and English, and should also, in certain cases, require a more advanced previous knowledge of Swedish.

> Recommendation 5: Measures should be taken to promote parallel employment of English and Swedish in research and scholarship.

> Recommendation 6: One objective of educational programmes at Swedish universities and other institutes of higher education shall be that the students acquire a capacity to exchange knowledge in their areas of specialization in both national and international connections, both orally and in writing, and for diverse target groups.

There is recognition here of the reality of students, teachers, and researchers with respect to the need and expectation for English proficiency. The proposal recommends strengthening programs that develop the requisite high-level English skills that are needed while at the same time acknowledging that English alone will not be sufficient; high-level Swedish proficiency needs to be strengthened within all levels of education as well.

These measures are in line with current linguistic practices in these domains as shown by sociolinguistic research. Thus these measures do

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[14] All translations of the recommendations in *Mål i mun* are those of the committee as presented in the English summary (Kommittén för svenska språket 2002b).

not represent a radical change in linguistic practice but a codification of what is already taking place, with an eye towards keeping Swedish strong. This kind of continuity is especially important for educational settings since, as Gupta (2001) explains, a policy can only be successful if it advocates language education that prepares students for the reality they will experience outside of the classroom.

Particularly worth noting is what is not included in the policy proposal. As I have attempted to show, the place of English in daily informal interpersonal interaction is likely quite complex and shaped by multiple beliefs and ideas about what English represents in the Swedish context. These practices, it seems, are left to the pervue of the existing implicit, unstated policies about how and when to use English. Daily individual language use is notoriously difficult, and perhaps undesirable, to legislate. Nonetheless, the policy proposal makes little attempt at all to manage the position of English beyond certain official or high-status domains. This is not surprising given that the proposal was laudably crafted drawing upon available sociolinguistic research, and such research has tended to focus on high status domains. Some areas in which studies have been carried out are mentioned, however. The proposal suggests, for example, that the use of Swedish should be strengthened in mass media and consumer product areas. Still, if the position of English with respect to Swedish is influenced by how English is used in daily interactions, as the present study has suggested, more sociolinguistic studies are needed upon which to base sound policy recommendations for strengthening the position of Swedish.

The proposal does acknowledge the complexity of multilingualism in Sweden, however. In fact, some recommendations expressly describe the need to increase understanding and awareness of linguistic diversity:

> Recommendation 20: Measures shall be taken to bring about a positive change in attitudes towards the Swedish language and different linguistic varieties.

> Recommendation 43: Continuing professional development for teachers shall include issues relating to language variation.

> Recommendation 45: Efforts shall be made to promote a more open attitude towards and tolerance of linguistic variation.

Furthermore, the proposal takes into account the evolving nature of multilingualism in Sweden by recommending on-going research in language planning and continued review of the efficacy of language policies that are enacted:

> Recommendation 62: A special initiative shall be taken to promote research on language planning.

Recommendation 66: Language policy shall constitute a separate policy area.

Recommendation 68: A single ministry should be given overall responsibility for language policy.

Recommendation 75: The Committees Ordinance shall be amended to require mandatory assessment of the language consequences of proposals made in Committee reports.

So while "[language] policies are usually designed to minimize many complex aspects of societal multilingualism because such complexity is inconvenient for the workings of the modern post-industrial state" (Schiffman 1996: 28), *Mål i mun* does make an attempt to build the complex nature of multilingualism into the policy proposal. In this way, the proposal seems to take into account the sociolinguistic reality with respect to English in Sweden to a great extent.

Whether any of the language policy recommendations will prove to be fruitful depends on a number of important factors. First, it is important to consider whether there is a mandate among people in Sweden for a language policy in the first place. This is already being discussed in the popular press in Sweden (e.g., Elgh 2002; Josephson 2002; Lindblom 2002). In addition, more sociolinguistic research on precisely how English is used everyday, by whom, and for what purposes is certainly needed to reveal the specific language use issues on which policy is most usefully focused.

Moreover, the feasibility of language policy recommendations must also be taken into account. Are there resources available and infrastructure in place to execute the recommendations for which a mandate may present itself? These are essential factors for policy implementation; more research clearly needs to be conducted in these areas in order to determine the potential for *Mål i mun*, or any parts of it, to be successfully implemented.

Summary and Conclusion

A number of studies (e.g., Gunnarsson & Öhman 1997; Hollqvist 1984; Teleman 1992) have shown that high-level English proficiency and communication is part of the register and expectations for domains like higher education as well as international trade and commerce. In these domains English is perceived as vital to international interests and it is expected that those who choose to work in these domains will have learned, and so be able to use, English at a high level.

My account of English in the Swedish linguistic culture of these two cities suggests that English is in the process of being appropriated and

integrated with daily interaction in public and interpersonal domains as well. In these domains it is often expected that individuals will have at least basic conversational skills in order to communicate with non-Swedish speakers. Beyond this, however, there seems to be a sense that English can be appropriated for use together with Swedish for expressive purposes. In this way, the choice to use English in daily life and its con-comitant importance for Swedes is perhaps, at least in part, a bottom-up process. This is potentially a crucial point in understanding the nature of English in Sweden, and surely in other areas of the world as well, because to view the growing use of English in all its forms as the exclusive result of top-down pressures ignores "a sense of agency, resistance, or appropri-ation" of English by its users (Pennycook 2000: 114).

The point of concern, though, is what the appropriation of English represents to people who use it and how this potentially serves to posi-tion English as related to progress and social development. In this way, the place of English in Swedish linguistic culture is related to how people use and think about English, which involves both locally/nationally sit-uated beliefs (Schiffman 1996) and transnationally situated ideologies (Phillipson 1992). Language policies can serve to condition social circum-stances in a way that brings agency and resistence to the fore (Cooper 1989). With regard to explicit language policies about English, Pennycook (2001) proclaims that, "Unless we can find ways to step out of the English-versus-other-languages dichotomy to appropriate English to serve different ends, to reclaim English to become a language through which other cultures can find expression, and to appropriate other lan-guages for non-traditional purposes, we will have failed…"(216). This is, perhaps, what Gunnarsson (2001) means when she writes,

> Swedes should stick up for the Swedish model, both linguistically and communicatively. We should help to ensure that English becomes more Swedified…If the Swedish of tomorrow is not to be a product of the lin-guistic dominance of English I therefore believe that Swedes must retain their cultural individuality even in international contexts and even when they are speaking English. (65-66)

The present study has suggested that the nature and position of English in Sweden is quite complex. Rather than being imposed only from above, it is seemingly developing from the ground up as an integral part of Swedish linguistic culture as well. A language policy that is designed for this complex sociolinguistic situation should take into account the complexity of the linguistic culture. *Mål i mun* appears to be a sound attempt to draw upon available sociolinguistic research to put forth ways to maintain the strength of Swedish while at the same time recognizing the importance of English to the Swedish context.

The question remains, however: Is English a potential problem for Sweden to the point where a language policy is needed to strengthen

Swedish in the face of English? The position of English in relation to strong national languages, like Swedish, is only beginning to be studied carefully and there is much more we still have to learn. English is certainly capable of coexisting with other national languages without being a threat (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996) but more research is needed which examines the role of English in all facets of the linguistic culture of Sweden, and similar polities, in order to determine if the most effective way to achieve thriving societal bilingualism with English is via overt, official language policies like *Mål i mun*.

My exploration of the linguistic culture of Sweden here is but a small step towards understanding the complex relationship between English and Swedish in Sweden. It is clear, though, that English is and will remain an articulated component of Swedish life and, as Boyd (1999) suggests, both English and Swedish have their places in Swedish society. An overt policy that takes into account what is currently known about Swedish linguistic culture may be a welcome codification of certain current linguistic practices while also serving to ensure that everyone receives access to the linguistic resources required for success in many domains of society. Still, much too little is known at this point about the relationship between English and Swedish in Sweden's linguistic ecology. We must forge ahead with more research that addresses the ecological factors that contribute to the nature and implications of English in Sweden's linguistic culture if any overt language policy is to be truly comprehensive and constructive.

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Beyond the Dictogloss: Learner-Generated Attention to Form in a Collaborative, Communicative Classroom Activity

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Recent research has shown there is a need for activities that consistently create an environment which pushes students to focus their attention on form in the process of communicating meaning. This paper begins to address this need by introducing a task developed by one of the authors: the "Dictowatch." We report that a pilot study in an undisturbed classroom showed the activity to draw frequent attention to a wide range of linguistic forms at an encouraging level of success.

Introduction[1]

As teacher/researchers, we are often concerned that "research on L2 learning has little to say to [our] everyday classroom needs and decisions" (Pica 1994a: 49). Given our interest in the Focus on Form (FonF) theoretical approach to ESL, we face certain practical questions: How do I make it work in my classroom tomorrow? What activities create an environment which pushes students? And finally, do I choose what forms they are going to focus on in advance or not? In this paper, we introduce an activity, dubbed the "dictowatch," which addresses these questions. The purpose of our research was to discover the quan-

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tity, quality and focus of learners' attention to form during the dic-
towatch.

Background

Noticing and Focus on Form

Many of the recent developments in SLA can be traced to Canada's
highly-regarded French immersion programs. This type of second lan-
guage teaching assumes that large amounts of "comprehensible input"
(Krashen & Terrell 1983: 32) are sufficient for young learners. However,
some researchers (see Doughty & Williams 1998: 3) found that certain lin-
guistic features failed to emerge, despite years of meaningful input. This
eventually inspired Focus on Form (FonF), a term coined by Long (1991,
cited in Doughty & Williams 1998: 3).

In Doughty and Williams' (1998) collection of papers on implement-
ing FonF in the classroom, Long and Robinson define FonF thus:

> During an otherwise meaning-focused classroom lesson, focus on form
> often consists of an occasional shift of attention to linguistic code fea-
> tures – by the teacher and/or one or more of the students – triggered by
> perceived problems with comprehension or production. (23)

It is in these episodes of communicative breakdown that students become
aware of certain differences between their interlanguage (IL) and the tar-
get language (TL), which Schmidt and Frota call "noticing the gap"
(1986, cited in Swain & Lapkin 1995: 373). It is believed that these
instances may be beneficial to students' learning by making information
about what can and cannot be said in the target language more salient
(Long 1996: 453). Harley (1993) claims that the non-salient linguistic fea-
tures that would most benefit from this sort of conscious attention are:

> 1. Features that differ in nonobvious, or for the learner, unexpected ways
> from the L1.

> 2. Features that are irregular, infrequent, or otherwise lacking in perceptu-
> al salience in the L2 input.

> 3. Features that do not carry a heavy communicative load. (Harley 1993:
> 251)

Two hypotheses that have made use of this noticing principal are "nego-
tiation" and "comprehensible output."

Negotiation

The value of encouraging or requiring students to work through, or
negotiate, "real or perceived gaps in communication" (Pica 1994b: 499), is
three-fold: it promotes "learners' comprehension of L2 input, their pro-

duction of modified output, and their attention to L2 form" (Pica 1994b: 500). It is the third function which has proved the most contentious. As many researchers have discovered, learners tend to negotiate primarily lexical items, with relatively little attention paid to morphosyntax (e.g. Ellis, Basturkmen & Loewen 2001: 425; Foster 1998: 17; Pica 1994b: 518; Williams 1999: 583). Foster (1998: 20) concludes that classroom activities "that are designed to draw students into negotiating *meaning* are on the wrong track" (original emphasis), however we find Pica's prognosis more attractive:

> These findings do not mean that learners and interlocutors *cannot* negotiate over verb tense and aspect, but that many of the communication activities in which they participate – both in research and in everyday life – do not demand their attention to these areas on grammar. (Pica 1994b: 518; original emphasis)

In this review of the negotiation literature, Pica calls for the design of new tasks which will require students to negotiate a wider range of linguistic form. Thus "negotiation for meaning" and "negotiation for form" (Lyster 1998: 53) can both be considered two sides of the FonF coin when learners' attention is drawn to form "*in the context of 'making meaning'*" (Swain 1998: 69; original emphasis). Indeed it may not always be evident which species of negotiation is occurring, because "learners' comprehension of meaning can be the *result* of their access to L2 form rather than its precursor" (Pica 1994b: 508, original emphasis; see also Williams 1999: 584).

Comprehensible Output

Swain's work on "comprehensible output" (CO) and "pushed output" (1985, 1995) are seminal to FonF:

> It is *while attempting to produce* the target language (vocally or subvocally) that learners may notice that they do not know how to say (or write) precisely the meaning they wish to convey. In other words, under some circumstances, the activity of producing the target language may prompt second language learners to recognize consciously some of their linguistic problems. (Swain 1998: 67; original emphasis)

She also claims that in producing pushed output, the student is sometimes forced to process syntactical issues that would not ordinarily cause a breakdown in interaction (Swain & Lapkin 1995: 372). At this stage, learners are no longer concerned only with understanding meaning, but are faced with the task of rendering it in a form that would be comprehensible to someone else. Although "the question of whether and how learners' output, or output modification, helps with L2 learning is still largely unanswered" (Shehedah 2002: 601), Swain (1998: 67) believes that CO "may trigger cognitive processes that might generate linguistic

knowledge that is new for the learner or consolidate the learner's existing knowledge."

One activity which has been frequently used in CO research is grammar dictation, commonly know as the "dictogloss" (Wajnryb 1990; and for a review of the research see Swain 1998). In the dictogloss, a short passage, designed to practice a particular grammatical feature, is read twice at normal speed by the teacher. Students individually try to write down as much as they can, and subsequently work in small groups to "reconstruct" the text; that is, the goal is not to reproduce the original, but to "gloss" it using their combined linguistic resources (Wajnryb 1990: 12). The pilot study described in Swain (1998) resulted in students negotiating "vocabulary, morphology, and complex syntactic structures" (Swain 1998: 79) (although she does not give the proportions in this chapter).

However, we have some reservations about the dictogloss. The first is the low number of instances of conscious attention to linguistic problems in the output. Krashen points out that in the Swain & Lapkin study (1996, cited in Swain 1998), the average number of instances where a student "noticed the gap" when trying to produce the TL was 10.6 per student (Krashen 1998: 178); in Swain's pilot follow-up (1998), the average number of negotiations per pair was 10.7 in a 25-minute dictogloss (adapted from data in Swain 1998: 77). One of Krashen's primary concerns is similar to Foster's criticism of negotiation: CO does not occur enough to have an effect on linguistic competence (Krashen 1998: 180).

Second, the dictogloss is barely communicative in nature, and does not have the construction of meaning as its primary goal; furthermore it is not, as Wajnyrb (1990: 12) claims, an information gap, as the collective memory of the group may still be missing information. Third, the focus on form is intended to be proactive and intensive (the original text is "dense," Wajnryb 1990: 12), which Ellis et al. (2001: 411) suggest would put it out of the scope of FonF. Ironically, as Swain notes, the students did not in fact focus on the forms the passage was designed to highlight (two aspects of the past tense in French); instead they negotiated the gender and number of nouns. Swain (1998: 77) explains: "Students talked about what they needed to talk about according to the state of their own internalised knowledge."[2] Is the dictogloss text (but not the procedure) therefore effectively redundant? And can it be replaced with the learners' own language, so that it is truly reactive and extensive (Ellis et al. 2001: 412)?

Learner-Generated Attention to Form

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[2] Swain (1998: 75) modified Wajnryb's technique by instructing the students "that they should try to write their text so that it would be as close to the original as possible in grammar and content". That the students nonetheless chose to focus on different forms than those the classroom teacher had anticipated is therefore even more striking.

Much of the FonF literature deals with studies or techniques that are teacher-centered (e.g. Ellis et al. 2001: 417; Lyster 1998). However Williams' (1999) study of "learner-generated focus on form" posits three roles for learners in the FonF classroom: choosing the forms on which to focus, using their existing knowledge to spot holes or gaps, and modifying their output (Williams 1999: 589). Although the dictogloss does allow for all three roles, it limits the first, potentially at the risk of frustrating the teacher who has carefully prepared a lesson on the present perfect. If modified output "can be considered to represent the leading edge of a learner's interlanguage" (Swain 1998: 68), then greater autonomy must be given to learners to work at their own threshold and negotiate the language that best fits their needs. This is further supported by Leow (1998: 51) who found that when learners direct the task and their exposure to grammatical form, their accuracy is improved.

The problem is that too much freedom can be detrimental to the amount of FonF in learner-learner interaction – Williams (1999: 617) found much less attention to form in unstructured activities (compared to structured, forms-focused activities [Long & Robinson 1998: 3]) in the classes she studied, and the pair/group work environment has been shown to yield less FonF than teacher-fronted classes (Ellis et al. 2001: 426). Furthermore the language focus Williams did find was primarily (over 80%) lexical: "What learners notice is that they need words" (Williams 1999: 618). This last point, as we have noted, is a consistent finding in the FonF literature (nearly two-thirds of Ellis et al.'s teacher-fronted form-focused events negotiated vocabulary), and one which must be addressed in defense of the efficacy of this approach (see Foster 1998 for a comprehensive attack).

Taking all of this into account, the challenge which one of the present authors set himself was to design a communicative, meaning-focused classroom activity which would use the students' own language to direct their attention to a range of forms not normally salient in Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) activities, and which would not be dominated by lexicon. The activity would also fit a strict definition of FonF (Ellis et al. 2001: 411; Long & Robinson 1998: 23).

Methods

The Task

For the dictowatch students work in pairs, sitting opposite each other at computer consoles in the language laboratory. In the first stage of the activity, one partner narrates the action in half of a scene from a video (in this study, a 4-minute clip from an episode of the British television comedy, Mr. Bean), while the other, who cannot see the video screen takes notes. Halfway through the scene they change roles. Without showing each other their notes, the students then discuss with the aim of con-

structing an individual, complete narrative of the whole scene. As the students never see their partner's text (composed using a word processor), they must rely exclusively on oral input, the notes they took while their partner described the scene, and their own memory of half of the clip (stage 2). The goal of the activity is for both students' written accounts to be exactly identical, so in stage 3, the students compare their texts orally line by line in order to spot and correct any remaining differences.[3]

The dictowatch meets the theoretical principles outlined above. First, it is a communicative, meaning-focused activity; the product is meaningful and useful (narrating a scene). Furthermore, the prompt is motivating and popular, and we note the recent interest in Mr. Bean in SLA research (e.g. Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres & Fernández-García 1999; Skehan & Foster 1999). As Skehan and Foster (1999: 103) explain, Mr. Bean sketches are ideal because they are short, silent and widely appealing. In addition, the dictowatch fits a strict definition of FonF (Long & Robinson 1998: 23), as restated by Ellis et al. (2001: 411-12): the attention to form is meaning-centered, observable, incidental (unplanned), transitory, and extensive (covers many different forms).

As well as being communicative, the dictowatch efficiently promotes L2 comprehension, feedback, and modified output, as defined by Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun (1993: 17):

1. Each interactant holds a different portion of information which must be exchanged and manipulated in order to reach the task outcome.

2. Both interactants are required to request and supply this information to each other.

3. Interactants have the same or convergent goals.

4. Only one acceptable outcome is possible from their attempts to meet this goal.

The dictowatch fulfills the first three criteria. Each student has viewed half of the scene, but only has notes from the part of the scene that their partner narrated to them, and of which may have an incomplete understanding. Crucially, though, in order for the pair to produce matching papers, they are forced to communicate not only meaning (what happened), but also make form (how to narrate it).

Although we do not meet Pica et al.'s (1993) fourth criterion (there is no fixed text that serves as the correct answer), this may in fact be a strength of our activity, as it allows the language used and the forms in focus to be student-generated. In the dictogloss, the original text is highly controlled for lexicon and grammar; Wajnryb (1990: 7) recommends

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[3] The "Spot the Difference" task has been developed independently by Pica and her colleagues (Pica 2002).

pre-teaching key vocabulary, and Swain (1998: 73) also previews "a set of rules relevant to the grammatical point in focus." In the dictowatch, however, the students struggle with the words and forms they need to communicate and narrate the events they have seen. What is more, by insisting that "every word and every letter should match exactly" (see appendix A), the dictowatch encourages students to focus on non-salient forms, without proactively prescribing a grammatical goal, thus allowing students to work within the scope of their own IL. The focus of attention to both meaning and form is therefore centered on the students' needs, and suits realistic classroom situations where the proficiency level is rarely homogeneous.

Finally, in a modification to the dictogloss, both students write a text, rather than one student being elected as "scribe" (Wajnwyb 1990: 8). The whole class is therefore being pushed to produce comprehensible output.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of our research was to look at the dictowatch in an undisturbed classroom to analyze learners' spoken attention to form while doing the activity.

We formulated the following research questions:

RQ 1 : Is there substantial attention to form in the dictowatch transcripts?

RQ 2 : Do learners attend only to lexis, or to a variety of forms?

RQ 3 : Are there any trends or patterns in the types of Language Related Episodes (LRE)?

Procedure

The six participants of the study were upper-intermediate[4], full-time students at an intensive English language program in the United States. The data were collected in a normal lesson in an undisturbed class as Foster (1998: 4) advocates. The course, entitled Language Through Film, is an integrated skills class that meets five days a week for seven weeks. The students engage in video-based activities nearly every day, and the lessons takes place in a language laboratory once a week. As they speak to each other using headphones, it was possible to tape record them unobtrusively (but with their knowledge) on their individual consoles. The participants were selected from a class of 14 purely on the basis that they were the only students to attend on the snowy morning when the data were collected. They came from a variety of countries (Italy, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan). Three were male and three were female. Although the pairs were self-selected and not intentionally controlled by the

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[4] One student (S6) tested into the advanced level, but chose to join the upper intermediate class.

teacher/researcher, they cover all combinations of gender. While gender effects are not studied in this paper, we note research claims that gender influences the way students interact (e.g. Shehadeh 2002: 602). This was the students' third exposure to the dictowatch as a regular part of the course; therefore students were performing the activity and not learning it.

Coding

We first coded the data by identifying the students' attention to linguistic form, operationalized as LREs: "any part of a dialogue in which students talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or other- or self-correct" (Swain 1998: 70). This broad definition therefore serves as an umbrella term for a variety of other criteria used in the literature, including form-focused episodes (Ellis et al. 2001: 416), negotiation and negotiation for meaning (Foster 1998: 8; Pica 1994b: 494), non-understanding routines (Varonis & Gass 1985: 73), corrective feedback (Lyster & Ranta 1997: 44), recasts and repetition (Lyster 1998: 51), and self-correction (see Ellis 1994: 262). No attempt was made for the purposes of this study to categorize the data according to the nature of the LREs, although we believe this would be a fruitful next step in our research. Here we are not concerned with how students focus on form, but rather how much attention is given to what types of form, and if the result is successful. Nonetheless, we do distinguish between self-correction (where only the speaker is attending to form) and dialogue (in which both partners' attention is drawn to a particular focus).

We allowed our categories of LRE to be data-driven, although we were expecting certain forms to appear, such as morphosyntax and lexicon, as per previous research. We found a wide variety of forms in focus, which we grouped into three levels of linguistic analysis: (1) word level; (2) sentence level; (3) suprasentential (discourse) level. Our coding categories were as follows:

1. Word Level.

At this level we grouped the aspects of "what it means to know a word" that do not involve inflection or pragmatics (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999: 30), namely:

1 (a) Semantic Any discussion or self-correction focusing on the *meaning*

of a content word fell into this category. For example:

Excerpt 1

S1	It's not stone. I think it's - what can I say, rock
S2	Lock?
S1	Block.
S2	Block
S1	Block. Yeah, the block, to make, to make house.
S2	House.
S1	Red, red block.
S2	Ah, brick? I think brick.
S1	Ah yeah, brick. (T1: 8)[5]

1 (b) Orthography When the spelling of a word was requested, questioned or corrected, it was included here. For example:

Excerpt 2

S3	His nightgown. (.) Night<u>gown</u>.
S4	How to spell gown?
S3	G-O-W-N.
S4	Thank you. G-O-W-N. (T2 : 11)

However, when spelling out a word was a strategy to negotiate a different form (for example, a plural or verb form), the LRE was coded according to the underlying communicative breakdown. For example, excerpt 3 is coded type 1a (semantic):

Excerpt 3

S4	He starts driving and bump – bump into.
S3	Bump?
S4	B-U-M-P.
S3	B-U-M?
S4	M-P.
S3	M-P. (T2 : 12)

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[5] Excerpts from our data are cited by transcript (see table 1) and page number. All students' names have been changed. Our transcription conventions are adapted from Jefferson's notation (Atkinson & Heritage 1999: 158-166) as follows:

　　　．　stopping fall in tone
　　　?　rising inflection
　　　,　continuing intonation
　　　!　animated tone
　　　-　halting, abrupt cut-off or interruption
　　　(.)　short, untimed pause
　　　( )　unclear on the tape
　　　[　overlapping or simultaneous utterances
　　　Emphasis is marked by <u>underlining</u>.

1 (c) Pronunciation It was often difficult to distinguish a focus on pronunciation from other LREs at the word level. However, occasionally it was clear that the transmission of ideas was interrupted because one partner's pronunciation was unintelligible to the other. In this example, S2 is trying to ask S1 whether they should use the tab key on the computer keyboard to indent the first paragraph:

Excerpt 4

S2	OK. First we need – space.
S1	Space?
S2	Space.
S1	Just one space?
S2	Or top – top – top key? OK. And.
S1	Sorry?
S2	Yeah, no?
S1	What is top key?
S2	Top key.
S1	What's that? Space key, you mean?
S2	Ah – do you know, on the – how to say – keyboard?
S1	Yeah.
S2	And the left side.
S1	Yeah. Tab, T-A-B?
S2	Yeah. T-A-B, tab. (T1: 5)

In the above interaction, we note that S2's pronunciation of "tab" is correct in the last line, showing evidence of uptake on her part.

2. Sentence Level

At the sentence level, we include Celce-Murica and Larsen-Freeman's "subsentential" and "sentential" levels (1999: 13-22). In practice, we were looking at morphosyntax and clause boundaries (where to put commas and periods). Our categories were:

2 (a) Morphosyntax

2 (a) i. Verb inflections The vast majority of these LREs were subject/verb agreements (excerpt 5), although there were a few instances of other verb forms (progressive aspect, past simple tense).

Excerpt 5

S5	And put his clothes and –
S6	And puts.

S5	Puts.
S6	Don't forget the 's'!
S5	Yeah, thank you. (T3: 8)

2 (a) ii. Determiners Most of the determiners to which the students attended were articles (excerpt 6), but there were a few instances of pronouns (excerpt 7).

Excerpt 6

S4	The last sentence, did you put 'the'? He puts the tooth paste –
S3	No no no. He puts thee?
S4	No 'the'? OK. I delete.
S3	Ah, 'the', yeah! I think we need 'the'.
S4	'The' is better.
S3	Yeah, he puts the toothpaste on a different place … (T2: 26)[6]

Excerpt 7

S6	He puts on a brown, I would say –
S5	His brown jacket.
S6	His? Or a?
S5	I think both of them you can – we can use.
S6	OK. His.
S5	His brown jacket. (T3: 16)

2 (a) iii. Plural inflection This category includes adding or deleting plural "-s" and also irregular plurals (notably feet and teeth). Excerpt 8 is an example of an LRE resulting in a grammatically incorrect solution.

Excerpt 8

S2	With his right foot. Right.
S1	And –
S2	Right foot. Feet? Right feet?
S1	Yeah, right feet.
S1	Feet. (T1: 15)

2 (a) iv. Preposition Less frequently, students drew attention to their choice

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[6] Scare-quotes have been added around the articles in this example for clarity.

of preposition:

Excerpt 9

S2	On the driver seat. In? I think on is.
S1	On?
S2	On. Ah, in? In.
S1	In.
S2	In.
S1	Yeah.
S2	In the driver seat. (T1: 20).

Any syntactical LREs which did not fit these categories were coded 2 (a) – Other.

2 (b) Punctuation Reading the transcripts, we were struck by the frequency of references to punctuation (periods and commas). This speaks to the recognition of complete sentences, the grammatical or stylistic use of commas, and also the decision to write simple, compound or complex sentences (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999: 20). Although arguably the last function would better fit the discourse level, the distinction would be hard to make, so we have included all attention to punctuation in the sentential level as a feature of written syntax. Excerpt 10 is a long LRE which negotiates two punctuation marks.

Excerpt 10

S5	Suddenly,
S6	Period at the end?
S5	Yeah, period. S is capital. Comma.
S6	Comma? Or period?
S5	He takes,
S6	No, [S5]. Comma or period?
S5	Ah, suddenly period. No no no ((laughs)).
S6	((laughs)) Suddenly period!
S5	Clothes into the car, period.
S6	OK.
S5	Suddenly, comma. (T3: 8)

As punctuation is not usually salient in speech, we included any verbalization ("period", "comma" etc.) as an LRE in this category.

3. Suprasentential Level

The suprasentential, or discourse, level of form focuses on the structure and organization of the paragraph, as well as higher level stylistic issues (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999: 23-25). Its categories are:

3 (a) Paragraph Division

Excerpt 11

S4	So, next paragraph?
S3	Yeah. He runs – ah, paragraph. Ah, not next paragraph. Yeah, we can continue.
S4	OK. (T2: 18)

3 (b) Logical Organization   This category includes the use of transition devices (excerpt 12), and reflections on ordering sentences within a paragraph (excerpt 13).

Excerpt 12

S5	Then you say the man – a man is wa-walking.
S6	Ah OK. Then –
S5	No then. I already used then.
S6	OK – aha – after. (T3: 24)

Excerpt 13

S4	Ah! Ah! So maybe before this sentence we need to add one sentence.
S3	Yeah. (T2: 12)

3 (c) Redundancy Occasionally, students considered whether words were redundant and could be elided, as in excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14

S5	Mr Bean is running. He's wearing –
S6	He's running (.) wearing,
S5	He is wearing pajama.
S6	No, without repeating "he is". Right?
S5	Mhm.
S6	I would say Mr Bean is running, wearing,
S5	Yeah.
S6	It's OK?
S5	It's OK. (T3: 6)

3 (d) Register We only found one case where students explicitly referred to register in order to change a word. In the scene, Mr. Bean is driving his car and attempting to brush his teeth; he rinses his mouth and spits the water out of the window, accidentally hitting a passer-by on the posteri-

or. Thus:

Excerpt 15

S6	So I don't, on his ass or on his back, how you prefer.
S5	It's back, I think it's OK.
S6	OK. Back. Ass is a bad word. (T3: 27)

Outcomes

Following Swain (1998: 77) we also coded for LREs that failed or resulted in incorrect solutions. In an "incorrect" LRE, the students agreed on a non-targetlike form, as in excerpt 8, above. A "failed" LRE was defined as one in which the "problem [was] not solved or [there was] disagreement about problem solution" (Swain 1998: 77). Thus, LREs in which the students failed to come to a consensus, gave up their negotiation and moved on, or did not realize that they had come to different solutions were marked in this way, as in excerpt 16:

Excerpt 16

S1	He – picks –
S2	Kicks a stone.
S1	Picks, P-I-C-K-S?
S2	K-I-C-K-S.
S1	P-I-C-K-S. Yeah. (T1: 8)

In this dialogue, there are two failed LREs : the first for the article (S2 is trying to insist on the indefinite article in her first turn) and the second for pronunciation ('kicks' or 'picks'). Spelling, as has been noted, was a strategy for resolving the breakdown, which here fails because they both believe they have the same word. The confusion here, incidentally, is resolved in the third stage of the activity. Excerpt 17 is an example of students admitting defeat during a dialogue about semantics (1a).

Excerpt 17

S6	You can say – he leans on the window?
S5	You say he puts his head out of the window.
S6	Yeah. Or you can say he leans on.
S5	Leans on?
S6	I'm not sure.
S5	I don't know that word. What's the meaning leans?
S6	Lean? When you put your hand outside. What if is incorrect? I don't know.
S5	I'm not sure, I'm sorry. (T3: 21-22)

Nesting

Finally, we found that LREs could be nested within one another. This is similar to the "multiple layers of trigger-resolution sequences" in Varonis & Gass' study (1985: 78) which have "multiple embeddings" (81). We coded each LRE separately, for example:

Excerpt 18

1. S2	He put off his pajama?
2. S1	Yeah, pajama. Upper, upper pajama.
3. S2	Ah, upper pajama.
4. S1	Yeah, he's changing?
5. S2	He – he – how about he is, he take off his upper pajama?
6. S1	Yeah.
7. S2	And he's changing his clothes.
8. S1	He takes off –
9. S2	He takes off –
10. S1	Off – his upper, U-P-P-E-R.
11. S2	U-P-P-E-R? Upper –
12. S1	Pajama. (T1: 11-12)

In turn 1, S2 asks whether "put off" is the correct verb (1a, semantic); this LRE is continued in turns 4 and 5. In the meantime, S1 suggests another phrase ("changing his clothes" – 1a, semantic) in turn 4 which S2 agrees to add to the sentence in turn 7. In between, there is another semantic negotiation which returns an incorrect solution ("upper pajama" is non-targetlike; turns 2-3). In addition, S1 corrects the subject-verb agreement on "takes" in turn 8 (2a i), and the spelling of "upper" is discussed in turns 10 and 11 (1b, orthography).

Results

The three recordings (totaling around three hours of data) yielded a total of 385 LREs, or an average of 128.3 per dyad (around two LREs on average every minute). The forms in focus during the LREs are summarized in Table 1. Around a third of the total LREs focused on the word level, with 19.5% of the total being semantic in nature; over half showed attention to the sentence level, with a striking 40.5% syntactic; and 31 LREs, or 8.1%, had suprasentential foci.

Within the syntactical category, verb forms and determiners predominated. The verb forms were mostly subject-verb agreement (only 17 out of 69 focused on other inflections), and the determiners were almost all articles, with a few cases of possessive pronouns (the car or his car). The three tokens in the "other" category comprised of a pronoun, a possessive and an instance of faulty word order.

When we counted the LREs produced in each stage of the activity (table 2), we found the vast majority (290 out of 385, or 75.3%) occurred

in stage 2, the collaborative writing task, and covered the full spread of categories. The LREs in the first (on-line narrative) stage were mostly at the word level (75%), as students self-corrected or negotiated lexical items or pronunciation. Despite the focus on meaning in this stage, there were still occasional shifts of attention to morphosyntax (verb form, articles and plurals).

The results for the final stage (comparing) are problematic. One pair (S6 and S5) did not complete the activity in order: after constructing a narrative for the first half of the scene (stage 2), they compared their written versions (stage 3) and then wrote the narrative for the second half (stage 2), which they never compared due to lack of time. Another pair (S1 and S2) started stage 3 when the teacher instructed them, but when they finished, they continued their unfinished narrative (stage 2). Overall, a holistic reading of the transcripts reveals that little time was spent on this third stage; however there were still 45 LREs, with almost half of them evidencing attention to clause structure (punctuation).

We also coded the data according to the outcome of the LREs (Table 3). Overall, we found very few failed or incorrect LREs (24 of each), meaning that over 80% of the LREs were successful (i.e. found consensus) and reached a targetlike solution (self-corrections, see below, could not by definition fail, but they could have a non-targetlike resolution). Of the failed LREs, the majority were at the word level, as pairs failed to find or explain the meaning of a word, or did not resolve misunderstandings due to their pronunciation. Of the incorrect solutions, the majority (15) were syntactical (1 verb inflection, 7 determiners, 3 plurals, 3 prepositions and 1 other); however, 11 of these were produced by one dyad (S1 and S2).

Finally, we looked at the phenomenon of self-correction (Table 4). Overall, there were only 71 such LREs, but surprisingly the majority were syntactic (43) with an unexpected attention to subject-verb agreement and articles. There was a relatively lower number of self-correcting moves in dyad 3 (S5 and S6), possibly because S6 was a much more advanced student than the others in the class, and made fewer grammatical mistakes in his speech. This may also help to explain the lower overall total of LREs for this pair.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to propose a focus on form activity that fits all the criteria outlined at the end of the background section, and analyze its value by answering three research questions:

RQ 1 : Is there substantial attention to form in the dictowatch?

With an average of 128.3 LREs per dyad in approximately one hour, we are confident in answering yes to this question. The attention to form was intense, and the students found the activity engaging and motivating. Part of the reason may be the choice of video, and we are not the first

Table 1
Categories of LREs

Category	S1/S2 (T1)	S3/S4 (T2)	S5/S6 (T3)	Total (n)	(%)	Average per dyad
1. Word Level	**51**	**39**	**38**	**128**	**33.2%**	**42.7**
1(a) Semantic	*26*	*26*	*23*	*75*	*19.5*	*25.0*
1(b) Orthography	*12*	*7*	*11*	*30*	*7.8%*	*10.0*
1(c) Pronunciation	*13*	*6*	*4*	*23*	*6.0%*	*7.7*
2. Sentence Level	**86**	**90**	**50**	**226**	**58.7%**	**75.3**
2(a) Syntax	*68*	*61*	*27*	*156*	*40.5%*	*52.0*
i. Verb Form	*30*	*29*	*10*	*69*		
ii. Determiner	*19*	*18*	*13*	*50*		
iii. Plural	*10*	*7*	*0*	*17*		
iv. Preposition	*1*	*2*	*0*	*3*		
2(b) Punctuation	*18*	*29*	*23*	*70*	*18.2%*	*23.3*
3. Supersentential Level	**6**	**9**	**16**	**31**	**8.1%**	**10.3**
3(a) Paragraph division	*2*	*1*	*2*	*5*		
3(b) Logical Organization	*2*	*7*	*10*	*19*		
3(c) Redundancy	*2*	*1*	*3*	*6*		
3(d) Register	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*		
TOTAL	*143*	*138*	*104*	*375*		*128.3*

to find success with Mr. Bean (see above). There was a lot of laughter on the tapes, and not only when describing the protagonist's antics (see

Table 2
LREs by Stage

Category	Stage 1 Narrative	Stage 2 Writing	Stage 3 Comparing	Total
1.Word Level	30	91	7	128
1(a) Semantic	21	52	2	75
1(b) Orthography	0	26	4	30
1(c) Pronunciation	9	13	1	23
2. Sentence Level	10	178	38	226
2(a) Syntax	10	130	16	156
2(b) Punctuation	0	48	22	70
3. Supersentential Level	0	27	4	31
TOTAL	40	290	45	385

Table 3
Outcomes of LREs

Category	Failed	Incorrect	Successful & Correct
1.Word Level	19	9	100
1(a) Semantic	11	9	55
1(b) Orthography	2	0	28
1(c) Pronunciation	6	0	17
2. Sentence Level	5	15	206
2(a) Syntax	5	15	136
2(b) Punctuation	0	0	70
3. Supersentential Level	0	0	31
TOTAL	24	24	337

Table 4
Self-Corrections

Category	S1/S2 (T1)	S3/S4 (T2)	S5/S6 (T3)	Total
1. Word Level	**16**	**10**	**2**	**28**
1(a) Semantic	*10*	*7*	*2*	*19*
1(b) Orthography	*1*	*1*	*0*	*2*
1(c) Pronunciation	*5*	*2*	*0*	*7*
2. Sentence Level	**19**	**17**	**7**	**43**
2(a) Syntax	*19*	*17*	*7*	*43*
i. Verb Form	13	9	5	27
ii. Determiner	1	5	2	8
iii. Plural	3	3	0	6
iv. Preposition	2	0	0	2
v. Other	0	0	0	0
2(b) Punctuation	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
3. Supersentential Level	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
TOTAL	*35*	*27*	*9*	*71*

excerpt 10, above). The students seemed to relish the twin challenges of narrating the scene in detail, and producing identical texts. This concurs with our impression in numerous other classes using the dictowatch, andseems to be an advantage over the dictogloss, which our students have found more frustrating.

In fact, the success rate in the LREs was very high: around 80% of them were successful and were resolved accurately. Although we did not specifically look for "uptake" (Lyster & Ranta 1997: 44) in this study, we feel that the students' performance (both lexically and syntactically) improved during the lesson, implying that the attention to form demanded by the dictowatch was having a positive effect. The amount of self-correction, particularly of subject-verb agreement and articles (which in our experience is somewhat rare at this level) is further support for this claim.

RQ 2: Do learners attend only to lexis, or to a variety of forms?

The results clearly show a wide range of forms in focus, from semantics and other word-level issues, through the sentence level, and even to the suprasentential level. Semantics accounted for less than one fifth of the total LREs, and the largest single category was syntax (40.5%). It is particularly striking how much attention was drawn to less salient fea-

tures, such as third person and plural "-s", and articles. We observed broad consistency between the three pairs in terms of the types of form and the proportion of LREs in each category; however this has not been statistically tested. Overall, we can see all the students focusing to a greater or lesser extent on errors common to their proficiency level.

Punctuation accounted for almost 20% of the LREs, and although this is clearly not part of the oral language, we are encouraged by this figure because it demonstrates students' attention to clause structure, and suggests that the dictowatch might help develop academic writing skills, where sentence fragments and punctuation are common trouble spots.

Higher order episodes were infrequent but interesting. One pair in particular (S5 and S6) put considerable effort into writing a flowing paragraph with good transitions, and their final product is clearly more complex than the other pairs'. It is no coincidence that they were, according to the classroom teacher, the highest proficiency students in the study. As the directions for the task (Appendix A) do recommend students to look at the paragraph as a whole, we might speculate that lower level students will pay attention to higher order concerns if given more time for the third stage (see below).

RQ 3: Are there any trends or patterns in the types of LRE?

We were expecting that each stage of the dictowatch would promote different types of LRE, as the focus shifted from communicating meaning, to negotiating form, to structuring a coherent narrative. The results from these data are inconclusive (as discussed above) probably because time did not allow any group to write about the entire scene (S4 declared she was "so tired" at the end of stage 3). In the future, the comparing stage could probably take rather longer than was allowed in this lesson.

The distribution of LREs across categories for each pair, although broadly consistent, revealed some interesting patterns. S5 and S6 used the fewest LREs overall and produced the most complex and accurate written narrative. In absolute terms, they have the fewest sentence level LREs (possibly because subject/verb agreement, plurals and articles appeared to be very stable in S6's interlanguage) and the most suprasentential attention. At the other end, S1 and S2, whose level was about average for this class, produced the largest number of LREs (almost 40 more than S6 and S5), and the least attention to the discourse level. They also had the most difficulty with spelling and pronunciation, and settled on 11 incorrect syntactic forms (mostly missing articles).

The analysis of outcomes reveals a trend: most of the failed LREs were lexical, and most of the incorrect ones were syntactical. S1 and S2's data show awareness of the choice to be made between articles in English, but their relatively frequent errors suggest that this feature is indeed the threshold of their interlanguage. We propose therefore that the students

are attending to forms as they become aware of their existence, and given the autonomy of the dictowatch, choose to work on these features.

The failed semantic LREs might be explained by the difficulty of the vocabulary in question. Unlike the dictogloss (particularly in Swain's implementation), students can avoid words they cannot find, as in excerpt 19 where S1 and S2 are trying to explain that Mr. Bean drops toothpaste on the dashboard. They both clearly know the part of the car in question, but the word escapes them.

Excerpt 19

S2	On the – how to say – bonnet – not bonnet.
S1	Hood.
S2	Not hood. In the – in front of driver there is some – something like kind of table, not table.
S1	Yeah, there is space
S2	Space, yeah.
S1	between mirror – and between –
S2	Glass?
S1	Glass.
S2	And driver.
S1	What can I say?
S2	Drops the toothpaste on the – on the –
S1	On the –
S2	Just drops the toothpaste.
S1	Yeah. (T1: 22)

Implications for further research

Our results suggest that the dictowatch is not only a successful classroom activity (which we both use enthusiastically) but also a fruitful site for further research. Some possible lines of study might be:

1. An analysis of the notes produced during stage 1 and the texts submitted at the end of the dictowatch. In fact, pairs rarely turn in absolutely identical paragraphs and it would be interesting to know what they write down during the online narrative, and how they use it in the composition stage.

2. A cross-sectional study of ESL students at different levels attempting the dictowatch, following Williams (1999). S5 and S6's transcript, although something of an anomaly for this paper, suggests that level would have an important effect.

3. An analysis of the structure of the LREs produced in the dictowatch. As we noted in the coding section, this is a blanket term to cover a wide range of concepts found in the interaction literature. We are particularly interested in negotiation for meaning (Pica 1994b: 497), types of corrective feed-

back (Lyster & Ranta 1997: 44), modified output (Swain 1998: 68), uptake (Lyster & Ranta 1997: 44) and embedding (Varonis & Gass 1985: 81).

4. A comparative study of the dictowatch and dictogloss. Although this has major methodological obstacles (choosing a text for the dictogloss, primarily), we would like to find statistical support for our claim that the dictowatch is a constructive modification of Wajnryb's classic technique. We would also want to know the rate of LREs in a defined unit of speech.

5. Further research into the stages of the dictowatch. As discussed above, we hypothesize that the types of LRE which predominate in each stage will be different, but we need to control the time and level of the students more carefully in order to yield useful results.

6. Does the choice of video clip and the nature of the assignment affect the types and amount of LREs? We have used the dictowatch technique with clips from other movies and different episodes of Mr. Bean. We have also asked students to produce texts other than narratives (compare and contrast essays, for example). We speculate that task type will be a significant factor in students' attention to form.

7. Research into the consistency of students' attention to form during the dictowatch. Our experience, supported by the literature, is that the dictogloss is only successful with some students, and is somewhat unpredictable. We believe that the dictowatch is compatible with many different "learning styles" (Oxford 1990) and "intelligences" (Gardner 1985), but we will need to conduct a larger project in order to provide empirical evidence for this claim.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while we are aware of a number of issues that need to be addressed in further research, we are confident the dictowatch is a useful addition to both teachers' and researchers' repertoires for focusing students' attention to a rich variety of form during meaningful interaction.

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Appendix A : Directions[7]

You and your partner will work together to create a detailed description of a scene from the British TV show Mr. Bean. There will be three steps:

STEP 1. a) Partner A will watch the first half of the scene and will describe it as it is happening to Partner B. Partner B will not be able to see the scene. (If this activity is done in the lab, then Partner B will have turned the computer monitor off. If this activity is done in the classroom, Partner B will have turned away from the TV.) On a piece of scratch paper, Partner B will write down as much information as possible from Partner A's description. The scene will only be shown once.

b) Your teacher will stop the tape in the middle of the scene and will ask you to switch roles. Partner A 's monitor should be turned off and Partner B's turned on. Partner B will then describe the rest of the scene to Partner A, who will write down on a piece of scratch paper as much information as they can from B's description. Again, the scene will only be shown once.

STEP 2. Your teacher will stop the tape at the end of the scene. Then, by working together and drawing from both memory and notes, you will write a complete narrative of the entire scene on a separate sheet of paper from your notes. You should have two separate copies (one for A and one for B) of exactly the same thing.

STEP 3. After you have finished the narrative, go over your descriptions sentence by sentence to ensure you have exactly the same thing. Every word and every letter should match exactly. Once you are through with the first writing, read through it together again, and make any changes necessary to make sure your papers are accurate and match each other.

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[7] With thanks to Ula Cutten and Sharon Nicolary.

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