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ABSTRACT

This collection of lectures, which is the viewpoint that considers writing not only as a thinking tool but also a communication tool, and thus, a tool of interaction. addresses the interactive view of writing. Also included in the collection are two articles by Danish and Turkish writing researchers on writing in English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Following an introduction by the editor, papers are entitled: (1) "A Discourse Analysis of Narrative Essays Written in English by Danish Students" (Dorte Albrechtsen); (2) "Should We Always Ask Students to Redraft Their Writing?" (Tim Caudery); (3) "Composing in First and Second Languages: Possible Effects of EFL Writing Instruction" (Ayse Akyel and Sibel Kamisli); (4) "Collaborative Writing: Online and Face to Face" (Stephen Doheny-Farina); (5) "Text and Dynamics: Observations on Text Production at a Technical Workplace" (Karl-Heinz Pogner); and (6) "Pretend Play and Learning to Write" (Helga Andresen). (CR)

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Writing:

Text and interaction

ED 414 533

Edited by
Karl-Heinz Pogner

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No. 14,
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**ODENSE
WORKING PAPERS
IN LANGUAGE
AND COMMUNICATION**

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Text and interaction

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Introduction

Karl-Heinz Pogner

This volume of the *Odense Working Papers in Language and Communication* (OWPLC 14) is the third volume in this series, which deals with the subject of writing. Whereas the first volume "At skrive, schreiben, writing" (OWPLC 1) was completely geared to process didactics and writing in school or academic settings, "More about writing" (OWPLC 6) already indicated a change of perspective. That volume also concentrated on didactic considerations, and writing was seen not only as a testing tool but also as a thinking tool. Principally, though, it stressed the necessity to also study non-academic or non-school writing, in order to avoid restricting our view of writing in general by concentrating exclusively on academic or school writing. Studying writing in the "real world" shows that writing is not only a thinking tool, but also a communication tool and thus a tool of interaction.

This interactive view was the starting point for the *Third Odense WritingDay*, held at Odense University on May 17, 1996, the lectures of which are presented in this volume of the Odense Working Papers. The lectures are completed by two articles by Danish and Turkish writing researchers which deal with writing in English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

The concept of "interaction" is understood in its widest possible sense here and therefore includes:

- the "interaction" between writers and text (Caudery),
- the "interaction" between writing in the mother tongue (L1) and in a foreign language (L2) (Akyel/Kamışlı);
- "social interaction" in the narrow sense, i.e., the interaction between co-authors and between writers and readers (Doheny-Farina and Pogner).

Two other articles do not deal directly with writing as a form of interaction, but with aspects which could improve this form of interaction or prepare for it. Thus, the measurement of text quality is studied in order to improve feedback - whether this should be an interaction between teacher and students or take the form of peer feedback (Albrechtsen). Another topic studied is the question of, whether and how children's interaction in play (especially in "pretend play") makes the development of literacy possible or may encourage it (Andresen).

In general, the articles of this volume deal with various different central features of writing along the axis "**text - process - interaction**" which not only characterizes the intellectual history of the discipline 'composition studies' (cf. Nystrand, Greene and Wiemelt 1993), but also represents current positions in writing research (cf. Péry-Woodley 1991). In this volume, these different positions are presented by an article with an approach from text linguistics (Albrechtsen), by three articles on an individual cognitive or social cognitive point of view (Caudery and Akyel/Kamışlı; Andresen) and by two case studies with social interactive approaches.

Text

In her article, *Dorte Albrechtsen* investigates ways of distinguishing essays assessed as good from those rated as poor. Her study is based on a discourse analysis of narrative texts by Danish students (age 16-19) in L2: English. It shows that especially the degree of evaluation ("Do the writers motivate the narration of the event?") and the degree of sophistication in structure and character description (degree of structural depth; "Do the characters have inner lives?") discriminate positively assessed texts from negatively evaluated ones.

Process

Tim Caudery also examines foreign-language writing in a learning situation - here it takes place at university level (L2: English). Using a case study, he analyses the effect - or lack of effect - of redrafting on text quality. His study shows that redrafting as a full-scale redraft (**without** feedback) in and on itself is unlikely to improve L2 texts. Caudery concludes that many students already know the strategy of redrafting but are often handicapped in using it by having insufficient knowledge of the L2 language code. In order to improve text quality the learning of linguistic alternatives, the practising of other forms of revision as the full-scale redraft thus seems to be just as necessary as giving feedback - by the teacher or by peers.

The third article deals with interactions between writing in L1 (Turkish) and in L2 (English). *Ayşe Akyel and Sibyl Kamışlı* compare not only L1 and L2 writing processes but also the influence of L2 writing teaching on L1 and L2 writing processes. In their within-study, they come to the conclusion that, in spite of some differences (for example in revising), the similarities between the students' L1 and L2 writing processes predominate. They also conclude that mainly process- and interaction-oriented forms of teaching improve the students' idea generation not only in L2, but also in L1 - although the improvement is less pronounced in the second case than in the first one.

Social interaction

Stephen Doheny-Farina's article expands the spectrum of the forms of writing investigated in two ways: on the one hand, it takes into account forms of writing to be found outside the context of teaching; on the other, it explores electronically mediated collaborative writing. Doheny-Farina is interested mainly in conflicts taking place in collaborative writing and their treatment - whether they are task-oriented conflicts, procedural disagreements or interpersonal differences. After the description and evaluation of a teaching experiment, Doheny-Farina throws a glance at the future of the "virtual classroom" in which teaching and learning methods of the kind described in his article could play an important role. In his article, Doheny-Farina is especially interested in opening writing in teaching/learning contexts towards writing in the "real world".

Precisely this writing in the "real world" is the centre of attention in the next article, a case study on the field of "writing in the workplace" (Spilka 1993). In this article, *Karl-Heinz Pogner* shows that writing by consulting engineers is simultaneously end **and** means of text production, consultancy, technical planning and negotiation of text **and** task. In these negotiating activities, a draft is formulated as a kind of proposal which is commented upon by the reader (= the client and eventual user of the text). The writer then reacts to this commentary in the next version of the document. This kind of writing differs from writing in school settings in features such as the dynamic character of its context. Context and "reality" are shaped, confirmed or changed in and **by** the written communication (= interaction), whereas in school settings the context is relatively stable.

In the last article, we leave written communication and turn to oral communication. In her analyses, *Helga Andresen* studies a special form of playing in which pre-school children, for example, pretend to be mother and child or doctor and patient etc. This form of playing requires a high degree of metacommuication and coherence, and, above all, the construction of inner symbolic representations. These are all abilities which play important roles in the development of writing ability. Andresen concludes that in these pretend plays, "children negotiate the meaning of their behaviour interactively before they can do it alone - in their minds". It thus prepares them to negotiate inner representations of meaning, an important requirement for the development of writing competence (cf. Flower 1994).

Andersen's article closes our short journey through the world of writing research. It led us from the learning situation "school" to the learning setting "university" and on into professional life, finally leading back to another learning context in which children playfully acquire important prerequisites for learning to write.

All that is left for me to do is to thank those who made this journey possible. These include the contributors to the WritingDay and the authors of this volume of the Odense Working Papers, but I would also like to thank the institutions which supported the conference and the publication in one way or another, especially the Institute of Language and Communication at Odense University, the Arts Faculty at Odense University, and the Institute of Business Languages and Communication at the Southern Denmark Business School.

Finally, I would like to thank all colleagues who helped to organize the conference or helped with linguistic advice for the publication: Dominic Bree, Tim Caudery, Simon Clement, Stephen Doheny-Farina, Stuart Greene, Paul Harrison, Leo Hoye und Martina Oligschläger.

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OWPLC 14: 1-40

A discourse analysis of narrative essays written in English by Danish students

Dorte Albrechtsen

Summary

The aim of the study presented here has been to develop a method of analysis that will capture discourse features that characterize poor and good narrative essays respectively. The essays were written in English by Danish students (age 16 to 19). A modified version of the narrative analysis developed by Labov and Waletzky was used. This analysis resulted in a number of measures for each text. A factor analysis was applied to these measures yielding three factors that together explained 67,9% of the total variance. In relation to the two dominant factors, subsequent analyses of variance and T-tests showed significant differences between skill but not grade level. The findings are related to Bereiter's and Scardamalia's concepts of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming. Finally tentative teaching implications are presented.

1 Introduction

The current interest in the writing process should not lead us to disregard the written product altogether (e.g. Coe 1987 and Swales 1990). An essential part of process writing pedagogy comprises reacting to the written product in various stages on its way to the final copy. Whether this reaction is from the teacher, from other students in response groups or from the writer himself, we need to become better at pinpointing strong and weak features in these products. For this to take place, an awareness of the discourse level of essays on the part of teachers as well as students might prove useful.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, discourse knowledge, especially knowledge of discourse structure, seems to be important for efficient processing. According to Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987), the writer needs to be able to set up mental representations of his/her intended text at a level of abstraction that allows him/her to step back and critically evaluate his emerging text. Knowledge of discourse structure is a necessary but not a sufficient precondition for this to take place.

Analyses of the discourse level of the end product will tell us something about the writer's state of declarative knowledge in this respect. As to the product as a window on the process, discourse level analysis might help us to qualified guesses as to the type of processing that the product is the result of.

The aim of the study presented here[1] has been to develop a method of analysis that will capture discourse features that characterize poor and good narrative student essays respectively. The article will focus on the narrative analysis adopted and on the statistics applied to the raw data of the analysis. The results of the analysis will be related to Bereiter's and Scardamalia's (1987) concepts of knowledge telling and knowledge transforming.

2 Data collection

The data for the present study comprise a sub-sample of 78 essays selected from a main sample of 198 essays. The sub-sample was randomly picked from three quality levels from whole classes in sixth form colleges randomly selected from the whole country.

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[1] The article is based on a Ph.D. thesis for the University of Copenhagen (Albrechtsen 1992). The work reported on was the Danish contribution to the NORDWRITE project (cf. Albrechtsen, Evensen, Lindeberg and Linnarud 1991).

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The sampling procedure for the sub-sample to be analyzed was to pick out 2 low score, 2 mid score and 2 high score essays from each of the four regions from which data had been collected. The essays were collected from grade 10, grade 11 and grade 12 (i.e. the first, the second and the third/final year in the Danish sixth form college). The age of the students range from 16 to 19. (Grade 10: 23 essays, grade 11: 22 essays and grade 12: 23 essays.)

The assignment given to all students was[2]:

> Here are some words:
>
> - crash
> - police
> - ambulance
>
> What do you think happened? Write the story.

Students wrote the essays in class during a double period (i.e. 90 minutes); identical instructions were kindly administered by the students' teachers.

The class teacher evaluated the essays using the grading system normally used in sixth form colleges. Teachers were asked to view this task as one of the many evaluation tasks they carry out during the year.

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[2] This assignment was devised by the NORDWRITE group. The actual wording of the assignment had to be simple in that the same assignment was to be given to all grade levels that were covered in the project i.e. from grade 8 to university level.

3 Narrative analysis used in the study

For the present study, a slightly modified version of Labov's and Waletzky's (1967) method of analysis was used. Their analysis has the advantage over and above other types of narrative analyses (e.g. Stein and Glenn 1979) that it does not presuppose goal directed action. Due to the accident script built into the assignment many of the stories were not goal directed.

In Labov's and Waletzky's analysis the top level categories are: abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. The abstract and the coda are optional categories. To minimize the intuitive element in arriving at these top level categories, they use a bottom-up approach. Whereas Labov and Waletzky operate with the independent clause as their unit of analysis, the present study operates with so-called functional units (cf. Lieber 1980 and Lindeberg 1986). By and large the functional unit (F-unit for short) corresponds to the independent clause or clause equivalent, but certain dependent clauses also qualify as F-units: these are non-restrictive relative clauses and non-restrictive appositives, plus adverbial clauses or clause equivalents with the exception of purely temporal and locative clauses. These units are coded depending on their function in the narrative text.

The backbone in any narrative is the presentation of a sequence of events. Any F-unit that represents such an event is here labelled C-unit. C-units differ from other units by having temporal juncture. F-units that give information on time, place and characters are labelled O-units. F-units that do not contribute to advancing the sequence of events and that do not provide information on the setting are labelled E-units. These units are exemplified in 1).

1) It was eight o'clock in the morning. = O-unit
Tom woke up. = C-unit
He felt lousy. = E-unit
He went to the kitchen = C-unit
to prepare some breakfast. = E-unit
[Contrived example.]

According to Labov/Waletzky, the evaluation component of a narrative is essential in that it helps ensure that the audience is not left with a 'so what' impression. Or to put it differently a mere presentation of a sequence of events makes up a narrative but not a story. For a narrative to qualify as a story, the teller needs to reveal his purpose in telling the story.

To make the present analysis more quality sensitive, the E-units were further subcategorized mainly according to the types of previous units they related to. Thus E-units that relate to C-units were labelled NARUNITS, E-units that relate to other E-units were labelled EVAUNITS, E-units that relate to O-units were labelled ORIEUNITS, and finally E-units that are not related to other units and that provide information about characters in the story were labelled CHARACT[3]. (For examples of these units cf. the student texts in Appendix B.)

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[3] The categorization presented here in fact represents the main categories of a much more detailed subcategorization. The category NARUNITS had 18 subcategories, ORIUNITS 8, EVAUNITS 15 and CHARACT 4 subcategories. To illustrate, EVAUNITS had subcategories such as 'motivate previous or following E-unit', 'specify previous E-unit', 'result of previous or following E-unit', 'qualify previous or following E-unit' etc. This detailed subcategorization was introduced in the hope that, by applying all subcategories, the analyst was forced to consider more closely how one unit related to other units in the text and thereby avoid allocating a unit to a main subcategory to which it did not belong.

It goes without saying that only for some stories would one find a neat fit between the bottom level and the top level obligatory categories; that is only O-units for the orientation, a number of C-units for the complication, followed by E-units for the evaluation and finally a number of C-units for the resolution. Typically setting will be provided initially but also as the need arises due to for instance change of place, introduction of a new character etc. Also evaluation of the narrative is typically not confined to a separate section but will occur throughout the narrative as well (cf. the units labelled E in the two student texts in Appendix B).

Depending on the length and nature of the narrative, the top-level categories referred to above might recur at lower levels in a fairly complex hierarchical structure; thus making up an intermediate level in the analysis. This structure lends itself to representation in a tree diagram (cf. Appendix C for sample tree diagrams).

To be able to describe the intermediate level, additional categories were introduced. They have been picked more or less directly from various story grammars. The following definitions apply: **Setting**: Elements that inform the reader as to time, place, and/or character and that appear at nodes lower than the top nodes are called setting rather than orientation, unless the lower node in question is the first node in a complete, embedded narrative. **Event**: Event is a low level category that only governs one or more units that are separated by temporal juncture (i.e. C-units). **Episode**: Episode is an intermediate category that either governs at least one event node and one evaluation node, or at a higher level governs at least a complication and a resolution node and possibly also an orientation and an evaluation node.

4 The analysis of the data

On the basis of the analysis of the F-units and on the basis of the tree diagrams a number of measures were extracted for the statistical analysis of the data.

The number of units of each subtype were calculated for each text, yielding the measures O (for O-units), C (for C-units), ORIEUNITS, NARUNITS, EVAUNITS and CHARACT.

The interpretation of the tree diagrams gave rise to a number of measures that were expected to correlate with the holistic assessment of the student texts. One measure, related to structural concerns, comprised a figure indicating the number of non-terminal nodes at the second and third levels in the diagram for each text (cf. NONTNW). Another measure comprised a figure for the number of weak and strong semantic relations (cf. Beaugrande and Colby 1979) that hold between the different nodes in the tree diagram for each text. Weak relations were: 'then', 'and' and 'allow', and strong relations were 'cause', 'reason' and 'enable' (cf. STRONG-R).

A measure labelled structural sophistication (cf. STRUCT.S) was developed to distinguish between stories that somehow deviated from the 'set' macro-structure of orientation, complication, resolution. Stories were coded as having structural sophistication if for instance: a) the whole story comprised the resolution part of the narrative schema, b) the story started in medias res, c) the story had embedded 'stories' at lower levels in the tree diagrams

Finally a measure for the quality of character description was included in the statistical analysis (cf. CHAR.DES). The quality of character description was intuitively assessed. (Cf. Appendix A for the procedure followed in the analysis of the texts.)

Analysis of two sample texts

For illustration two texts will be presented and commented on. One is a low text from grade 10 (Text A), the other is a grade 12 high text (Text B). The two texts are reproduced in Appendix B.

The texts have been divided into F-units and coded for main unit type (AB, MO, O, C, E, CD). In addition all E-units have been subcategorized. (Note! AB refers to abstract and CD to coda.)

The number and percentages of the various types of units are given below in Table 1:
0

Text A	AB	O	C	E	CD	Total
No.	0	6	16	12	2	36
%	0	16.7	44.4	33.3	5.6	100

Text B	AB	O	C	E	CD	Total
No.	1	6	15	22	0	44
%	2.3	13.6	34.1	50.0	0	100

Table 1: Number and percentages of the different types of units in texts A and B

The number and percentages for the 6 subcategories of E-units are presented in Table 2 for each text.

Text A	NAR	ORIE	EVA	CHARAC
No.	10	0	2	0
%	27.8	0	5.6	0

Text B	NAR	ORIE	EVA	CHARAC
No.	10	1	11	0
%	22.7	2.3	25.0	0

Table 2: Number and percentages of the different types of subcategories in texts A and B

The tree diagrams drawn up for these texts are presented in Appendix C.

Text A has been divided into 5 top level categories, i.e. orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. The orientation section comprises units 1-5c. Here we get information about a new job for the main character and information about her mood. Some of the units in this section are C-units; the actions reported in these units are, however, seen as constituting a frame for the complicating action. The complicating action interrupts the chain of events initiated here. Units 6-8 make up the complicating action. The introduction of a division between unit 5c and 6 is supported by the fact that a sub-episode has been completed (i.e. her buying a dress) and a new action is initiated, i.e. her taking the bus, which is then interrupted by the accident. In addition, unit 6 starts with a focusing construction, i.e. a cleft sentence.

The complicating section is made up of a chain of events that ends with the arrival of the rescue team (it is possible to end the section with unit 7b as a kind of high point; on the other hand unit 8 can also be seen as a kind of high point in the sense that we still don't know how serious the accident was.) After this section follows a short evaluation section (units 9-10b) in which we get information about the outcome of the accident. The division between unit 8 and 9 is supported by a change of focus, i.e. from action to description of outcome and by the fact that in unit 9 there is a shift to a new major topic entity.

In the resolution section (units 11-15c) the problems created by the accident are resolved (i.e. the main character has a good excuse for being late for her first day in a new job, and the little boy recovers). The division between unit 10c and unit 11 is signalled by a shift to a new major topic entity (i.e. from 'the little boy' to 'I').

The last top level section is the coda (units 15d and 16). The division between unit 15c and 15d is clearly signalled in that there is a shift in tense from the past to the present, thus bringing the implications of the events reported up to the present.

At the second level in the tree diagram we find four non-terminal nodes, two in the orientation section and two in the resolution section. The first episode in the orientation section (units 2c-3c) relates her taking the bus. The break between unit 2b and unit 2c is signalled by a shift from static to dynamic verb. The second episode (units 4-5c) covers the 'buying a dress' event. The division between unit 3b and unit 4 is signalled by an adverbial clause placed initially. In the resolution section the first episode (units 11-13b) covers the 'explaining the delay' event. The second episode (units 14 -15c) covers the 'nursing of the little boy'. The division between unit 13b and unit 14 is signalled by a shift in time.

Text B has 1 top level section, i.e. resolution, in that the whole text relates the resolution part of the accident script. At the second level in the tree diagram we find four main sections: orientation, complication, evaluation and resolution.

The orientation section (units 1-10b) comprises an episode and a news report. Here time, place, character, and character's mood are introduced. The main character is presented mainly through actions; there are no orientation units in this section. The episode and the news report lead up to the complicating action.

The complication section (units 11-13b): The break between unit 10b and unit 11 is signalled by an adverb in initial position (i.e. 'suddenly'), by a shift in perspective and in main topic entity and by a typographical paragraph. The complicating section covers the main character's reaction to the news report, and ends with the terrible question he asks himself (i.e. was he the hit-and-run-driver?).

In the evaluation section (units 14-17b) the main character considers possible answers to this question. This section definitely interrupts the action and thus leaves the reader in suspense. The break between unit 13b and 14 is also signalled by an adverbial placed initially (i.e. 'no').

In the resolution section (units 18-23b), the action is rounded off and the conflict is resolved (i.e. he was not the hit-and-run-driver after all). The division between unit 17b and 18 is signalled by an adverb in initial position (i.e. 'suddenly') and by a typographical paragraph.

Table 3 below presents the number of non-terminal nodes for each level in the tree diagrams:

Levels:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Text A	4	4		
Text B	1	4	2	2

Table 3: Number of non-terminal nodes for each level in the tree diagrams

As to structural manipulation, the student writer of text B has chosen to let the whole text represent the resolution part of the accident script. The story starts in medias res. The basic narrative structure has been reintroduced at the intermediate level as an embedded narrative that breaks the time line of the top level narrative. In addition the student has managed to reveal the main character's inner life to the reader.

In contrast, the student writer of text A has not introduced any of the features of structural manipulation found in text B and has not managed to reveal the inner life of the main character, either directly or indirectly.

Assumptions to be tested in the statistical analysis

The analysis described above was initially applied to a subset of the data (i.e. 10 LOW and 12 HIGH). This was done to test the method of analysis. Results from this preliminary application of the analysis led to a number of assumptions that were to be tested on the entire data. These were:

1) Texts with the teacher grading LOW will have a higher percentage of C-units compared to E-units. The reverse situation is expected to apply to texts with the teacher grading HIGH.

2) As to the subcategories of E-units, the following assumptions were set up:

   a) NARUNITS will be found to a much greater extent in LOW than in HIGH texts.
   b) ORIEUNITS will be neutral as regards LOW and HIGH texts.
   c) EVAUNITS will be found to a much greater extent in HIGH than in LOW texts.
   d) CHARACT units will be found to a greater extent in HIGH than in LOW texts.

3) Tree diagrams of LOW texts will not have non-terminal nodes below the second level in the tree diagram, whereas HIGH texts will (NONTNW).

4) As to semantic relations, LOW texts will have a higher percentage of weak relations (i.e. 'then', 'and' and 'allow') than of strong relations (i.e. 'cause', 'reason' and 'enable'). The reverse situation is expected to apply to HIGH texts.

5) As to parameters relating to structural sophistication (STRUCT.S) and presentation of characters (CHAR.DES), manipulation of the simple narrative structure and the creation of characters with inner lives will be features of HIGH rather than LOW texts.

5 The factor analysis

Other measures than the ones mentioned above had been recorded - but only those measures that gave sufficiently high values on a statistical test were included in the factor analysis, i.e. only measures that were approximately normally distributed. To establish this the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic test was applied and only variables with a K-S figure below .30 were included (cf. Table 4). A Principal Component factor analysis was used.[4] For the rotation of the factors, the Varimax rotation was used.

Measures	K-S statistic
O-UNITS	0.1015
C-UNITS	0.0565
NARUNITS	0.0854
ORIEUNITS	0.2054
EVAUNITS	0.1074
CHARACT	0.2107
NONTNW	0.2807
STRUCT.S	0.2784
CHAR.DES	0.2940
STRONG-R	0.0917

Table 4: K-S figures for each measure

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[4] This is the most commonly used factor analysis within the social and human sciences, and is the default type of analysis in the SPSS/PC+4.0 programme package used in the present study. It is, however, not as strong an analysis as the Maximum Likelihood factor analysis. The latter is mainly used in the natural sciences but might work successfully on large samples within other fields (for an example of this see Albrechtsen, Henriksen and Færch 1980).

Results of the factor analysis[5]

The Principal Component analysis drew out three factors that together explain 67.9 % of the total variance. All variables had very high communalities ranging from 0.62396 to 0.91603, except the variable STRONG-R which only had 0.21568. The communalities indicate how much of the variance of each variable is explained by the factor solution.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
EVAUNITS	.92255		
C	-.78463		
CHARACT	.71559	.35943	
NARUNIT	-.54908		-.53526
NONTNW		.84182	
CHAR.DES.		.79048	
STRUCT.S		.78164	
STRONG-R	.30369	.33402	
ORIEUNIT			.85258
O		-.30648	.80940

Table 5: Rotated Factor Matrix[6]

---

[5] The correlation matrix of the 10 variables was acceptable for proceeding with the actual factor analysis. The determinant of the correlation matrix was 0.0049180. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was 0.48706 and Bartlett Test of Sphericity was 333.94942 with the significance level 0.00000. There were 36 (40%) off-diagonal elements of the anti-image correlation matrix.

[6] The Varimax rotation of the 3 extracted factors only had to go through 5 iterations to produce the 3 final factors.

The figures in the table are the so-called factor loadings. They indicate the degree to which the variables load on the various factors, or to put it differently, they show the degree to which a given variable correlates with a given factor. A negative factor loading thus indicates a negative correlation. Factor loadings below 0.3 have not been printed.

On the basis of the factor loadings in the rotated factor matrix, factor scores are calculated for each variable in relation to each factor. With these factor scores it is possible to calculate for each factor a pooled factor score for each case (i.e. each student text) in the analysis.

The interpretation of the factors

In deciding whether or not the factors extracted are meaningful, a number of aspects must be taken into account. To decide which variables belong to which factor the factor loadings must be considered. Since all variables load on all factors to some degree, only the high factor loadings are of relevance. To interpret the meaning of the individual factors, those variables with the highest loadings are taken as strong indications of the dimension covered by the factor.

Factor 1 was labelled **'Degree of evaluation'**. The following variables make up this factor: EVAUNITS, C, CHARACT, and NARUNIT. Of these EVAUNITS and C have loadings above 0.3 on this factor only and very high loadings at that. Although CHARACT loads on factor 1 as well as factor 2 it has been interpreted as belonging to factor 1 due to the fact that the factor loading is the higher on this factor. The variable NARUNIT loads almost to the same degree on factor 1 and 3, and, since the factor loadings in both instances are fairly high, it must be accepted that it is part of factor 1 as well as factor 3. Finally STRONG-R loads somewhat on factor 1 as well as factor 2 but, since it has an extremely low communality compared to the other variables, it can hardly be said to belong anywhere. It is, therefore, probably best to disregard it all together in the interpretation of the factors.

Results in relation to this factor will be taken to indicate the degree to which students have managed not only to relate a series of events but also to motivate the narration of the events. This interpretation and the labelling 'Degree of evaluation' is supported by the fact that the variables EVAUNITS and CHARACT have very high loadings on this factor. So does the variable C, but the loading is negative, as is the case for the variable NARUNIT. Since the variable C refers to the number of units with temporal juncture and since NARUNIT, one of the subcategories of E-units, refers to E-units that relate to C-units, the fact that these have strong negative loadings on the factor supports the labelling of the factor as 'Degree of evaluation'. In other words, if a text has high figures for EVAUNITS and CHARACT it has low figures for C and NARUNITS and vice versa.

Factor 2 was labelled **'Degree of sophistication in structure and in character description'**. The following variables belong to this factor: NONTNW, CHAR.DES, STRUCT.S, all of which have loadings above 0.3 exclusively on this factor and all have very high loadings. The variable CHARACT, as pointed out above, has been interpreted as mainly belonging to factor 1. The partial correlation coefficients for this variable reveal that the second highest coefficient appears in relation to the variable CHAR.DES. (The partial correlation coefficient refers to the degree of correlation between two variables when all the other variables are held constant.) In other words the variable CHAR.DES has 'drawn' CHARACT somewhat to this factor. The variable STRONG-R has been commented on above. The variable O loads somewhat on this factor (-0.30648), but, since it has a much stronger loading on factor 3 (0.80940), it has been interpreted as belonging to factor 3.

Results on this factor will be taken to indicate the degree to which students have produced texts with structural depth (as reflected in the number of non-terminal nodes at the various levels), and the degree to which they have introduced structural sophistication (e.g. have intentionally left out one of the superstructural categories of the narrative) and have managed to create characters with inner lives. In other words, texts will either have high figures on all the variables or low figures on all the variables in this factor. The former will be seen as a sign of quality.

Factor 3 was labelled **'Degree of orientation'**. The following variables belong to this factor: ORIEUNIT, O, and NARUNIT. Of these ORIEUNIT has loadings above 0.3 exclusively on this factor and a high one at that. As to the variables O and NARUNIT, cf. the comments above.

Results on this factor will be taken to indicate the degree to which students have managed to provide orientations to their stories that are somewhat developed. The labelling of the factor as degree of orientation is supported by the fact that ORIEUNIT is the subcategory of E-units that covers E-units that relate to O-units and by the fact that NARUNIT loads negatively on this factor. In relation to this factor, texts will either have high figures for ORIEUNIT and O and low figures for NARUNIT or vice versa.

6 Analysis of variance and T-tests

To determine the degree to which factor scores for each text correlate with teacher evaluation, one-way analyses of variance with the factor scores as the dependent variable and skill or skill/grade levels as the independent variable were carried out.

One-way analyses of variance were run on the factor scores in relation to each text for all three factors. Two sets of analysis were performed: one that tested the differences between skill/grade level, in the sense that 10-LOW, 10-MID, 10-HIGH, 11-LOW etc. were tested against each other (i.e. LEVEL), and one that tested the differences between skill level, i.e. factor scores of all LOW texts, all MID texts and all HIGH texts pooled together (i.e. L-M-H).

Since no significant differences were found for skill/grade level (LEVEL), only the results for skill level (L-M-H) will be dealt with below.

Results: Analysis of variance by skill level (L-M-H)

Results for factor 1: L-M-H

The one-way analysis of variance for factor 1 with the groups LOW MID and HIGH resulted in the F probability figure 0.0397, which means that the likelihood that no difference exists between the groups is less than 5%. The LSD procedure, which uses Student's T-test to examine all possible differences between group means at the 0.050 level, produced the following result:

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	MEAN	GR1	GR2	GR3
Group 1 = ALL LOW TEXTS	-.4408			
Group 2 = ALL MID TEXTS	.1013			
Group 3 = ALL HIGH TEXTS	.2948	*		

Table 6: Factor 1: T-tests of skill level

The asterisk indicates differences between groups at the quoted level. In other words the test shows that LOW texts are significantly different from HIGH texts and that MID texts are not significantly different from either LOW or HIGH texts on factor 1. Although this is the case, we might still observe that the mean factor scores for the three groups indicate a progression from LOW via MID to HIGH.

Results for factor 2: L-M-H

In this case the F probability figure was 0.0002, i.e. even better than for factor 1. The LSD procedure with the significance level 0.050 gave the following results:

	MEAN	GR1	GR2	GR3
Group 1 = ALL LOW TEXTS	-.6199			
Group 2 = ALL MID TEXTS	.0080	*		
Group 3 = ALL HIGH TEXTS	.5577	*	*	

Table 7: Factor 2: T-tests of skill level

In other words significant differences exist between all groups and the means for the factor scores show a progression from LOW via MID to HIGH.

Results for factor 3: L-M-H

Here the F probability figure was .4341, which means that the likelihood that there is no difference between the groups is more than 40%, which is an unacceptably high percentage. The LSD procedure showed no differences between the groups.

The interpretation of the results for skill and grade level

According to the statistical analysis of the data, we are now in a position to say with confidence that 'sophistication in structure and in character description' (cf. factor 2) is a feature that correlates with teacher evaluation in relation to the LOW/MID/HIGH distinction.

Similarly the factor analysis shows that 'degree of evaluation' (cf. factor 1) is a feature that correlates with teacher evaluation of LOW and HIGH. Although there is no significant difference between the MID group of texts and the other two groups, the rank order of the three groups according to mean factor scores for each group proceeds from LOW via MID to HIGH.

'Degree of orientation' (cf. factor 3), however, is not a feature that correlates with teacher evaluation neither in relation to skill/grade level (LEVEL) nor in relation to skill level (L-M-H). Therefore, in the following, results will only be commented on in relation to factor 1 and factor 2. (Note that, whereas factor 1 accounts for 32% of the variance and factor 2 for 23.1%, factor 3 only accounts for 12.9% of the variance.)

Thus apart from ORIEUNIT and O, the measures developed in the analysis of the narrative texts are sufficiently sensitive to show significant differences between skill levels (L-M-H) but not between skill/grade levels (LEVEL). The implication is that 'a good story is a good story' regardless of grade level.

To say that the present analysis covers all essential features at the discourse level would be too strong a claim. The possibility that a development in discourse competence takes place from grade 10 to 12 cannot, of course, be ruled out on the basis of the results presented here. On the other hand, the results might indicate that the discourse level of student writing does not have a high priority in the foreign language classroom.

Results in relation to the assumptions

To check the initial assumptions, one-way analyses of variance and T-tests in relation to skill level (L-M-H) for each individual variable were carried out.

No two groups were significantly different in relation to the variables C, NARUNIT and ORIEUNIT. For the variables CHARACT, NONTNW, O significant differences were found between the groups HIGH and LOW only (F= 0.1040 and 0.0109 am 0.0336 respectively). For the variables EVAUNITS, CHAR.DES and STRONG-R significant differences were found between HIGH and LOW on the one hand and between MID and LOW on the other hand (F= 0.0017 and 0.0008 and 0.0183 respectively). For the variable STRUCT.S significant differences were found between all three groups (F= 0.0000).

In other words, assumptions 2b), 2c), 2d), 3, 4 and 5 were confirmed but not assumption 2a).

Assumption 1 needed further investigation since the E-units were subcategorized for the factor analysis. A second factor analysis which included the results for E-units to the exclusion of the results from the E-unit subcategories (i.e. EVAUNITS, NARUNIT, ORIEUNIT, and CHARACT) came out with a factor which consisted of the variables C and E with reverse loadings. In other words, an inverse relationship was shown to exist between the two variables but the expected relation of the results on this factor to skill level (L-M-H) was not confirmed by the subsequent analysis of variance and T-tests.

However, as we have seen, the factor analysis that included the subcategories of E to the exclusion of E itself demonstrated that an inverse relationship exists between the number of C-units and some of the subcategories of E and that the results on this factor correlated with teacher evaluation as regards skill level. In other words, the subcategorization of E-units did make the analysis more sensitive to differences between texts that had obtained a LOW and a HIGH evaluation by the teachers.

The subcategorization of evaluation units was originally motivated by the feeling that EVALUATION was too crude a category to get at quality differences in the texts, in that some types of evaluation were regarded as contributing more to text quality than others. This expectation is reflected in the assumptions printed above. The factor solution confirms this assumption. The factor analysis has established that in the present data an inverse relationship exists between number of units with temporal juncture (C-units) and number of evaluation units of the type NARUNIT on the one hand, and number of evaluation units of the type EVAUNITS and to some degree the type CHARACT on the other hand for factor 1. For factor 3 we see that ORIEUNIT belongs to a factor that does not discriminate between skill level. When we look at the partial correlation coefficients between these variables we see that, although NARUNIT correlates negatively with EVAUNITS, it also correlates negatively with the variable C. In other words, texts with high percentages of C-units do not at the same time have high percentages of NARUNIT. On the other hand, texts that have high percentages of EVAUNITS will have low percentages of NARUNIT.

We might therefore tentatively set up a continuum of quality of evaluation with EVAUNITS at the positive end and NARUNIT at the negative end.

+			-
EVAUNITS	CHARACT	ORIEUNIT	NARUNIT

That is to say, for the student texts dealt with here, we have established not only that story quality is strongly related to degree of evaluation but also that it is related to type of evaluation (cf. also Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) for L1 oral narratives).

However, story quality is also strongly related to other aspects of the narratives, i.e. those covered by the variables that make up factor 2. Thus structural depth as reflected in the number of non-terminal nodes below the second level of the tree diagrams, degree of structural manipulation, and quality of character description are also essential aspects to take into account when trying to define story quality.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the results from the factor analysis were impossible to anticipate and therefore no assumptions had been set up initially in relation to these. What we have gained by using the factor analysis is that we have reduced the number of variables to two, i.e. factor 1 and factor 2, which, in turn, are represented by a number of operational definitions: four in relation to factor 1 (i.e. EVAUNITS, C, CHARACT, and NARUNIT) and three for factor 2 (i.e. NONTNW, CHAR.DES. and STRUCT.S). The former has made it possible to get an overall impression of characteristics of texts representing different skill levels, whereas the latter enables us to go into details in relation to individual texts.

In other words, in relation to the overall aim of the narrative analysis of the data we are now in a position to say that discourse features do play a major part in discriminating between positively and negatively evaluated texts.

7 Results in relation to declarative knowledge and type of processing

Not surprisingly the analysis of the texts revealed that students at sixth form college are familiar with the basic narrative schema. As mentioned initially, knowledge of discourse structure is a necessary but not sufficient precondition for efficient processing. The assumption is that knowledge of the narrative schema aids the building of abstract representations and thus helps reduce the processing load i.e. capacity is set free that can be used for evaluating the emerging text against the intended text. Thus also enabling the writer to see where elaboration is needed for instance in the form of evaluation units.

Now drawing conclusions about the process on the basis of the written product only is of course problematic. Even so certain assumptions in relation to underlying processes might be justifiable. At any rate having to make such inferences is often the predicament of the practising teacher. To him/her the student essay is more often than not the only piece of evidence s/he has of what might have been going on in the student's mind.

If we take the product as evidence of the underlying process what do we look for? Our goal is to establish whether or not students operate on the basis of a knowledge-telling or a knowledge-transforming process (cf. Bereiter and Scardamalia 1987). We therefore need to realize that it is perfectly consistent with the knowledge telling approach that texts should be not only topically but also structurally coherent since the knowledge teller generates new text on the basis of topic as well as rhetorical cues.

Let us consider in more detail the mechanisms needed for the knowledge-transforming process to operate. According to Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987), the expert writing process works on the basis of an iterative operative system and on mental representations of content and discourse knowledge. An iterative operative system uses its own output as input. The system must, therefore, have an executive system that makes a shift possible from the forward process of text production to the backward process of evaluation of already generated text and vice versa. For this shifting operation to work, the writer must have access to strategies that allow for efficient use of his limited processing capacity.

Only if the writer possesses mental representations of a fairly abstract nature will s/he be able to use strategies for revision that do not tax his processing capacity. For instance, if the writer's mental representations of various discourse types are well-developed, s/he will be able to set up plans/goals initially that can serve as reference points during the revising parts of the process. In other words, during revision the writer is able to compare his/her mental representation of the text already generated to his mental representations of the intended text. If a mismatch is identified s/he can go on to locate the source of the mismatch, and, on the basis of this diagnosis, s/he can, for instance, change the text already generated, so that it matches his mental representation of the intended text

What seems to be a result of the present analysis is that it is the handling of the intermediate level in the texts that distinguishes poor texts from good texts. Intermediate level features are reflected in the variables NONTNW and STRUCT.S. In other words, texts in relation to which tree diagrams with non-terminal nodes below the second level can be drawn correlate with positive teacher evaluation, and texts in which students have introduced, e.g., one or several complications at the intermediate level and embedded narratives also correlated with positive teacher evaluation.

One might reasonably assume that only if the writer operates with fairly abstract mental representations of the intended text is it likely that manipulation of the basic narrative schema will take place. For instance, producing a story that relates the resolution part of the accident script must be the result of some initial goal setting. Similarly, it is hard to imagine that a student who produces a story in which top level categories, such as the complication section, are left implicit has not gone through some deliberate planning and goal setting at some stage during the writing process. Student texts that show features such as these (i.e. have high scores on factor 2) are more likely the result of a knowledge-transforming than a knowledge-telling process.

In other words knowledge of the narrative schema is a necessary first step but it does not automatically follow that the student can utilize the schema for reducing his processing load by setting up abstract representations of his intended text.

8 Teaching implications

Whereas we found that students at the level investigated here, are familiar with the discourse structure of narrative texts, the same claim cannot be made for student argumentative essays. In a smaller exploratory study of argumentative essays from students at the same grade levels as the ones investigated above, it was found that these students were much less confident in relation to the argumentative schema.

As to teaching implications, it seems that raising students awareness in relation to discourse patterns by for instance presenting them with models of different text types will not take care of the whole problem (cf. Hillocks 1986 and esp. Smagorinsky 1991 for experimental investigations in an L1 setting contrasting model instruction and model instruction combined with procedural instruction). What needs to be addressed is the more general ability to operate at a sufficiently high level of abstraction.

The problem for students that use a knowledge telling procedure is as mentioned that they experience a processing overload. The question is how do we help them acquire the skills that enable them to reduce the processing load? My tentative suggestion is that they might benefit from exercises that help them view their own texts critically.

Students should be introduced to the idea of exploratory writing and made to view their own texts as instances of this. They might thereby realize that writing a first draft might help them discover purpose and what to say.

Writing a first draft and viewing this as exploratory writing might to the less able writer be one way of getting round the processing overload. Instead of having to juggle all his ideas in his head at the same time, the first draft provides the knowledge telling student with a processing aid in the sense that some of the ideas are down on paper and can be scrutinized at leisure.

The main aim of feedback should be to draw the student's attention to the potential in his/her text (e.g. in relation to factor 1 and especially factor 2 features). In doing so the student would be sensitized to discourse features in relation to a product that is the result of his/her own thoughts and efforts. The student should be encouraged to write at least two drafts for the essay using the first one as a crutch for reducing the processing load. The end result over time might be that the student has been sufficiently sensitized to discourse features to let go of the crutch. S/he might then have gained some of the strategies necessary for forming mental representations of the intended text that will enable him/her to step back and view his actual text in relation to the intended text. S/he might eventually be able to anticipate some of the problems that s/he will encounter in writing future texts due to the previous experience in tackling problems after they have surfaced in his text.

In an attempt at raising students' awareness of the discourse level of their texts along the lines indicated here, it might be an idea to start with narrative texts, since students are already familiar with the narrative schema, and since composing narratives requires least cognitive effort, as shown empirically by e.g. Kellogg (1994:208-210), The final aim, however, should be to improve their ability to handle the more cognitively demanding argumentative genre.

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Appendix

APPENDIX A

The procedure used in the analysis of the texts

The narrative texts in the material were analyzed using the following steps:

1) Divide the texts into functional units

2) Assign to each unit: a C for those units that are separated by temporal juncture, an O or an E for those units that represent either free or restrictive clauses, i.e. O if they serve to explicate the setting and E if they have an evaluative function. Assign AB for units that function as abstracts and CD for units that function as coda.

3) Calculate the percentages of AB, O, C, E and CD units.

4) Assign to each of the units coded E the relevant subcategory.

5) Calculate the percentages of units assigned to the main subcategories.

6) Draw up tree diagrams of the superstructure of the texts:
   a) Identify the overall function of the text, i.e. news report vs. story. If story identify its function in relation to the accident schema (i.e. does the whole story provide the resolution only?).
   b) On the basis of 2) identify the top level nodes in the tree diagram, i.e. sections of the text that seem to be predominantly devoted to orientation, complication, evaluation and resolution.
   c) Check the divisions of the texts into the top level nodes against linguistic cues and content.
   d) Again on the basis of 2) identify and label the number of lower level nodes that the text gives rise to.
   e) Check these divisions against linguistic cues and content.
   f) Identify the relations that hold between the various non-terminal nodes in the tree diagram.
   g) Indicate student paragraph divisions in the tree diagram.

7) Draw up tables of the number of non-terminal nodes per level for each text.

8) Record any instances of structural manipulation and of revelation of characters' inner lives.

APPENDIX B

The two student texts

Legend:
Line numbering refers to F-units.

These are in turn labelled: C for C-units, O for O-units, E for E-units, AB for abstract and CD for coda.

The E-units are in turn subcategorized as NARUNIT/EVAUNIT/ORIEUNIT.

Broken lines indicate typographical paragraphs.

Text A: low, grade 10.

	main	sub
1) I have just gotten a new job as nurse in the municipality hospital.	O	
2) I was very happy,	O	
b) and couldn't wait to start there,	O	
c) so I took an early bus,	C	
d) and were at the hospital an hour before my appointment.	C	
3) It was very boring	E	NARUNIT
b) I was just sitting, and waiting,	E	EVAUNIT
c) and the time went so slow.	E	EVAUNIT
4) Instead of just sitting, and reading those boring magazine	E	NARUNIT
b) I took the bus to the nearest centre.	C	
5) I found a very good looking dress,	C	
b) and I dicided to buy it	C	
c) even though my purse wouldn't allow it.	E	NARUNIT
6) There was half an hour left to my appointment,	O	
b) and just as I was going to take my bus back to the hospital I heard a scream,	C	
c) and a big crash,	C	
d) I turned around,	C	
e) and saw a lot of blood, a smash bicycle, and a child's shoe.	E	NARUNIT
7) I runned as fast as I could to the nearest telephone	C	
b) and called the police.	C	
8) 5 minutes later the police, and a ambulance came.	C	
((New page in original/but 1.draft=no para.))		
9) The car driver who had driven the car escaped with a broken arm.	E	NARUNIT
10)The little boy (cont. in b))	E	NARUNIT
b) who is 9 years old	O	
are now lieing in the hospital,		
c) and are critically injured.	E	NARUNIT
11)I took with the ambulance to the hospital.	C	
12)The first thing I did when I came there was to go to the office,	C	
b) and explaned why I was late.	C	

13)They all understood me,	E	NARUNIT
b) and then it was time to show me the hospital.	C	
14)The next day the doctor told me to take care of the section were the little boy was lieing.	C	
15)Peter (cont. in b))	E	NARUNIT
b) (that is the boys name)	O	
and I became very good friend		
c) and after 2 month he left the hospital,	E	NARUNIT
d) I am very glad for my job now.	CD	
16)And I will never forget my first day there.	CD	

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Text B: high, grade 12.

	main	sub
The Crash		
1) On an ordinary Sunday morning Mr. Brown woke-up home in his apartnent.	C	
2) His head thumped	E	NARUNIT
b) and he had a terrible hang-over.	E	EVAUNIT
3) He crawled out of bed	C	
b) and shuffled out to the front-door of his apartment.	C	
4) Picked up the morningpaper	C	
b) and unfolded it.	C	
5) He looked at the frontpage.	C	
---		
6) HIT-AND-RUN-DRIVER KILLED A YOUNG MAN	AB	
7) Tom A. Robinson, (cont. in b)) 21 years old,	O	
b) was on his way home from work, when a car comeing from north crashed into him.	C	
8) He was brought to the hospital by an ambulance,	C	
b) call in by a taxi-driver,	E	NARUNIT
c) who found Tom in his car in the middle of Main Road.	E	EVAUNIT
9) The time must have been near 3 o'clock when the unknown car hit Tom A.Robinson's car	E	NARUNIT
b) and killed the young man at once.	E	NARUNIT
10)Police are still looking for clues	E	EVAUNIT
b) and want contact with some possible witness.	E	EVAUNIT
---		

11)Suddenly Mr. Brown started wondering, how did he exactly come home.	C	
12)His car was parked outside	O	
b) so he must have droven it himself,	E	ORIEUNIT
c) but he could not remember anything.	E	EVAUNIT
13)A terrible thought struck him,	C	
b) was he the cool hit-and-run-driver who had killed a young man this night.	E	NARUNIT
14)No it could not have been him	E	EVAUNIT
b) then he would have remembered.	E	EVAUNIT
15)But on the other hand, the only way home from The Black Swan, (Cont. in c))	E	EVAUNIT
b) the pub he visited last night with some business connexions	O	
c) and got to many whiskies and sodas, was through Main Road, where the crash happened.	O	
16)He looked at the phone,	C	
b) should he phone the police and volunteer	E	NARUNIT
17)He saw himself in the jail,	E	EVAUNIT
b) sitting behind bars.	E	EVAUNIT

---

18)Suddenly the phone rang.	C	
19)Oh - no, they have found me, was his first thought	E	NARUNIT
b) and the he answered the phone.	C	
20)"Hallo, are you feeling better?"	C	
21)It was his neighbour,	O	
b) Miss Collins.	O	

22)"You were very drunk when I met you at The Black Swan last night,	E	NARUNIT
b) then later when you wanted to go home I drove both you and your car home	E	EVAUNIT
c) - can't you remember?"	E	NARUNIT
23)"Of course I remember", answered Mr.Brown	C	
b) while he fetched a deep sight.	E	NARUNIT

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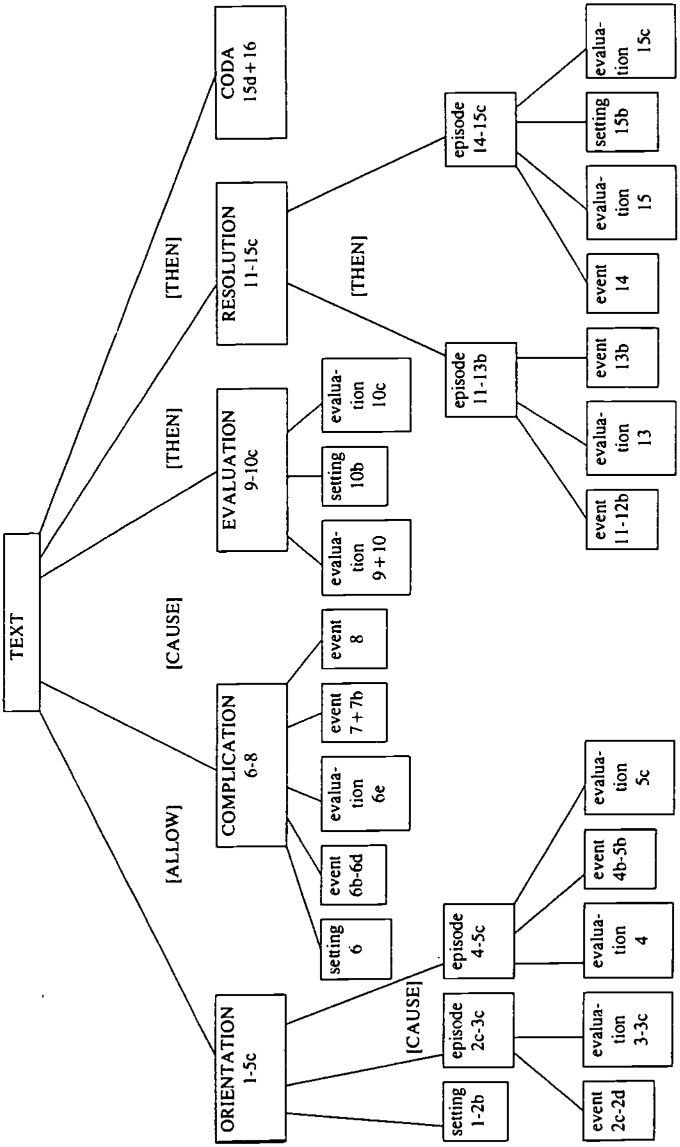
APPENDIX C: Text A


TEXT
ORIENTATION 1-5c
[ALLOW]
COMPLICATION 6-8
[CAUSE]
EVALUATION 9-10c
[THEN]
RESOLUTION 11-15c
[THEN]
CODA 15d+16
setting 1-2b
episode 2c-3c
[CAUSE]
episode 4-5c
setting 6
event 6b-6d
evalua-tion 6e
event 7+7b
event 8
evalua-tion 9+10
setting 10b
evalua-tion 10c
episode 11-13b
[THEN]
episode 14-15c
event 2c-2d
evalua-tion 3-3c
evalua-tion 4
event 4b-5b
evalua-tion 5c
event 11-12b
evalua-tion 13
event 13b
event 14
evalua-tion 15
setting 15b
evalua-tion 15c

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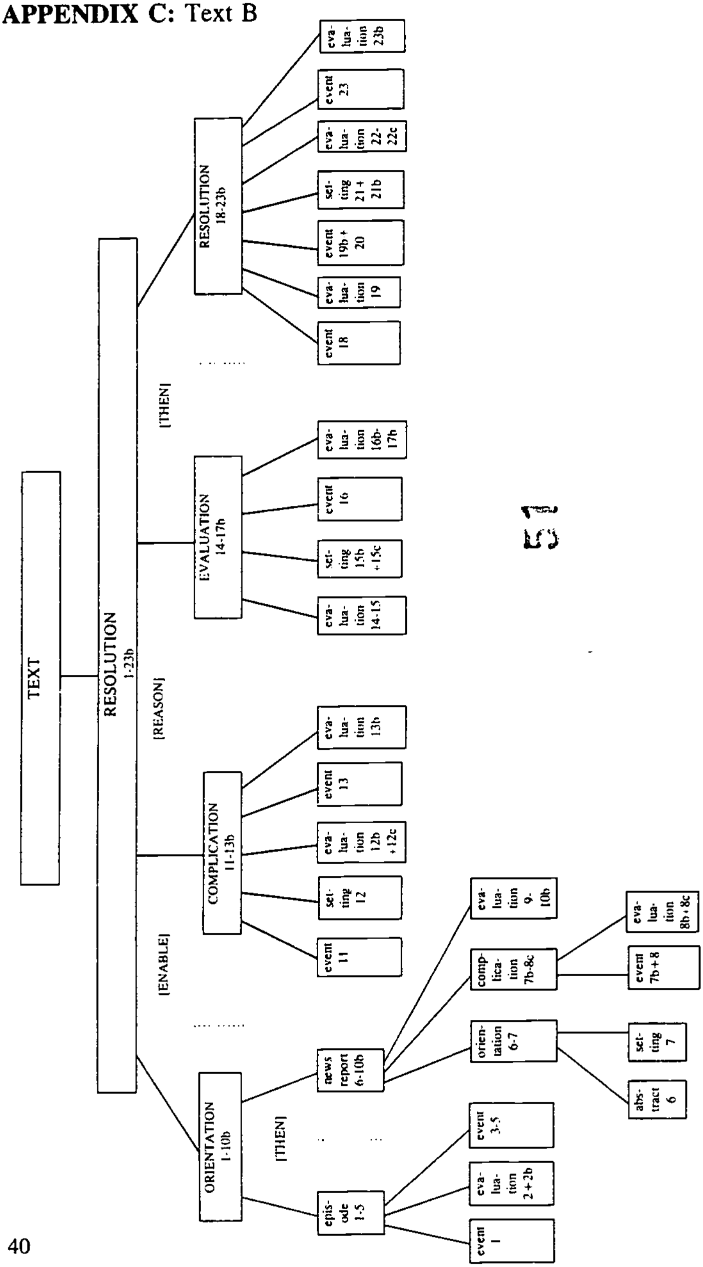
APPENDIX C: Text B


TEXT
RESOLUTION 1-23b
[ENABLE]
[REASON]
[THEN]
ORIENTATION 1-10b
COMPLICATION 11-13b
EVALUATION 14-17b
RESOLUTION 18-23b
episode 1-5
[THEN]
news report 6-10b
event 1
evaluation 2+2b
event 3-5
orientation 6-7
complication 7b-8c
evaluation 9-10b
abstract 6
setting 7
event 7b+8
evaluation 8b+8c
event 11
setting 12
evaluation 12b +12c
event 13
evaluation 13b
evaluation 14-15
setting 15b +15c
event 16
evaluation 16b-17b
event 18
evaluation 19
event 19b+ 20
setting 21+ 21b
evaluation 22-22c
event 23
evaluation 23b

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OWPLC 14: 41-67

Should we always ask students to redraft their writing?

Tim Caudery

Summary

Redrafting of texts in the light of feedback from teacher or peers has always been a central feature in process approaches to teaching L2 writing skills. It is argued that the reasons for this practice rest on assumptions which are unproven through empirical research. A research study is reported which suggests that, contrary to widespread belief, redrafting in and of itself is unlikely to improve L2 texts in the eyes of a critical reader. It is suggested that, while teachers may well wish to ask students to redraft in the light of feedback on occasion, this should not be an approach used automatically all the time.

1 Interaction between the writer and the text

Most of the papers in this volume deal primarily with the concept of interaction between people during the writing process. My starting point will be in a different type of interaction — the interaction between writer and text.

We have long realised that writers interact with their own texts. They reread what they have already written, and do so in various different ways and for various different purposes. Sometimes they reread in order to obtain stimulus or inspiration to write more; Anne Raimes (1985) has described this as getting "a running start" at the next bit of text. Sometimes they reread to check what they have written for clarity or accuracy or coherence, and then make revisions if necessary. Sometimes they reread to check that the text says what they want it to say, and that they have forgotten nothing they meant to include. Sometimes,

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perhaps, they may deliberately distance themselves from the text as they reread, putting themselves as far as they can into the position of the audience to see whether the text will make sense to someone else; and so on. This interaction can take place at different stages during the writing process: as the text is formulated and rehearsed in the writer's mind (Kaufer, Hayes and Flower 1986), as a section of text is being drafted, or when a section of text or the whole text has been completed. Such interaction by the writer with the text thus appears to play an important part in the writing and revising of text.

It is often suggested that such interaction is a characteristic of good writers in particular; that the better a writer, the more he or she interacts with their text. It would perhaps be more accurate to suggest that it is the nature of the interaction rather than just the quantity which distinguishes the better writer: Perl's weak L1 writers, for example, **did** interact with their texts, reading over what they had written from a very early stage; but they then appeared to get tied up in knots through "premature" editing (Perl 1979:328). Sommers' student writers **did** read over their texts when they were completed, but appeared to be most interested in vocabulary; they had what Sommers called a "thesaurus philosophy" when it came to revision, searching for better words to replace those they had used (Sommers 1980:381). Sommers felt that this was a less effective approach than the more radical reworking carried out by some of her "expert" writers.

Be that as it may, it seems that one of the effects that such interaction often produces is revising and rewriting of one sort or another, with more interaction with the text producing more changes. Of the six students that Zamel studied working in L2, the best writers spent a total of between **14 and 16 hours**

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drafting and redrafting their essays, whereas the weakest writer contented herself with a mere four hours of effort (Zamel 1983).

Generally, the literature shows that interaction with the text is considered to be a "good thing", and that revising and rewriting are likewise "good things". In one study, for example, Beach (1976) classified writers as "extensive revisers" and "non-revisers" according to the amount that they changed their text between

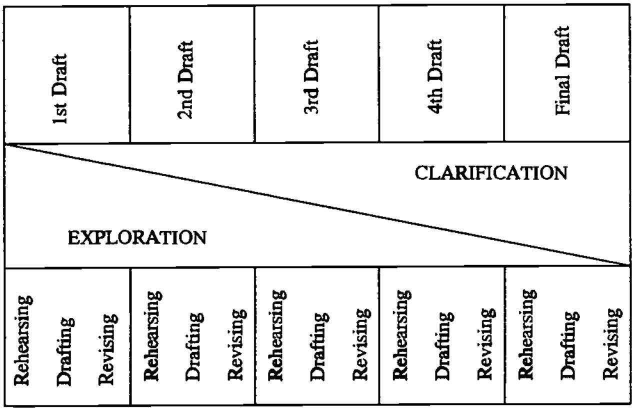
1st Draft
2nd Draft
3rd Draft
4th Draft
Final Draft
CLARIFICATION
EXPLORATION
Rehearsing
Drafting
Revising
Rehearsing
Drafting
Revising
Rehearsing
Drafting
Revising
Rehearsing
Drafting
Revising
Rehearsing
Drafting
Revising

Figure 1: Murray's view of the process of multiple drafting

drafts, with the clear implication that the "extensive revisers", who made greater changes in their texts, were doing a better job. Murray (1980:6) illustrates his view of the writing process through a diagram of multiple drafts (Figure 1); he claims that the writer "find[s] out what the writing has to say" by means of a process of interaction with the successive versions of the text, the result of which is that the "writing find[s] its own meaning" (5). Multiple drafts could be described as an extreme form of revising; text is not simply changed, but a whole text, or a whole section of text, is written out again in its entirety, the original version being discarded.

Such views of the virtues of revision *per se*, and particularly of extensive revision or complete redrafting, have not gone unchallenged. Dieterich (1976), for example, early pointed to what he saw as the fallacy of Beach's standpoint:

> We really don't know much about extensive revision [...]. Why do some students usually extensively revise their papers? Why do other students seldom make extensive revisions? Is there a relationship between the type of writing being done or the nature of the writing situation and the extent of students' revisions? Is there any reason to believe that students who usually make extensive revisions are any better or any worse writers than students who usually don't make extensive revisions? If so, is there any reason to believe that their revision practices contribute to the difference? [...]
>
> [R]esearch must not be based on the false assumption that the questions above have already been satisfactorily answered. [Beach] makes just such an assumption. He assumes that students should write several drafts of their papers, each of them representing a reformulation or extensive revision, and that "the fact that students often do not revise their drafts reflects their inability to effectively evaluate their own writing." [...]
>
> The fact that some students seldom extensively revise their drafts may merely mean that for some students such extensive revision is

> unnecessary. Such students may be able to effectively evaluate their writing as they go along. They may not need to see their thoughts on paper before deciding on the content and form of their paragraphs and essays. If this is the case, the writing ability of such nonrevisers may be greater than that of revisers. (1976:301)

Witte (1985) made a rather similar point some ten years later, focusing this time on pretextual revision, i.e. on thinking out and revising one's ideas as necessary before beginning to write:

> Any theory of composing that fails to recognize that many writers can know what they want to write and how to frame it before they write it and that writers are fully capable of revising pretextually strikes me as singularly inadequate (1985:271).

To illustrate that extensive revision is not a necessary basis for good writing, he describes two student writers, one of whom wrote a good essay in a single draft, and the other who wrote two drafts in response to the same task, but still failed to produce a good text. Nevertheless, views such as those of Dieterich and Witte have been largely ignored, and conventional wisdom still appears to be that making large-scale changes to one's text through redrafting is a mark of a good writer.

2 Redrafting and the process approach to teaching writing

In process approaches to teaching writing, redrafting has come to play a major role in the structuring of the teaching. Typically, students make a draft of a text, obtain some feedback on the draft from other students or from their teacher, and then make a redraft in the light of that feedback. Here, for example, is a suggested description of a "typical" process writing classroom activity sequence from White and Arndt (1991). Teaching sequences such as this bring in other people to the process of interaction with the text, namely peers and teachers:

Discussion (class, small group, pair)
  Brainstorming/making notes/asking questions
    Fastwriting/selecting ideas/establishing a viewpoint
      Rough draft
        Preliminary self-evaluation
          Arranging information/structuring the text
            First draft
              Group/peer evaluation and responding
                Conference
                  Second draft
                    Self-evaluation/editing/proof-reading
                      Finished draft
                        Final responding to draft

(White and Arndt 1991:7; my emphasis; TC)

I can suggest several reasons that might be put forward for having redrafting feature so strongly in process approaches:

1 If it is the case that redrafting is indeed an important or even an essential stage in the natural process of good writing as performed by expert writers, then it should automatically be incorporated into the writing process in the classroom, too.

2 Process approaches to teaching are aimed at improving writing processes. Perhaps writers who are not specifically taught to redraft will never be able to do so effectively, and will thus never be able to make good use of this strategy. Redrafting should therefore perhaps be included in writing teaching to encourage and improve the use of this process. It is sometimes reported that teachers have succeeded in changing students' writing processes through a process approach to teaching; Pavlisin (1983), for example, working with L1 writers, found that she was able to make

changes in writing process habits. She reports that she did not actually succeed in getting her students to produce better texts as the result of her work on process, but this she felt would have been too much to hope for; she was satisfied with the change in approach.

3 Process approaches are based around the idea of intervention in the natural writing process (Hairston 1983). However, it is difficult to intervene in the writing process in all of its stages; one cannot get inside people's heads, for example, when they are composing their writing. The conclusion of a draft forms a convenient intervention point, whether that intervention is from teacher or peers. Requiring students to make drafts and then to redraft after intervention can thus establish a framework for teaching which may be beneficial and useful.

4 Asking students to redraft in the light of feedback might be a good way of helping students to fully examine and consequently absorb the points made in the feedback. Unless students are required to actually **do** something with the feedback they receive, they may be tempted to simply give it a cursory glance and then forget all about it. Furthermore, the action of incorporating feedback suggestions into a redraft may in itself help students to remember the points made.

5 Redrafting in the light of feedback may help students to create better texts than they would otherwise be able to do. Creating better texts should be more satisfying to the writers; thus redrafting may help to motivate students in their general approach to the writing course.

I stress that these are **possible** reasons for using multiple drafts in the writing classroom. However, I know of no research which satisfactorily demonstrates that any of these are **valid** reasons for basing teaching around multiple drafts. They would all be based either on unproven assumptions about what is useful in writing, or on personal preferences of teachers (or students) regarding the organisation and style of the teaching.

Possible reasons (1) and (2) above depend on the assumptions that (a) full-scale redrafting is in itself frequently an important and useful part of the writing process and (b) that encouraging students to redraft will consequently improve their writing skill. These points, however, have long remained simply assumptions, with no concrete research evidence available to either prove or disprove them. This point has indeed occasionally been recognised by researchers who have investigated the writing processes of "good" writers. Stallard, one of the earliest researchers into L1 writing in a school context, long ago raised the problem. Stallard (1974) studied the behaviour of "good" and "average" writers, and observed that:

> In essence, the good student writers who participated in this study put more effort into their product than writers selected at random. This seems to be the implication of those behaviors peculiar to the good student writers. The investment of time, conscious attention to communication problems, and the effort of repeatedly contemplating what has been written during the process of writing seemed to be the major differences between these good twelfth grade writers and twelfth grade writers that were randomly chosen.

But, he continued,

> It would be premature to hold that instruction in these behaviors or processes would change writing skill significantly. The behaviors identified here must reflect other cognitive processes and concerns of the writers. (1974:217)

In other words, there is a question as to whether the processes adopted by better writers are mainly a **cause** or an **effect**. If the behaviours observed are the **cause of** good writing being done, then encouraging weaker writers to adopt those behaviours would improve their writing. But if, on the other hand, the behaviours are the outward manifestation of other cognitive skills — are, in a sense, **caused by** the processes which lead to good writing — then there would be little point in simply encouraging weaker writers to adopt these behaviours.

Raimes (1987) writes on a similar theme, her remarks being based on a study of L2 writers:

> Students with greater demonstrated writing ability in L2 revised and edited more than those at the lower levels (459). [...] The nonremedial [i.e. higher level; TC] students consistently spent more time writing and engaged in more planning, rehearsal, rescanning, revising and editing on each writing task than did the remedial students.[...] The question that is raised here for further research is whether such interaction with text is developmental: that is, does high interaction *cause* improvement in writing ability, or is it a *result* of attaining improved writing ability [...]? (1987:462-463).

Raimes again seems to imply here that we must look at the relationship between writing processes and writing expertise in terms of a chicken-or-egg question – which comes first? What is the cause, and what the result? If we accept for a moment that a correlative relationship does exist between the degree to which certain writing processes are used and writing expertise, does this necessarily mean that we should try to change people's writing processes so that they will write better texts, or might we first need to teach other things about writing – perhaps about writing as product – which will then enable the writers to draw on a greater range of strategies in their writing when necessary? These questions seem to me particularly relevant for L2 writing, since writers may already have developed various successful strategies and processes for writing in L1 and only need to transfer these strategies to L2 – but they may be handicapped in doing this by having insufficient knowledge of the L2 language code.

I have carried out a research study which I believe is relevant in attempting to answer these questions, and hence for evaluating the first two of the possible reasons mentioned above for making redrafting a central part of the writing process. The study was made with reference to writing in L2. It examined the effects of redrafting in a non-teaching situation; I believe the information obtained has implications for work inside the L2 classroom.

3 Redrafting and text quality: An L2 research study

In order to find out whether the actual **process** of redrafting resulted in better writing – which is what one would expect to find if the redrafting process was a causal element in creating good writing – I examined the first and second drafts of essays, using 23 L2 writers as subjects. The subjects were university students who could all be assumed to be reasonably proficient writers in L1 (Danish), but they had a wide range of levels of knowledge of L2 (English).

I sought to discover the answers to several questions, including the following:

- Outside the classroom, when writers redraft **without** feedback being provided, does redrafting improve L2 texts?
- Is redrafting of greater value in improving texts to more expert writers?
- Are there particular types of change made in redrafting which are more likely to improve texts?

It is not my intention here to discuss the process of data collection or the results in any detail; there is a full description of the study in Caudery (1995).

The writers made a complete draft of an essay, which they assumed was to be the final version of their text. They were given a short break, and were then asked to make complete new drafts of their essays, with the aim of improving them. The essay required students to explain and give their opinion on a Danish situation for the benefit of a non-Danish audience (the essay tasks are reproduced as Appendix 1). The drafts were then evaluated by experienced raters using scales developed for the IELTS examination (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate/The British Council). Each draft was marked by four raters working independently. No rater saw both drafts of the same essay, and the raters did not know whether they were marking a first or a second draft. The marking scheme evaluated the essays on two scales broadly related to content and on two scales broadly related to language accuracy and range.

On average, second drafts were evaluated as being no better than first drafts. There was a very slight improvement in marks related to content (an average rise of about 1.5% of the total mark available), but this increase was not statistically significant. Marks for language features remained more or less identical. Groups of the best writers and the weakest writers showed no significant differences in the pattern of score change from draft to draft. Scores for the first draft correlated very strongly with scores for the second; writers who wrote good first drafts wrote good second drafts, and similarly writers who wrote poor first drafts wrote poor second drafts.

In other words, redrafting does not appear, on average, to improve texts, at least not for writers like those in the sample. Redrafting is thus not necessarily a good thing. Furthermore, the study showed no difference on average between more skilled and less skilled writers in terms of the improvement (or rather, lack of improvement) achieved through redrafting. Individual writers in the sample, however, did have relatively small but statistically significant changes in their scores, either upward or downward.

Scores for language-related features rarely changed, and if they did were usually downward. Redrafting does not seem to improve the quality of language for second language writers. This is perhaps not really surprising. Apart from correcting slips – which would in any case normally be done mostly in the process of editing rather than when making a full-scale redraft – it seems unlikely that writers would be able to correct inaccurate language very much at a second attempt. It would in fact be rather more surprising if they first wrote in inaccurate English and then were able, using the "monitor" in Krashen's sense, to convert it into accurate English. One might perhaps have hoped for an improvement in the range of language used, but in view of the fact that writers were working in L2 one might expect that they would only be able to command a limited number of different ways of expressing the same ideas.

Scores for content, and thus overall scores for the essay, did occasionally change for the better. In all cases where scores improved it was possible to identify some feature of the redraft which made it easier for the intended audience (people with no knowledge of Denmark) to understand. As most of the raters fell into this category, it seems probable that this common factor was largely responsible for the improvement in content-related marks; it is clear that raters will give higher marks for work which they can understand better. The importance of bearing in mind the needs of the audience when writing has long been recognised (see for example Flower 1979, Sommers 1980). There was no other obvious common factor related to essays which obtained better scores for content on the redraft; some studies of factors affecting scores have indicated some correlation between essay length and content score, irrespective of actual quality of the writing, but there was no such correlation in this study.

Changes which seemed likely to make the essays more comprehensible to the intended audience ranged from brief parenthetic added explanations through to a complete change in approach. Essay 20 (see Appendix 2) was in fact the only example of an essay which was almost totally changed and where the writer seems to have given much more thought to the reader in the second draft, at least during the first part of the essay. It is debatable, however, whether in all senses the second draft is the "better" of the two; while more readily comprehensible for someone unfamiliar with Danish universities, it lacks some of the fire of the first, more personal text.

I should point out one important limitation of the assessment system used here. The mark for content was of course a mark for the quality of the content as perceived by readers; we do not know whether the content of the redrafted texts pleased the **writers** more. If their ideas had changed or developed while they were writing the first draft (something which we know frequently happens, since the very act of writing seems to promote thinking and the creation of ideas), then the writers might well have felt more satisfied with the content of their second drafts even if the raters did not find any difference in the perceived quality of the material. Thus, when I report that redrafting did not "improve" texts on average, I am not able to say whether or not the texts had improved in the eyes of the writers themselves.

An interesting difference emerged between the stronger and the weaker writers in terms of the types of changes made during redrafting. Weaker writers tended to change the text primarily by **additions** or by **replacement** of lengthy passages (sometimes of the entire essay). On the whole, such tactics rarely improved their score, and sometimes reduced it. Essay 1, for example, was almost identical in its redrafted form, with the exception of the addition of a new section (see Appendix 2). The second version actually scored slightly lower marks than the first, perhaps because the writer was trying to express more complex ideas in the added section of the second draft, and consequently exposed his deficiencies in L2 writing skills to an even greater extent. Stronger writers, in contrast, were able to do more in the way of **reworking** what they had written, expressing the same content in a different way. This sometimes resulted in a small gain in score, and never in a reduction. Essay 13 provides an example of such reworking, though in this instance there was in fact no score increase (see Appendix 2).

This finding strongly suggests that the ability to rework L2 essays is indeed developmental, and developmental in terms of language skill. As writers gain more facility in the language code, they have more alternatives open to them, and can express their ideas in different ways. Weaker writers may also interact with the text, but they may not be able to do as much in the way of making changes as a result of this interaction; they can perhaps only discard all or part of what they have written and start again in the hope that it will turn out better the next time. My research suggests that this is usually a vain hope.

On the other hand, the ability to discard a text and write something different seemed to be displayed by even the weakest writers in the study. Redrafting thus appears to be readily available to all writers as a strategy to use if the writer is dissatisfied with the content of a draft and feels that s/he can write something more satisfactory. None of my subjects had any difficulty with the concept of redrafting, nor do any of the research reports on redrafting that I have read record writers being puzzled by the idea. It is a strategy which does not seem to require much teaching to get people to use it.

4 Implications for teaching

These findings suggest to me that there is little point in always asking students to redraft their texts for either or both of the first two of the possible reasons for using redrafting in class that I have suggested, i.e. because it is a necessary part of good writing (it is clearly not) or because students need to be taught to adopt the strategy where needed (redrafting within the limits allowed by their language knowledge is a concept easily grasped by students; it may be necessary to do build redrafting in to the guided writing process occasionally to make the point that it can be a useful strategy, but it is certainly not necessary to insist that it should be done in every writing exercise).

The other reasons I have suggested for requiring students to redraft the essays they write as part of an L2 writing course may well be valid, but I have yet to see research evidence of this. Clearly the completion of a draft is in class organisational terms a convenient stage for a teacher or another student to read a text and give feedback on it, but whether or not the text should be redrafted in the light of that feedback seems to me likely to depend on the nature of the text, the feedback, and the writer's own feelings.

The question of how redrafting affects learning and motivation seems to me to be a complex one, and perhaps the answer is unlikely to be a universal. Sometimes redrafting may help, and sometimes it might have a sizeable negative effect. Small-scale questionnaire research with my own students following university English courses generally suggests that such students often feel that rewriting is "good for them". Some students did report satisfaction with improving their writing through feedback. On the other hand, many students found the process of redrafting laborious and dull, and hence rather demotivating. In this instance, it should be pointed out, feedback was concerned not so much with suggestions related to content as with suggestions for how to express the content in English; in more "creative" writing situations the result could have been different, though not necessarily more positive (students might react very negatively to the idea of incorporating someone else's ideas into their text). One of the students in my survey suggested that they would get more out of tackling a similar task in the light of feedback than they would from revising a text they had already worked on.

A further point to bear in mind is that the whole concept of "redrafting" is in part at least linked to pen-and-ink writing or typing. The use of a computer is likely to change the writing process considerably, since revision, including large-scale revision, can be carried out easily without necessitating the abandoning of an early draft. Many writers will only make a distinct new draft if they feel that their first represents a totally unsatisfactory approach to their writing task. This means that redrafting as a form of revising is, for most writers, likely to become a relatively rare event. One may argue that computer-revised texts sometimes suffer as a result (early versions of a text are not always fully eliminated during revision, or integrated satisfactorily into the new text), but the fact remains that increasing use of the computer means that writing processes are changing. Our teaching will need to take this into account.

The widespread assumption that redrafting is something which should inevitably and frequently be incorporated into the teaching process thus seems to me to be at best unproven. I certainly would not claim that we should never ask students to redraft in the light of feedback from others, but I do believe we should do this with some caution and with awareness of the slimness of the possible benefits.

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Appendix 1: Essay tasks and instructions

Writers were given these written instructions before the first drafting exercise:

English Writing Research

Choose ONE of the following two topics on which to write an essay of approximately 1½ pages in length.

1 Discuss one or more changes you would like to see made in the present Danish university system.

2 What policies do you think Denmark should follow on immigration and/or the treatment of immigrants?

You have 10 minutes to decide on your topic before starting to write.

You will then have 1 hour to write your essay.

You should write your essay for a non-Danish reader who may not know much about the current situation in Denmark.

Written instructions were given for the first drafting session only.

In the first drafting session, writers were instructed orally in the use of the numbered sheets of writing paper, which were to be used in sequence, whether for rough work or their essay.

In the second drafting session, writers were told orally that they were to rewrite their essay in such a way as to improve it. The following points were made:

a) *Writers who had photocopies of their notes and first drafts from the earlier writing session returned to them could make notes on the photocopies if they wished.*

b) *All writers were to make a complete new draft of the essay. Just writing in changes on the photocopy was not acceptable.*

c) *Writers were required to spend a minimum of 45 minutes on the second draft. At the end of that time, they were free to leave if they wished, but they could spend up to an hour on the second draft if they needed it.*

d) *It was stressed that writers could make any type of change they wished to their essay to improve it – even abandoning their first draft and writing a completely new essay if they felt this would result in a better piece of writing.*

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Appendix 2: Sample student scripts; drafts 1 and 2 compared

Writer 1, Draft 1

In this essay the focus will lay on the treatment of the immigrants once accepted as immigrants/refugies of the danish goverment.

The treatment of todays-immigrants should be build on the experience gathered from the last 30 years immigrationpolicies, and there should be made 'long-sighted' treatment-plans. There has been made a lot of projects in different communities during the years. But most of them are not made permanent despite the good results becauce of the lack of money and thoughts about the future.

There should be a central immigrationpolicy that garanties a certain treatment, but I think that out in the communities the treatment shall be adjusted to the special problems that may exist there.

Experience shows that learning the lanques is a very important part of a good integration. If the immigrant is able to understand and talk danish, the chances for getting a job or an education will grow rapidly. Having a job in the danish sociaty is often the key to accept and identity. Turkies women who are not able to handle the danish lanques, often gets isolated and have poor possibilities for participating in the local community, understanding the decitions that are made ind the educationsystem, socialsecurity e.c.t.

Writer 1, Draft 2

In this essay the focus will lay on the treatment of the immigrants once accepted as immigrants/refugies of the danish goverment.

The treatment of todays-immigrants should be build on the experience gathered from the last 30 years immigrationpolicies, and there should be made "long-sighted" treatmentplans. There has been made a lot of projects in different communities in Denmark during the years. But most of them are not made permanent despite the good results that are seen, because of the lack of money and thoughts about the future.

There should be a central immigration policy that garanties a certain treatment, but I think that out in the comunities the treatment should be adjusted to the special problems that may exist there.

Experience shows that learning the lanques is a very important part of a good integration. If the immigrant is able to understand and talk danish, the chances for getting a job or an education will grow rapidly. Having a job in the dainsh society is often the key to accept and identity. Turkish women who are not able to handle the danish lanques, often gets isolated and have poor possibilities for participating in the local communty, understanding the decitions that are made in the educationsystem, socialsecuritysystem e.c.t.

If foreigners once are accepted as immigrants It is the duty of the sociaty to to make sure tht they get the best possibilities for integration, and that the 2. generation of immigrants have the same possibilities as the rest of the sociaty.

In the treatment there will allwayes be a conflict between how "strong" the integration should be and letting the immigrant keep his own identity and the traditions of his homecountry. It is very important not to neglisy differents in religion and culture but instead use it in a positive way in the integrationpolicy. Integration should not be done by force, but by encourishment. If the immigrant can see a direct use of for example learning the lanquage, I think the motivation will grow automaticaly.

If foreigners once are accepted as immigrants it is the duty of the society to make sure that they get the best possibilities for integration and a "good life" identified on there own "premissis". The children in the 2. generation should be given the same possibilties as the rest of the opgrowing generation.

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Writer 13, Draft 1

Immigration in Denmark

Immigration and in particular the treatment of immigrants have become very significant issues in the rich part of the world today. Especially all over Europe we see nationalist groups forming and reacting against the foreigners in their countries. The revival of the Nazi party in Germany and its raids against foreigners show that there definitely is a problem. The extremity of the situation in Germany highlights the central thing in the question – or rather the problem – of immigration, namely the lack of understanding of difference and unwillingness to accept difference. Even though the problem is not (yet) so serious in Denmark, the same tendencies as in Germany are present right underneath the surface. A strongly nationalist and very anti-immigrant society has been formed (Den Danske Forening) and it has members from virtually all parts of the Danish society. However, even though they are not so visible, there are also forces pulling in the other direction calling for a more humane and understanding attitude towards immigrants.

Personally, I sympathize with this last view and believe that an improved treatment of immigrants on the level of the authorities would help to solve the problem by making both immigrants and Danes more comfortable with the situation. Improvements could be made in two areas: on the entry into Denmark and in the period of integration. Today people who come to Denmark as immigrants have to wait for up to a year (or more) before the authories give them an answer to their application to stay in Denmark, during this period they usually stay in large camps for immigrants with little room, and with little contact to Danish society. This is totally inacceptable, the initial treatment of immigrants is very significant and should be

Writer 13, Draft 2

Immigration in Denmark

Immigration and in particular the treatment of immigrants are very hot issues at the moment. All over Europe nationalism is growing very strong and nationalist groups react strongly against foreigners in their countries. An extreme, and quite shocking, example of this is in the rivival of the Nazi party in Germany with its violent attacks on foreigners. Denmark is no exeption as far as growing nationalism and anti-immigrant attitudes are concerned; a nationalist society (Den Danske Forening) has been formed and is growing steadily and the political party, the Progressive Party (Fremskridtpartiet), is gaining increased support in some parts of the population for taking hard stands against foreigners. As I see it, the background of this problem, the growing tension between immigrants and the "original" population (in Denmark or anywhere else), is a lack of understanding of people who are different, culturally or as a race. In addition the treatment of the immigrants by the Danish authorities does not do enough to wipe out this feeling of difference.

A way to help solving the problem would therefore be to improve the treatment of immigrants from their first contact with the country and in that way make both them and more indirectly the Danes more comfortable with the situation. Today people who come to Denmark as immigrants have to wait for up to a year (sometimes even more) before the authorities give an answer to their application for staying in Denmark. This is highly unacceptable, especially because they usually spend this time in immigration camps with little contact to the Danish society and therefore they get estranged to the Danish society right from the start. Once they have been accepted as immigrants the only attempt of integrating them into Danish society is through education in the Danish language, and

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given a very high priority. Procedures should be speeded up considerably so that the maximum waiting time would be a month or so.

The question of integration into the Danish society is a very delicate one. Integration does not mean to make the immigrants completely Danish, but to give them some help in undertanding the country and live in it. Today the emphasis is put on language education, and admittedly this is important but education in Danish culture is at least as important than this and should be more emphasis. In addition to this education should start as soon as possible to help the immigrants in the first, and most difficult phase of their life in Denmark.

All the above mentioned improvements would give the immigrant a better startingpoint in his life in Denmark, but of course, this is only one side of the problem. The Danes must also be "educated". As written in the initial paragraph the core of the problem is lack of understanding of people who are different, culturally or as a race, and so the attitude of the Danish population should also be improved, the keyword here is: mutual understanding.

they are therefore left in very weak position to live in a country which is presumably very different from their home country on a cultural level.

A starting point in the solution of the immigrant problem would therefore be to speed up the initial procedures in the treatment of immigrants by the authorities so that the integration could start as soon as possible. In addition the integration should be expanded to include education in Danish culture as well as Danish language, as it is here, in the clash of different cultures that the problems arise.

However, a change in attitude in the Danish population itself is at least as significant as the above. The world is turning increasingly multi-cultural and it is essential that people start to be more aware of this and see difference as a value, not as a threat.

Writer 20, Draft 1

Empty chairs in Danish universities?

This year the Ministry of Education made it possible for more students to enter university, after so many aplicants had been turned down in the first place. – But is it that so many young people really couldn't get to study, what about the new system of co-ordination that would make sure only to give you your highest prioritry? well, that surely failed.

Some students were told that they could enter all their prioritries, some none. – And then the problem about the "extra" students.

As for me, I didn't get my first priority, which was really a chok. – But, I got my second choice, so after a while, I got hold of myself, things weren't that bad after all. – Consider the – wasn't it 20.000 – who had been rejected, I was lucky! And, of course, I had asked for it myself, no reason for me to be sad.

So I moved to Copenhagen, started my education – and, after 3 weeks, I was given my first choice anyway!

The day I got that letter, I just felt like crying. What should I do? Stay where I was – it was becomming interesting – or move to Århus to study what I really wanted to?

What about all the money I had spent on moving, apartment in Copenhagen – where would I stay in Århus – could I afford it all? Could I hope to sell the books I alredy bought – would the new ones be expensive too?

For a whole week, I didn't know what to do. Then I decided to go to Århus, knowing that if I did not, I would surely regret it – I might never get the chance again.

So here I am – getting along after all. But sometimes I get so mad.

We started out being 21 in my class – now we are 16. Some of my classmates didn't even want this study so bad – they just chose on something "exotic" (I study japanese).

And here is my point: My marks were not high enough, so I entered on special premmesis – of course I'm glad I had that oportunaty. But why not look at why I chose japanese, and not whether I worked in some office or kindergarden for 6 months, trained a team of kids kicking a ball or used to be a scout? Let the young people have some kind of responsability – it can't be fair that so many don't show up after all, leaving so many empty seats, when so many young people are waiting – really wanting to enter.

I think it would be right, to make some kind of period where you would have to stay.

Tim Caudery

Too many young people lack moral, and stop after 2 weeks or 2 months, leaving seats free, when it is too late for the ones waiting to enter. We are getting so used to not having to do anything we don't want to, that we don't even give it a try. "If I don't like it, I can always drop out – try something else".

I know it's a delicate matter – but thinking about all the trouble I had to go through – and how already there are five of my classmates who tend to stay away when still people are waiting, eagerly wanting to enter. – I would like to see something be done to stop all those who just come by to see what university is like.

Writer 20, Draft 2

Today, when you want to enter university in Denmark, you have two posibilities.

If your marks are high enough – you apply through group 1, but if they are not, you must apply through group 2.

In group 1, the only thing that counts is your marks, while in group 2 you will be judged on things you've done that could relate to what you want to study – like going abroad, working or studying.

Now you might think, that this system should work – but it tends not to.

When you apply in group 2, you will be judged not on what you've done relating to what you want to study, as much as on how many different catagories you fullfill.

So, if you want to study Italian, and you spent time in Italy, it might not help you at all. The thing that counts at first is, how many catogories you fullfill. – So if you worked six months in a kindergarden, trained a football team, went to what we call a "Højskole" or whatever the Ministry of Education decides on, it might get you in, and not that you went to Italy to learn about language and everyday life.

Now I know, that reading a lot of aplications about peoples reasons for wanting to study would take a lot of time, money and paperwork, but the way it is now it still does, and maby it would save money in the end, if people wouldn't have to go for their second choice – and then drop out after a short while.

Also, I would like to have entrence examinations.

As it is now, we only have entrence examinations on Journalism School, and I think that there ought to be on Architecture as well.

Just like when you want to enter Drama School or Art School, you do need some talent, not just good marks.

Of course, the entrence examination should be related to whatever you want to study.

Another posibility would be to look at your examn not as a whole, but to see how you had been doing in math. – if you want to study chemistry or fysics, or language if that is what you choose.

As it is now, a bad grade in math might bring your whole result down even though your English is great and English is what you want to study.

And before the new highschool reform, there were some subjects that you had to have even if they were not related to your main subject, so if you wanted to major in math. and chemistry, you had to study english too, and your marks in english would influence on your entrence to university.

OWPLC 14: 69-105

Composing in first and second languages:

Possible effects of EFL writing instruction

Ayşe Akyel and Sibel Kamışlı[1]

Summary

This study investigates the relationship of the writing processes and the possible effects of EFL writing instruction on these processes. Specifically, it addresses the following research questions: a) Are there similarities and/or differences between the Turkish and English writing processes of Turkish EFL students? b) Does the EFL writing instruction have an impact on their writing processes in English and the resulting compositions? c) Does the EFL writing instruction have an impact on their writing processes in Turkish and the resulting compositions? d) Does the EFL writing instruction affect their attitudes toward writing in English and/or Turkish?

Eight Turkish EFL students participated in this study. Data came from analyses of think-aloud protocols, compositions written by the participants, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews.

Findings indicated that the students' writing processes in Turkish and English showed more similarities than differences. Moreover, the EFL writing instruction had a positive effect on these EFL students' writing processes in Turkish and English and attitudes to writing both in Turkish and English.

1 Introduction

Research on EFL/ESL writing processes has focused on a wide range of topics. Some researchers have analyzed the writing processes of skilled and unskilled writers (Jacobs 1982; Jones 1982; Raimes 1985, 1987; Zamel 1982, 1983) and some have compared their results (Raimes 1985, 1987; Zamel 1982, 1983) with

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those of relevant research on native speakers of English (Emig 1977; Flower and Hayes 1980; Perl 1979; Pianko 1979; Rose 1980; Sommers 1980; Faigley and Witte 1981). One general conclusion to be drawn from research to date in L2 composing and from a comparison of these results with those of L1 composing process research is that the composing skills of skilled and unskilled L2 writers are very similar to those of skilled and unskilled L1 writers.

Recently the idea that L1 and L2 writing processes are interrelated has gained prominence among process-oriented researchers and prompted a series of studies examining ESL/EFL writers' L1 and L2 writing processes. While some of these cross-language studies have focused on general analyses of composing processes (Arndt 1987; Chelela 1981; Edelsky 1982) others concentrated on text planning (Akyel 1994; Cumming 1989; Friedlander 1990; Jones and Tetroe 1987; Lay 1982) or revision (Gaskill 1987, Hall 1990).

The picture from these within-subject studies (i.e., a comparison of people writing in L1 and L2) shows that there seems to be evidence for transfer of some L1 knowledge and writing skills to L2, i.e., knowledge of spelling and manipulation of style (Edelsky 1982), using cohesive devices (Chelela 1981), planning content (Cumming 1989; Jones and Tetroe 1987), using thinking strategies (Cumming 1989). Moreover, Arndt (1987) in her study of L1 and L2 writing processes of six Chinese EFL students found that despite slight differences in the L1 and L2 writing processes especially related to vocabulary, the L1 and L2 writing processes of each individual writer were generally similar.

On the other hand, studies that focused on revision strategies and transfer across languages (Gaskill 1987; Hall 1990) or analyzed revision strategies as well as other writing strategies such as taking notes, using cohesive devices (Chelela 1981) found contradictory results. While Chelela's subjects did less reviewing and revising during L2 composing, the subjects in Gaskill's study (1987), reviewed and revised almost equally in L1 and L2. The findings of Hall's study (1990), however, indicated that there were more revising and reviewing episodes during the L2 composing process than that of L1 composing. Hall also found that some revising strategies were unique to L2 in the sense that recursiveness "took on an additional function in L2 composing" (1990:56). Yet, Hall observed that despite these differences, there were also striking similarities with regard to revision of both linguistic and discourse features, and concluded that L1 revising strategies may be transferred to a second language. He also suggested that research is needed to investigate if instruction in L2 writing affects L1 writing strategies, indicating that the process of transfer is "bidirectional and interactive" (1990:56).

Researchers have observed the effects of process writing instruction on ESL students' writing abilities and articulated the benefits of process-oriented composition instruction for L2 learners (Diaz 1985; Edelsky 1982; Urzua 1987). For example, Spack (1984) found that ESL students benefited from writing instruction focusing on invention strategies, i.e., list making, oral group brainstorming, dialogue writing, keeping journals. Hence, the focus of these studies was to test the effects of methods of instruction which are aimed at stimulating reflection and evaluation in the students' writing process. However, to the best knowledge of the researchers, no study has been conducted on the possible effects of second language writing instruction on L1 writing.

2 The study

The aim of this study was to investigate issues related to the L1 and L2 writing processes and the possible effects of L2 writing instruction on L1 and L2 writing processes. The study was undertaken in an EFL situation with Turkish writers, who have a different culturally determined educational background than those involved in previous studies. Specifically, the study addressed the following research questions: (1) Are there similarities and/or differences between the Turkish and English writing processes of Turkish EFL students? (2) Does the EFL writing instruction have an impact on their writing processes in English and/or the resulting compositions? (3) Does the EFL writing instruction have an impact on their writing processes in Turkish and/or the resulting compositions? (4) Does the EFL writing instruction have an impact on their attitudes toward writing in English and/or in Turkish?

2.1 Method

Participants

Eight Turkish students enrolled in the freshman English composition courses in the English Education Department of an English-medium university in Istanbul volunteered to participate in this study. Students are admitted to the freshman year with a minimum of 550 on the TOEFL together with 4.5 on the writing component of the TOEFL or a corresponding score on the university's English Proficiency test, which is said to be equivalent to the Michigan Test of English (Hughes 1988).

The writing scores of all of the participants were 4.5. All of the participants were graduates of private or special public high schools where the medium of instruction was English. They were all female and native speakers of Turkish representing people from urban and rural backgrounds and belonging to various socio-economic groups.

Writing instruction

In line with current approaches to academic writing (Horowitz 1986; Rose 1980; Silva 1990; Spack 1984), the 2-semester (3 hours a week) freshman composition course offered in the English Education Department was designed to teach students systematic thinking and writing skills so that they can use their own composing strategies effectively to explore ideas while writing in response to a specific assignment. In addition, the course was based on the "interactive approach" (Bakhtin and Medvedev 1987; Bizzell 1982; Nystrand 1989, 1992) to the writing process in an academic setting. For example, the students were engaged in tasks to improve/develop their knowledge of conventions of genre, coherence and formality at discourse level as well as activities like invention, strategy building, list making, looping, oral group brainstorming, cubing and keeping journals. Moreover, in line with the interactive approach to the writing process, the course also aimed to encourage interactive production and revision of the compositions. To serve this purpose, the students were trained to do mapping in groups to facilitate creation of new ideas, rewriting drafts based on peer or teacher feedback, and editing. Revision activities included discussions focusing on the clarity of purpose, expectations from the task, specification or clarification of vague points, and suggestions for possible revisions. In a sense, such activities were designed to raise the student writers' awareness of the interactive nature of text production. The course was taught by an experienced writing instructor. The study measured the effects of the instruction at the end of the 19th week (1.5 semesters) of the course.

Tasks and data collection

An introduction to the project and thinking aloud while composing was provided to the subjects as has been done in some other ESL/EFL studies (e.g., Arndt 1987; Lay 1982; Raimes 1985, 1987). The subjects first listened to both of the researchers composing aloud both in Turkish and in English in two consecutive sessions. Then they were asked to compose aloud in both languages until they thought they were comfortable with the task.

During the first week of the semester, the student writers (henceforth SWs), were given two writing tasks, one in English and one in Turkish (see Appendix I). For each writing task, they had to choose from two topics given in the descriptive mode, which is a rhetorical pattern that they most frequently experienced using in their Turkish and English composition classes. In addition, the researchers tried to select the topics the students were familiar with. This conclusion was based on the findings of the questionnaire investigating their writing experience as well as their conceptions and attitudes toward writing in Turkish and English. During the composing sessions, the subjects were asked to compose aloud to a taperecorder in a natural setting. Although the researchers had planned on not giving time limits, an analysis of the schedule of each student writer indicated that none of them could devote more than three hours for each writing task. Nevertheless, they were told that they were free to use as much time as they needed for the writing task.

At the end of the 19th week of the instruction, the SWs were again given two writing tasks, (see Appendix I), one in Turkish, one in English. For these two writing tasks, they followed the same procedure, i.e., composing aloud in a natural setting with no time limits and choosing from two topics. The SWs were again required to use the same rhetorical pattern (descriptive mode) to avoid a possible confounding factor. Moreover, like in the first task, the topics for the second task were also chosen taking into consideration the students' familiarity with the topics. Furthermore, the prompts in Task I and Task II required the student writers to describe a place, or a person, a season, or a Turkish university student's life style. In this way, the researchers thought that they would also avoid facing the possible effects of topic differences as a second confounding factor.

Right after each composing task, before the instruction and at the end of the 19th week of the instruction, the SWs were asked to respond to a self-evaluation form, i.e., a semi-structured questionnaire which basically had questions related to their writing strategies as well as their attitudes toward writing (see Appendix II). The responses to the questions were used to cross-validate the findings with composing aloud tapes. For the purposes of the study, the researchers also interviewed the student writers to further explore their previous exposure to writing in English and in Turkish, their attitudes toward writing in both languages and the type of changes that they felt existed or took place in their L1 and L2 composing processes, if there were any.

Data Analysis

Think-aloud protocol analysis

The composing tapes of the student writers were transcribed and analyzed by the researchers independently. When differences in the frequency counts occurred, the researchers resolved the discrepancies through discussion. For the analysis of the transcripts, Raimes' coding scheme (1987), a modified version of Perl's (1979) coding scheme, which was further modified by Arndt (1987) for an EFL context was used. In addition, the researchers incorporated into the coding scheme two revision subcategories of combination (i.e., combination of two sentences or paragraphs) and reorganization (i.e., a reorganization within or across paragraphs) which had been in Pennington and Brock's (1987) coding scheme (see Appendix III).

The transcribed texts were analyzed in terms of the frequency of composing strategies employed by the SWs.

First, the Turkish and the English essays composed at the beginning of the semester were analyzed to examine the similarities and/or differences between L1 and L2 composing processes. Then, the English essays composed at the beginning and end of the 19th week of the instruction were compared to examine the possible effects of L2 writing instruction on the L2 writing processes of the student writers. Finally, the Turkish essays composed at the beginning of the semester and the end of the 19th week of the instruction were analyzed to see the impact of L2 writing instruction on the L1 writing processes. The English and Turkish compositions written at the beginning and end of the instruction will henceforth be referred to as T1, E1, T2, E2 respectively.

Global quality scoring of the compositions and time spent on writing

The Turkish and English compositions were graded by two trained Turkish scorers. In evaluating the compositions, the scorers applied the holistic grading system used at present by graders evaluating the compositions written for the Bosphorus University proficiency exam, focusing mainly on content organization and language use. Using Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients, interrater reliability for the two raters on Turkish compositions was .89 and interrater reliability for the two raters on English compositions was .90.

In addition, the time student writers devoted to the prewriting and composing stages of their English and Turkish compositions was calculated.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the statistical analysis of the data related to the writing strategies utilized by the students, global quality scoring of the compositions and the time spent on the prewriting and composing stages. In accordance with the objectives of the study, Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients, and Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Rank tests were computed. The level of significance was set at alpha = .05.

2.2 Findings and discussion

The results are presented according to the study's four research questions.

English and Turkish writing processes before the instruction

To see whether there were similarities and/or differences between the participants' writing strategies in Turkish and English before the instruction, a comparison was made in terms of the strategies they employed before writing (prewriting strategies) while writing (composing strategies), and the time devoted to these processes. Moreover, the Turkish and English compositions were compared in terms of global quality scoring.

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Prewriting strategies

Using Wilcoxon Matched-pairs Signed-rank Test, the frequencies with which these writers employed the prewriting strategies were compared. The results indicated that SWs planned more frequently, at the significance level of $p<.05$, during the prewriting stages of the English compositions than during the pre-writing stages of the Turkish compositions (see Appendix V, Table 4). On the other hand, they employed the reading the topic strategy more frequently at the significance level of $p<.05$ during the prewriting stage of their Turkish compositions. Moreover, although they rehearsed more during the prewriting stage of the English composition, this difference was not statistically significant.

The same statistical procedure was followed to compare the time these student writers spent on prewriting and the composing processes of their Turkish and English compositions. The results indicated that they devoted more time to the prewriting stage of the Turkish composition than that of the English composition. On the other hand, these students devoted more time to the composing processes of the English composition than the Turkish composition. However, these differences were not statistically significant (see Appendix IV, Table 2).

During the prewriting stage of the Turkish writing task, the writers mainly read the topic and were concerned about how to begin their composition, especially the very first sentence of the introduction. On the other hand, the writers' prewriting operations during the writing of the English compositions seems to be focused more on content planning.

Global quality scoring

The results indicated that mean scores for T1 were significantly higher than those of E1 (p<.01) (see Appendix IV, Table 3).

Composing strategies

The strategies employed by the student writers while composing in English and Turkish were compared in terms of (a) general strategies; (b) surface level revision strategies; and (c) deep level revision strategies.

(a) General writing strategies

The results indicated that there were no significant differences between planning, rehearsing, and reading the topic operations employed by the student writers for the Turkish and the English compositions (see Appendix IV, Table 4). In addition, there were almost equal instances of pausing for both compositions. However, the SWs made significantly more assessments, comments and questioning (p<.05) and read the entire Turkish composition more frequently (p<.05) when they finished writing it than the English composition (p<.05).

The protocol analyses indicated that SW7 planned most for the Turkish and for the English compositions (see Appendix IV, Table 5). On the other hand, SWs 1, 2 and 8 rarely planned while writing compositions in English or Turkish. In general, the few planning operations of these writers reflected a concern about what they should be talking about next while writing in Turkish and English. Or closely related with this, they also tried to make sure that the ideas followed one another in a logical sequence. Moreover, there were instances of switching back and forth from English to Turkish while they were planning what to write or how to proceed during the English writing task.

In general, the writers rehearsed for two major reasons during the Turkish task. One was to try out ideas and to assess to what extent the ideas they wanted to write expressed what they really wanted to convey to the reader. The writers' rehearsing operations while writing in Turkish also reflect their concerns with semantic and stylistic options to enrich content.

While rehearsing for writing the English composition, however, the writers were basically concerned with searching for the right word and/or checking their grammar. In general, limited grammar and vocabulary knowledge in English led them to try to express themselves with the words they knew rather than considering stylistic options for a richer content which was more frequently done while they were writing the Turkish compositions.

During the writing of the English composition, 42% of the instances of rescanning belonged to SW4. Furthermore, as far as the Turkish task is concerned, again SW4 rescanned most excepting SW3. The rest rescanned once or twice during the composing process. Moreover, SWs 1 and 2 did not use this strategy at all. The protocols indicated that the student writers, like Raimes' subjects (1989:455), rescanned basically to move forward and develop the next idea in both writing tasks. In addition, during the writing of the Turkish compositions, they were concerned with finding a focus or framework within which all the ideas should be related to each other. While writing the English text, on the other hand, they in general, reread parts of their texts for surface level revisions.

The switches to L1 during L2 writing occurred when they were planning what to include and write next, and making content specific and personal comments and assessments or rehearsing for writing. The comments and questions covered a range of concerns about problems related to writing conventions and style, and their personal feelings about writing.

(b) Surface level revision strategies

The results indicated that the student writers utilized each of the surface level revision strategies more frequently while composing in English than in Turkish (see Appendix IV, Table 4). However, these differences were statistically significant only in terms of the utilization of addition ($p<.05$) and substitution ($p<.05$). According to the results, 70% of the whole editing operations for the Turkish task were equally shared by SW2 and SW6. Three people did not edit at all. With regard to editing for the English task, 29% of the total editing operations belonged to SW6 (See Appendix IV, Table 6).

(c) Deep level revision strategies

The findings indicated that the frequencies with which these writers utilized each of the deep level revision categories while writing Turkish and English compositions did not differ significantly from each other (see Appendix IV, Table 4). According to the findings, deletion and substitution with a combined frequency of 18, constituted 72% of the revising operations for the Turkish task (see Appendix IV, Table 7). Hence, although there were instances of reworking of entire sentences, most revision operations in English compositions were alterations of single words, whereas almost all the revision operations of the writers while composing in Turkish were at sentence or paragraph level. However, the writers in this study like the inexperienced writers in Sommers (1986) study deleted or substituted more than experienced L1 writers in the same studies who were more inclined to add materials to their texts. In a sense, the writing processes of the writers in the present study consisting of mostly deletions and substitutions created a "stuttering effect".

The person who utilized deep level revisions most in English was SW7. However, the same student writer revised less frequently in Turkish (6 vs. 2) (see Appendix IV, Table 7). Moreover, while her revision operations focused on deletion, reorganization and combination in E1, she used addition and substitution operations in T1. Furthermore, SW4 who followed SW7 in terms of the number of frequencies with which she utilized deep level revision operations in E1, revised less frequently in Turkish. Hence, as in Hall's (1990) study, deep level revision in EFL writing of individual writers was not simply a mirror image of that process in L1 in terms of quantity or quality.

Effects of L2 Writing instruction on English and Turkish writing processes

With regard to the second and third research question, namely whether L2 writing instruction affected English and Turkish writing strategies, first English compositions written before and after the instruction were compared in terms of: (a) prewriting strategies and time spent on prewriting; (b) composing strategies and time spent on composing; and (c) global quality scoring and length. This was followed by an analysis of the Turkish compositions written before and after the instruction in terms of the three criteria listed above.

(a) Prewriting strategies

The time devoted to prewriting increased significantly both for Turkish ($p<.05$) and English ($p<.01$) compositions (see Appendix V, Table 2). According to the results, the student writers utilized the planning, reading the topic and assessing, commenting and questioning strategies more frequently during the prewriting process of T2 compositions than T1 compositions, but these differences were significant only in the case of planning (p<.05). On the other hand, the SWs read the topic, planned and rehearsed more frequently, at the significance level of p<.05, during the prewriting processes of E2 than E1 compositions. However, they utilized the assessing, commenting and questioning strategies in equal frequencies during E1 and E2 prewriting processes (See Appendix V, Table 4).

Another important difference between the prewriting processes in E1 and E2 is that the subjects tried to avoid using Turkish while engaged in prewriting activities.

During the E2 prewriting stage, the subjects were engaged in brainstorming and generating ideas about the assigned topic. During the prewriting stage of the T2 compositions on the other hand, the student writers were not so much concerned with writing the first sentence of the introduction paragraph of their Turkish composition. Instead, they were more concerned about the structural organization. As in the case of E2, they were more interested in discovering their ideas during the writing process. So, L2 writing instruction seemed to help these subjects improve their idea generation strategies while writing both in English and Turkish.

(b) Composing strategies

General writing strategies

The frequency with which the student writers planned and paused increased significantly during E2 and T2 composing (p<.05) (See Appendix V, Table 5). Moreover, while the frequencies with which the student writers rehearsed for E2 increased significantly (p<.05), the frequencies with which they rehearsed for T2 slightly decreased (10.6 vs. 9.38) but this difference was not statistically significant. According to the findings, the frequencies with which the student writers utilized the other general writing strategies during E2 and T2 did not differ significantly from those of E1 and T1.

Planning operations served for the same purposes during the writing processes of E1 and E2 and T1 and T2. In other words, in all cases in addition to planning what to talk about next, the student writers focused on the sequence of what followed.

The subjects rehearsed for similar reasons in T1 and T2. In T1, they rehearsed or tried out ideas for what to write and how to express that exact idea in the best possible way. In addition, they rehearsed for finding out the best semantic and syntactic options to enrich content. While the student writers used this composing strategy to find out the appropriate word and to check their grammar for E1, they started to search for options to enrich content as well.

Moreover, the subjects who rehearsed the most and the least during T1 and T2 were the same: SW7 (T1 18, T2 8), SW1 (T1 3, T2 1) (see Appendix V, Table 6).

Rescanning in E1 and E2 showed some difference in terms of purpose. In E1, rescanning was mostly done for the aim of surface level revisions or editing. However, in E2 rescanning was done to generate ideas and to check if they expressed what they thought properly. Unlike in English, the subjects rescanned for the same reasons in T1 and T2. They mainly rescanned to move forward and to develop the next idea or the idea that they were still working on. They also rescanned to see whether what they were writing followed the conceptual framework that they thought of or planned originally.

SW4 rescanned the most both in E1 (13) and E2 (8). SWs1 and 2 never applied this strategy while the others utilized it once or twice. SW8 did not rescan at all in T1 and T2 (see Appendix V, Table 9, and Appendix V, Table 6).

The protocol analyses revealed that the comments, assessments and questions of the students during E2 and T2 reflected the same concerns as those during T1 and E1. In other words, they were related to the content of the compositions as well as their English. Moreover, the protocols also revealed that these SW's felt more self-confident about writing. In addition, they seemed to be more critical of their own writing.

Surface level revision strategies

There was a decrease in the frequencies with which the student writers utilized all surface level revision strategies for E2 excepting punctuation (see Appendix V, Table 5). However, these differences were statistically significant only in terms of addition ($p<.05$), substitution ($p<.05$) and sentence structure ($p<.05$). On the other hand, there was a decrease in the frequencies with which the student writers employed all surface level revision strategies for T2 excepting addition and word form. Yet none of these differences were statistically significant. According to the results, all of the student writers utilized the surface level revision operations less frequently in E2 than in E1. SW6, for example, who had edited most in E1 (25) used this operation 4 times in E2. SW4 who had edited 13 times in E1 used this strategy twice in E2 (see Appendix V, Table 10). Word form was the most frequently used strategy in E1 whereas in E2 the most frequently used strategy was substitution. In T2, again SW6 together with SW8 edited the most. In T1, deletion of words or phrases was the most frequently used strategy. In T2, on the other hand, addition was the most frequently used strategy (See Appendix V, Table 7).

Deep level revision strategies

The frequencies with which the student writers employed each individual deep level revision strategy for E1 and E2 and T1 and T2 tasks were also compared. The results indicated that student writers utilized substitution and reorganization strategies more frequently in E2 than in E1, at the significance level of p<.05 (see Appendix V, Table 5). Although they also employed each of the other deep level revision strategies (addition, deletion, and combination) more frequently in E2 than in E1, these differences were not statistically significant.

The revision strategy most frequently used in E1 was combination whereas in E2 the most frequently utilized strategy was reorganization followed by substitution, deletion and addition (See Appendix V, Table 11).

The student writers utilized deep level addition more frequently for T2 than T1 at the significance level of p<.05 (see Appendix V, Table 5). They reorganized parts of their T2 compositions more frequently than parts of the T1 compositions and utilized fewer combination, substitution and deletion operations. Yet these differences were not statistically significant. The deep level revision strategy they utilized most frequently for T2 was addition followed by deletion and reorganization whereas deletion and substitution were the most frequently used strategies for T1. The person who revised most in T1 and T2 and E2 was SW7 followed by SW6 (see Appendix V, Table 11, and Appendix V, Table 8).

(c) Global quality scoring and time spent on composing

When the compositions written by the student writers in English before and after the instruction were compared, the results indicated that the mean scores for T2 compositions were higher than those of T1 compositions, but these differences were not statistically significant (See Appendix V, Table 3). However, the mean scores for E2 compositions were significantly higher than those of E1 compositions ($p<.01$).

The time the student writers devoted for composing E2 increased significantly ($p< .05$) (See Appendix V, Table 2). In the case of T2, however, this increase was not statistically significant (See Appendix V, Table 2).

Attitudes to Writing

The findings of the self-evaluation questionnaire and the interviews indicated that the student writers in this study reacted positively to a 19-week writing instruction in English. These findings also helped to explain the statistical results showing the positive effects of writing instruction on their composing processes in English and Turkish. Moreover, according to the results, there were individual differences in these student writers' attitudes to writing in English and Turkish before they were exposed to writing instruction in E2. For example, student writers 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8 favoured writing in English mainly because writing in Turkish was more demanding. In general, they felt that one is more critical when evaluating his/her writing in his/her native language. Student writers 1, 3 and 5, on the other hand, preferred writing in Turkish basically because they could not express themselves with ease in English.

However, all students had positive attitudes toward writing both in English and Turkish after the writing instruction. The student writers felt that the course familiarized them with the English rhetorical patterns and helped them to develop their writing skills in English. Student Writer 7 expressed her feelings as follows:

> The writing instruction was helpful. I did not use to experiment with writing as I do now. I am convinced that the more I write, the better my writing gets. I believe that I feel more at ease than before writing on any topic. Also, being exposed to different genres help.

In relation to the student writers' attitudes towards the focus of the course on helping students to create an integrated meaning structure by organizing ideas into a coherent whole, student writers made comments similar to the following:

> In senior high, I would just write without much concern for the organization of ideas. But now I feel that the organizational structure of the compositions is very important. It makes my points more effective.

Another factor that generated positive feelings toward writing in English was the way the writing was taught. The student writers felt that they benefitted from this approach which was based on interactivist orientation to the writing process. SW6 stated her opinion as follows:

> This course was different than the one we had in junior and senior high. In this course we were given a lot of freedom, which made writing fun and an enjoyable process. For instance, unlike in junior and senior high, nobody told us to write on a specific topic. A general topic was given without setting limits. Then we discussed and shared ideas about what we could write on this topic and how we would improve what we wrote.

Another feature of the writing instruction which the student writers liked was the period of time during which they engaged in reflective and evaluative activities. They found these activities particularly helpful for the revision stage of the writing process. In other words, they felt that both the teacher and the student feedback during the discussions in relation to the possible revisions of their compositions helped them to improve the quality of their compositions. SW7 said:

> We read each others' papers and expressed what we liked about the paper and what needed to be revised and/or clarified in our paper. This helped us to learn how to take a critical look at our papers and make necessary changes. Exchanging ideas was more enjoyable than writing in isolation.

Perhaps this is why they planned, rehearsed and paused more when writing English and Turkish compositions after the writing instruction. However, the improvement in the rehearsing strategy was not statistically significant in the case of the Turkish compositions. Moreover, the increase in the combined frequencies with which the student writers employed all deep-level revision strategies and the mean scores for compositions were statistically significant only in the case of English compositions. These results can perhaps be explained by the fact that these student writers were not exposed to formal instruction in Turkish as was the case in English. However, the findings also indicated that the type of writing instruction in English built their self confidence in writing both in English and Turkish.

According to the findings, in contrast to deep level revision strategies, there was a decrease in almost all of the surface level revision strategies utilized by the student writers during the writing of both English and Turkish compositions. This might be due to the activities encouraging them to experiment with ideas and evaluate their compositions at the idea level, and a probable improvement in the language proficiency in the case of the English compositions. For example, SW3 in relation to her writing in English commented as follows:

> In high school classes, teachers would mainly focus on grammar mistakes in our compositions. Then we would discuss these mistakes in the class. Now, we also get feedback on the content. Also, as our English improves, we do not make such grammar mistakes.

According to the findings, there was a change in the purposes for which the student writers planned and revised both in English and Turkish after the instruction. For example, some student writers' (SW4, 5, 6 and 7) planning operations after the 19th week of instruction seemed to focus more on creating an integrated meaning structure. The revision operations of these same students also indicated more of a discourse level concern than focusing on individual words or phrases.

Finally, the results also indicated that there were differences in the ways individual writers produced a text and their approaches to writing. For example, student writers (SW 4, 5, 6, and 7) utilized rehearsing, planning, deep level revision operations most and they had more positive attitude toward writing both in English and Turkish than the other student writers before and after the instruction. In relation to writing in both languages, they made comments similar to the following: "As I write more, I feel that I am writing better, which motivates me and makes me like writing more." Moreover, a close analysis of the frequency proportions indicates that these same student writers benefited more from the instruction.

3 Conclusion and Implications

This study compared the relationship of the Turkish and English writing strategies of 8 Turkish EFL student writers. In addition, the study analyzed the possible effects of EFL writing instruction on the writing strategies of these students in English and Turkish and their attitudes to writing in English and Turkish.

The results indicated that there were more similarities than differences between these Turkish student writers' L1 and L2 writing processes. In other words, the L1 and L2 writing processes of each individual writer were generally similar excepting some differences in terms of revision strategies. These results confirmed the findings of some previous studies (Arndt 1987; Chelela 1981; Cumming 1989; Gaskill 1987; Hall 1990; Jones and Tetroe 1987).

The findings of this study also indicate that the writing instruction that these student writers were exposed to helped them to improve their EFL writing strategies. Hence, these findings confirmed the findings of previous studies conducted in ESL contexts (Diaz 1985; Edelsky 1982; Spack 1984; Urzua, 1987). The writing instruction also had a positive effect on the student writers' writing strategies in Turkish. This finding in a sense provides a positive answer to Hall's (1990) question whether gains in L2 writing strategies can be transferred to L1 writing strategies, thus indicating that the process of transfer is bi-directional and interactive. However, the findings of the study also suggest that the impact of EFL writing instruction was far more apparent on writing in English than on writing in Turkish. This may to a certain extent emphasize the importance of the practice effect in learning to utilize some writing strategies. On the other hand, the finding of this study that improvement in the writing processes of these students was not statistically significant in terms of all the writing strategies, also supports the arguments that there is more to learning a complex cognitive skill than developing automaticity with the right practice (see, for example, Karmiloff-Smith 1986; Rumelhart and Norman 1978).

The student writers who participated in this study favoured writing instruction based on an interactive approach to the writing process in an academic setting. They in general felt that the class activities encouraging free exploration of ideas, as well as focusing on the form of the compositions were very helpful. In addition, they felt that peer feedback was very beneficial for the revision of their texts. Their overall positive attitude to writing indicates that writing instruction similar to the one in this study is more effective than traditional, practice-oriented methods of language skill instruction. Hence, in EFL academic writing courses similar to the present one, focusing on the shaping and the structuring of the overall meaning as well as emphasizing the interactive nature of the writing process could be effective. Moreover, for student writers previously exposed to traditional approaches to writing as was the case in the present study, there may be a particular need to encourage creativity and individuality.

The findings and pedagogical implications of this study should be viewed in the light of its several limitations. Among these limitations is the fact that this study was conducted with a limited number of students. This makes it difficult to draw strong generalizations as is the case with most process studies in the field. In addition, although it is widely used in the field, the think-aloud protocol technique needs to be replaced or cross-validated by other data collection procedures.

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APPENDIX I

Task I:

A) Describe your neighbourhood to give a friend of yours a general idea about this place he/she is going to live for a year.

B) Describe a person or a place that influenced your life.

Task II:

A) Describe life in winter time in Istanbul.

B) Describe the life style of a typical Turkish university student.

APPENDIX II

Self-Evaluation Form[2]

1 Have you ever written a composition similar to the one you just wrote? If so, when? What did you feel then? Do you see any differences between the two?

2 If you were to evaluate your composition, how would you rate it.
a) very good b) good c) fair d) weak. Why?

3 Did you do anything before you started writing? If so, what?

4 Describe what you did during the process of writing your composition.

5 Was there anything that you paid particular attention to during the process of writing?

6 What did you do just before you finished your composition?

7 What do you think of the writing instruction that you were exposed to?[3]

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[2] This questionnaire was given in Turkish to the student writers.

[3] This question was added to the questionnaire given to the students after the instruction.

APPENDIX III

General Writing Strategies[4]

While-composing

ACQ	assessing, commenting and questioning
Pl	planning
Rh	rehearsing
R	rescanning
RW	reading the whole text
P	pause
Tr	translation

Pre-writing

Pl	planning
Rh	rehearsing
RW	reading the topic
ACQ	assessing
	commenting
	questioning

Deep-Level Revision Strategies

a	addition
del	deletion
sub	substitution
r	reorganisation
c	combination

Surface-Level Editing

a	addition
del	deletion
sub	substitution
sp	spelling
wf	word form
p	punctuation
v	verb form or tense
ss	sentence structure

---

[4] Adopted from Raimes (1987), and Pennington and Brock (1993).

APPENDIX IV

TABLE 1

PREWRITING STRATEGIES

	planning		rehearsing		reading topic		question. comm./asses.	
	T1	E1	T1	E1	T1	E1	T1	E1
SW1						1		1
SW2								1
SW3		1						2
SW4		1			1	1	1	3
SW5	1	2			1	1	1	6
SW6	1	2		1	1	1	1	7
SW7	1	2		1	1	2	2	9
SW8	3	1			1	1	1	3
TOTAL	6	9		2	5	7	7	32

TABLE 2

PRE-WRITING AND COMPOSING TIMES

		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue
PRE-WRITING	T1	8	6.00	75.13	46.30	.92
	E1	8	2.00	39.50	26.41	
COMPOSING	T1	8	4.33	1499.63	1920.79	.48
	E1	8	4.60	1638.25	927.45	

TABLE 3

GLOBAL QUALITY SCORING

		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue
SCORES	T1	8	4.50	71.88	5.94	**2.52
	E1	8	.00	65.00	5.98	

T=TURKISH/E=ENGLISH MR=MEAN RANK (1)

*p<.05 **p<.01 X-mean (2)

(1). Like most non parametric tests, Wilcoxon Matched-paires Signed Rank Test uses ranks instead of scores. Moreover this test uses z distribution for the test of significance of differences (z-value).

(2). As mentioned earlier, SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences) was used for this study. SPSS provides both the mean ranks and mean scores Moreover, according to SPSS, the scores of the subjects were rated in ascending order i.e., higher the mean rank, higher the score.

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TABLE 4

ERAL WRITING STRATEGIES (T1 - E1)							SURFACE LEVEL REVISION							DEEP LEVEL REVISION						
		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue			n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue			n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value
asses./comme	T	8	3.90	8.38	6.74	*1.89	addition	T	8		.25	.46	*2.20	addit.	T	8	2.50	.38	.52	.00
questioning	E	8	1.50	4.75	5.29			E	8	3.50	1.88	1.46			E	8	2.50	.38	.52	
planning	T	8	2.67	2.38	2.77	.53	deletion	T	8	2.50	.63	.74	.91	delet.	T	8	3.00	1.13	1.55	1.21
	E	8	4.33	3.25	3.20			E	8	2.50	.88	1.13			E	8	3.00	.25	.71	
rescanning	T	8	2.50	1.50	1.93	1.68	substi.	T	8	1.50	.13	.35	*2.31	substi.	T	8	3.90	1.13	.84	.93
	E	8	3.70	3.13	4.42			E	8	4.93	2.38	1.51			E	8	4.25	.63	.74	
rehearsing	T	8	5.20	10.63	8.43	1.12	punctu.	T	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	1.00	reorga.	T	8	2.50	.25	.46	.67
	E	8	3.33	5.63	3.58			E	8	1.00	.13	.35			E	8	3.33	.50	.76	
reading topic	T	8	3.00	.13	.35	1.21	spell	T	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	1.60	combi.	T	8	3.00	.13	.35	1.57
	E	8	3.00	.50	.54			E	8	2.00	.50	.76			E	8	3.60	.75	.71	
reading text	T	8	2.50	1.25	1.39	*1.83	sent.stru.	T	8	3.00	.13	.35	1.57							
	E	8	0,00	.25	.46			E	8	3.60	.75	.71								
pause	T	8	4.75	1.38	.92	.76	verbtense	T	8	2.17	.63	.92	.27							
	E	8	3.70	1.75	1.75			E	8	4.25	.75	1.17								
translation							wordform	T	8	2.00	.38	.74	1.48							
								E	8	3.25	3.25	4.68								

T=TURKISH/E=ENGLISH
MR=MEAN RANK (1)
*p<.05
**p<.01
X-mean (2)

(1). Like most non parametric tests, Wilcoxon Matched-paires Signed Rank Test uses ranks instead of scores. Moreover this test uses z distribution for the test of significance of differences (z-value).

(2). As mentioned earlier, SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences) was used for this study. SPSS provides both the mean ranks and mean scores. Moreover, according to SPSS, the scores of the subjects were rated in ascending order i.e., higher the mean rank, higher the score.

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TABLE 5

GENERAL WRITING STRATEGIES

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
asse+com+que	2	29	3	100	0	0	0	0	10	38	3	16	14	29	7	23	17	43	16	55	11	41	7	27	13	30	2	6	0	0	0	0	74	31	38	23
planning	1	14	0	0	0	0	2	20	4	15	1	5	1	2	7	23	4	10	1	3	0	0	6	23	8	18	8	25	1	10	1	7	26	11	26	16
rescanning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	6	32	5	10	13	42	1	3	2	7	3	11	2	8	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	7	25	11	25	15
rehearsing	3	43	0	0	1	50	5	50	5	19	9	47	25	51	1	3	17	43	7	24	8	30	5	19	18	41	9	28	8	80	9	64	86	36	45	27
readingtopic	1	14	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	2	1	4	2
reading text	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	0	0	2	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	3	11	0	0	2	4.5	1	3	0	0	0	0	11	5	2	1
pause	0	0	0	0	1	50	2	20	1	3.8	0	0	2	4	0	0	1	2.5	2	7	2	7	3	12	3	6.8	5	16	1	10	2	14	11	5	14	9
translation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	8	0	0	6	19	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	6
TOTAL	7	100	3	100	2	100	10	100	26	100	19	100	49	100	31	100	40	100	29	100	27	100	26	100	44	100	32	100	10	100	14	100	236	100	164	100

TABLE 6

SURFACE LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	0	0	2	33	1	17	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	1	33	2	67	0	0	5	20	0	0	1	6	0	0	2	33	2	12	15	18
deletion	1	100	1	17	1	17	2	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	1	33	0	0	2	33	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	29	7	8
grammar	0	0	1	17	0	0	3	43	0	0	3	43	0	0	2	15	1	33	0	0	0	0	5	20	0	0	2	12	0	0	3	50	1	6	19	23
punctuat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
spelling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
sent.struc.	0	0	2	33	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	33	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	1	6	6	7
verb-tense	0	0	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	3	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	33	1	4	0	0	2	12	1	100	0	0	5	29	6	7
word form	0	0	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	1	14	0	0	4	31	0	0	0	0	1	17	10	40	0	0	11	65	0	0	0	0	3	18	26	31
TOTAL	1	100	6	100	6	100	7	100	0	0	7	100	0	0	13	100	3	100	3	100	6	100	25	100	0	0	17	100	1	100	6	100	17	100	84	100

TABLE 7

DEEP LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1		T1		E1	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	33	0	0	1	33	1	25	0	0	0	0	1	33	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	13	3	15
deletion	1	25	0	0	3	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	67	0	0	0	0	2	33	1	100	0	0	9	38	2	10
substitution	2	50	0	0	0	0	2	100	1	50	0	0	1	100	1	33	2	50	1	50	2	33	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	100	9	38	5	25
reorganizat.	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	2	8	4	20
combination	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	50	0	0	1	33	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	1	4	6	30
TOTAL	4	100	0	100	4	100	2	100	2	100	3	100	1	100	3	100	4	100	2	100	6	100	3	100	2	100	6	100	1	100	1	100	24	100	20	100

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APPENDIX V

TABLE 1
PREWRITING STRATEGIES

	planning		rehearsing		reading topic		question./ comm./asses.	
	T2	E2	T2	E2	T2	E2	T2	E2
SW1		1				1		
SW2		1			1			1
SW3	1	1		1				1
SW4	1	1		1	1	1	1	
SW5	2	2		1	1	1	2	2
SW6	2	3		2	3	1	3	2
SW7	2	3		3	2	2	2	3
SW8	1	1						
TOTAL	9	13		8	8	6	8	9

TABLE 2
PRE-WRITING AND COMPOSING TIMES

		TURKISH						ENGLISH				
		n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue
PRE-WRITING	pre	8	2.00	75.13	46.31	*2.24	▨	8	0,00	39.50	26.41	**2.52
	post	8	4.86	126.50	38.64		▨	8	4.50	177.63	82.72	
COMPOSING	pre	8	4.33	1499.63	1920.79	.70	▨	8	5.00	1638.25	927.45	*1.82
	post	8	4.60	1746.13	823.78		▨	8	4.43	1959.00	1086.04	

T=TURKISH / E= ENGLISH MR= MEAN RANK (1)
*p<.05 **p<.01 X-mean (2)

(1). Like most non parametric tests, Wilcoxon Matched-paires Signed Rank Test uses ranks instead of scores. Moreover this test uses z distribution for the test of significance of differences (z-value).

(2). As mentioned earlier, SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences) was used for this study. SPSS provides both the mean ranks and mean scores. Moreover, according to SPSS, the scores of the subjects were rated in ascending order i.e., higher the mean rank, higher the score.

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TABLE 3
GLOBAL QUALITY SCORING

		TURKISH					ENGLISH				
		n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value	n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue
SCORES	pre	8	0,00	71.82	5.94	1.83	8	0,00	65.00	5.98	**2.52
	post	8	2.50	74.38	7.76		8	4.50	73.75	7.44	

TABLE 4
PREWRITING STRATEGIES (T1-T2, E1-E2, T1-E1)

		n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue		n	MR	X	Sd	Zvalue
assess./commentin	T1	8	1.50	.63	.52	.80	E1	8	4.50	.88	.64	.63	T1	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	1.34
questionning	T2	8	2.25	.88	1.13		E2	8	4.50	1.13	1.13		E1	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	
planning	T1	8	0,00	.38	.52	*2.20	E1	8	0,00	1.13	.83	*1.82	T1	8	0,00	.38	.52	*2.20
	T2	8	3.50	1.13	.83		E2	8	2.50	1.63	.92		E1	8	3.50	1.13	.83	
rehearsing	T1	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	E1	8	0,00	.25	.46	*2.02	T1	8	0,00	0,00	0,00	1.34
	T2	8	0,00	0,00	0,00		E2	8	3.00	1.00	1.07		E1	8	1.50	.25	.46	
reading topic	T1	8	2.00	.63	.52	1.10	E1	8	0,00	.13	.35	*2.02	T1	8	2.50	.63	.52	*1.83
	T2	8	2.67	1.00	1.07		E2	8	3.00	.75	.71		E1	8	0,00	.13	.35	

T=TURKISH / E= ENGLISH
MR= MEAN RANK (1)
*p<.05
**p<.01
X-mean (2)

(1). Like most non parametric tests, Wilcoxon Matched-paires Signed Rank Test uses ranks instead of scores. Moreover this test uses z distribution for the test of significance of differences (z-value).

(2). As mentioned earlier, SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences) was used for this study. SPSS provides both the mean ranks and mean scores. Moreover, according to SPSS, the scores of the subjects were rated in ascending order i.e., higher the mean rank, higher the score.

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TABLE 5

GENERAL WRITING STRATEGIES (T1-T2; E1-E2)

		TURKISH					ENGLISH				
		n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value	n	MR	X	Sd	Z-value
assess./commenting questionning	pre	8	6.25	8.38	6.74	.77	8	3.50	4.75	5.29	1.47
	post	8	3.92	9.38	7.23		8	3.50	9.00	7.73	
planning	pre	8	5.00	2.38	2.77	*1.89	8	4.25	3.25	3.20	*2.22
	post	8	3.00	4.13	1.36		8	4.58	6.13	6.33	
rescanning	pre	8	3.83	1.50	1.93	.21	8	2.67	3.13	4.42	1.09
	post	8	3.17	1.38	1.06		8	2.00	2.00	2.62	
rehearsing	pre	8	4.92	10.63	8.43	.61	8	3.00	5.63	3.58	*2.18
	post	8	3.25	9.38	3.25		8	4.40	9.50	5.43	
reading topic	pre	8	4.00	.13	.35	1.69	8	2.50	.50	.54	.91
	post	8	4.00	.75	.46		8	2.50	.25	.46	
reading text	pre	8	2.67	1.25	1.39	.13	8	2.00	.25	.46	.53
	post	8	3.50	1.13	.84		8	2.00	.38	.52	
pause	pre	8	.00	1.38	.92	*2.37	8	1.50	1.75	1.75	*2.11
	post	8	4.00	4.13	2.80		8	4.42	4.75	3.77	
translation	pre						8	1.00	2.50	2.05	.45
	post					*	8	2.00	1.63	3.46	
SURFACE-LEVEL REVISION											
addition	pre	8	3.00	.25	.46	1.68	8	3.50	1.88	1.46	*2.20
	post	8	5.00	1.13	.84		8	.00	.25	.46	
deletion	pre	8	2.50	.63	.74	.00	8	4.75	.88	1.13	.14
	post	8	2.50	.63	.52		8	4.25	.75	.89	
substitution	pre	8	1.00	.13	.35	1.00	8	3.00	2.38	1.51	*2.02
	post	8	.00	.00	.00		8	.00	1.25	1.04	
punctuation	pre	8	.00	.00	.00	1.00	8	.00	.13	.35	1.34
	post	8	1.00	.13	.35		8	1.50	.38	.75	
spelling	pre	8	.00	.00	.00	1.34	8	2.67	.50	.76	1.09
	post	8	1.50	.25	.46		8	2.00	.13	.35	
sentence structure	pre	8	1.00	.13	.35	1.00	8	3.00	.75	.71	*2.02
	post	8	.00	.00	.00		8	.00	.00	.00	
verb-tense	pre	8	3.00	.63	.92	.37	8	2.00	.75	1.17	1.60
	post	8	2.00	.50	.76		8	.00	.25	.71	
word form	pre	8	2.00	.38	.74	1.48	8	4.00	3.25	4.68	1.21
	post	8	3.25	1.38	1.60		8	1.50	.50	.54	
DEEP-LEVEL REVISION											
addition	pre	8	1.50	.38	.52	*1.89	8	2.50	.38	.52	1.35
	post	8	3.90	1.63	1.19		8	3.13	1.13	1.25	
deletion	pre	8	5.00	1.13	1.55	.28	8	3.00	.25	.71	1.57
	post	8	4.00	1.00	.76		8	3.60	1.38	1.31	
substitution	pre	8	4.25	1.13	.84	1.36	8	2.50	.63	.74	*1.94
	post	8	2.00	.50	.76		8	4.25	1.88	1.25	
reorganization	pre	8	2.50	.25	.46	1.35	8	.00	.50	.76	*2.20
	post	8	3.13	.88	.99		8	3.50	2.25	2.25	
combination	pre	8	2.00	.13	.35	.53	8	.00	.75	.71	1.00
	post	8	2.00	.00	.46		8	1.00	.88	.64	

T= TURKISH / E= ENGLISH
MR = MEAN RANK
* p< .05
X-mean

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TABLE 6

GENERAL WRITING STRATEGIES

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
asse+com+que	2	29	4	67	0	0	3	18	10	38	7	41	14	29	6	40	17	43	23	49	11	41	14	45	13	30	15	43	0	0	3	17	74	31	82	31
planning	1	14	0	0	0	0	1	6	4	15	1	6	1	2	0	0	4	10	2	4	0	0	1	3	8	18	4	11	1	10	0	0	26	11	24	9
rescanning	0	0	1	17	0	0	2	12	3	12	2	12	5	10	2	13	1	3	3	6	3	11	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	11	19	7
rehearsing	3	43	1	17	1	50	6	35	5	19	3	18	25	51	1	7	17	43	8	17	8	30	7	23	18	41	8	23	8	80	9	50	86	36	90	34
readingtopic	1	14	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	7	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	6	2	1	6	2
reading text	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	3	12	1	6	2	4	2	13	0	0	2	4	3	11	1	3	2	5	1	3	0	0	0	0	11	5	9	3
pause	0	0	0	0	1	50	2	12	1	4	2	12	2	4	3	20	1	3	8	17	2	7	7	23	3	7	6	17	1	10	5	28	11	5	37	14
translation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
TOTAL	7	100	6	100	2	100	17	100	26	100	17	100	49	100	15	100	40	100	47	100	27	100	31	100	44	100	35	100	10	100	18	100	236	100	268	100

TABLE 7

SURFACE LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	0	0	2	50	1	17	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	1	100	1	33	0	0	0	0	2	25	0	0	1	25	0	0	2	25	2	12	9	28
deletion	1	100	1	25	1	17	1	100	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	2	33	1	13	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	5	29	5	16
grammar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0
punctuat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
spelling	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	0	0	2	6
sent.struc.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0
verb-tense	0	0	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	33	1	13	0	0	0	0	1	100	2	25	5	29	4	13
word form	0	0	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	4	50	0	0	2	50	0	0	3	38	3	18	11	34
TOTAL	1	100	4	100	6	100	1	100	0	0	6	100	0	0	1	100	3	100	0	0	6	100	8	100	0	0	4	100	1	100	8	100	17	100	32	100

TABLE 8

DEEP LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2		T1		T2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	0	0	1	50	0	0	2	40	1	50	0	0	0	0	2	50	1	25	1	33	0	0	4	44	1	50	1	20	0	0	2	67	3	13	13	38
deletion	1	25	0	0	3	75	1	20	0	0	1	33	0	0	2	50	0	0	1	33	4	67	2	22	0	0	1	20	1	100	0	0	9	38	8	24
substitution	2	50	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	50	1	33	1	100	0	0	2	50	0	0	2	33	0	0	1	50	2	40	0	0	0	0	9	38	4	12
reorganizat.	1	25	1	50	0	0	1	20	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	3	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	2	8	7	21
combination	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	6
TOTAL	4	100	2	100	4	100	5	100	2	100	3	100	1	100	4	100	4	100	3	100	6	100	9	100	2	100	5	100	1	100	3	100	24	100	34	100

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TABLE 9
GENERAL WRITING STRATEGIES

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
asse+com+que	3	100	5	38	0	0	3	19	3	16	3	14	7	23	7	13	16	55	13	33	7	27	24	38	2	6	15	31	0	0	2	12	38	23	72	24
planning	0	0	5	38	1	11	0	0	1	5	2	10	7	23	15	29	1	3	5	13	6	23	17	27	8	25	3	6	1	7	2	12	26	16	49	16
rescanning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	32	1	5	13	42	8	15	2	7	2	5	2	8	1	2	1	3	3	6	1	7	1	6	25	15	16	5
rehearsing	0	0	3	23	5	56	10	63	9	47	9	43	1	3	17	33	7	24	18	46	5	19	8	13	9	28	5	10	9	64	6	35	45	27	110	36
readingtopic	0	0	0	0	1	11	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	4	2	2	1
reading text	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.6	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1
pause	0	0	0	0	2	22	3	19	0	0	4	19	0	0	4	7.7	2	7	1	2.6	3	12	9	14	5	16	11	23	2	14	6	35	14	9	38	13
translation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1.9	1	3	0	0	2	8	2	3	6	19	10	21	0	0	0	0	10	6	13	4
TOTAL	3	100	13	100	9	100	16	100	19	100	21	100	31	100	52	100	29	100	39	100	26	100	63	100	32	100	48	100	14	100	17	100	164	100	303	100

TABLE 10
SURFACE LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	2	33	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	0	0	2	67	1	33	5	20	0	0	1	6	1	20	2	33	0	0	15	18	2	7
deletion	1	17	0	0	2	29	0	0	0	0	2	33	1	7.7	0	0	0	0	1	33	3	12	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	2	40	7	8.3	6	21
substitution	1	17	1	50	3	43	1	0	3	43	1	17	2	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	20	3	75	2	12	2	40	3	50	2	40	19	23	10	36
punctuat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	11
spelling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	20	4	5	1	4
sent.struc.	2	33	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	6	7	0	0
verb-tense	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	43	2	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	7	2	7
word form	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	14	1	17	4	31	0	0	0	0	1	33	10	40	0	0	11	65	1	20	0	0	0	0	26	31	4	14
TOTAL	6	100	2	100	7	100	1	0	7	100	6	100	13	100	2	100	3	100	3	100	25	100	4	100	17	100	5	100	6	100	5	100	84	100	28	100

TABLE 11
DEEP LEVEL REVISION

	SW1				SW2				SW3				SW4				SW5				SW6				SW7				SW8				TOTAL			
	E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2		E1		E2	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
addition	0	0	4	40	0	0	1	13	1	33	1	13	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	1	10	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	25	3	15	9	15
deletion	0	0	2	20	0	0	2	25	0	0	3	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	3	30	2	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	11	18
substitution	0	0	4	40	2	100	3	38	0	0	2	25	1	33	2	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	2	17	1	100	1	25	5	25	15	25
reorganizat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	1	33	1	13	0	0	1	25	0	0	2	50	1	33	4	40	2	33	7	58	0	0	2	50	4	20	18	30
combination	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	1	33	1	13	1	33	1	25	1	50	1	25	1	33	1	10	2	33	2	17	0	0	0	0	6	30	7	12
TOTAL	0	0	10	100	2	100	8	100	3	100	8	100	3	100	4	100	2	100	4	100	3	100	10	100	6	100	12	100	1	100	4	100	20	100	60	100

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Collaborative writing: Online and face to face

Stephen Doheny-Farina

Summary

This paper explores some of the ways that electronic communication networks influence collaborative writing processes both in the workplace and in the classroom. As electronic communication networks evolve and spread, the importance of geo-physical location among collaborators decreases. Writers who must work together to produce documents are increasingly able to carry on their collaborations without ever meeting face-to-face. To illustrate some of the dynamics of this evolution away from centralized, co-located work to distributed remote connectivity, this paper examines a case study of networked communication among students: technical writing students at three different universities collaborated asynchronously (via e-mail and fax connections) to write a technical document. This paper concludes by urging teachers and practitioners to examine critically claims commonly made about the advantages of computer-mediated collaborative work.

1 Electronically-mediated collaborative writing in the workplace

More and more people worldwide who must collaborate with others to do their jobs do not carry out those collaborations face-to-face. Instead, they collaborate via technology; they, in a sense, telecommute to their collaborations. This work pattern is increasingly common. For example, when an earthquake hits Los Angeles or San Francisco or any other major metropolitan area, the impact of telecommuting becomes quite graphic. After the immediate crisis subsides, hundreds of thousands of ground- commuters (in cars, busses, or trains) would have great difficulty making it to work through damaged and alternate routes. The telecommuters may have absolutely no difficulty (assuming, of course, their jobs and telecommunication connections are still intact). In 1994, thanks to technological developments making networking cheaper, more capable, and more secure, more people were able to switch to telecommuting to cope with the

Northridge quake in Los Angeles than 4 years earlier after the Loma Prieta quake near San Francisco. The Los Angeles County Telecommuting program estimated that before the Northridge quake there were nearly 500,000 telecommuters. Immediately after that the number jumped to 700,000. (Cf. Doheny-Farina 1996.)

But it doesn't take natural disasters to spur this trend. Telecommuting is growing rapidly. According to Link Resources, a technology research firm, there were 7.6 million telecommuters in the United States by 1994, a 15% increase from 1992. There were also 24.3 million self-employed, home-based workers and 9.2 million after-hours home workers for a total of 41.1 million or 1/3 of the adult workforce. Between 1989 and 1993 this number grew at nearly 9% per year. By the year 2000, the number of U.S. telecommuters alone is estimated to be 25 million (Doheny-Farina 1996). It is clear that more and more workers will work with others via electronic communication networks. Accordingly, given this increase in electronically mediated collaboration, it is also increasingly common for workers to write collaboratively via electronic communication networks. Employees, for example, at Northern Telecom in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada regularly produce documents collaboratively in team projects in which none of the team members will ever meet face-to-face — even if some of those team members work in the same building! All of their collaborative work is done via the network.

How do these new contexts, these electronic agoras, change the dynamics of collaborative writing on the job? To begin to answer this question it is useful first to examine briefly what we have learned about collaborative writing in the workplace.

2 Research into collaborative writing in the workplace

Recent research on collaborative writing in the workplace (e.g. Blyler and Thralls 1993; Spilka 1993; Pogner in this volume) has shown that collaboration is common on the job although the patterns of writing processes may vary. For example, a collaborative team may follow any one of the following patterns or any one of a number of possible variations on these patterns:

- individual planning and drafting, collaborative feedback, individual redrafting;
- collaborative planning, individual drafting, collaborative feedback, individual redrafting;
- collaborative planning, shared drafting, collaborative feedback, shared redrafting;
- collaborative supply of information, individual drafting, collaborative feedback.

Regardless of the pattern, however, most research indicates that the most significant challenge in any collaborative writing project is overcoming conflict among collaborators. Participants in such enterprises may have differing agendas, constituencies, world views, communicative skills, communication styles, technological capabilities, or status in authoritative hierarchies.

For example, in an investigation of how training documents were written to prepare medical technicians to use a new sophisticated medical technology, I discovered that a range of individuals at several organizations had to collaborate over time (Doheny-Farina 1992). This included surgeons and biomedical engineers at a research hospital, scientists, engineers, and training specialists at a medical instruments manufacturer, and surgeons, medical technicians, and nurses at the hospitals that introduced the new technology into their procedures. The perspectives on the project differed greatly among this wide variety of collaborators.

A study by Jenssen et al. (forthcoming) also illustrates the necessity for diverse participants to work together to produce a common document in an investigation of government policy writing in The Netherlands. This research reveals that a variety of collaborators — stakeholders, "penholders," information providers, bureaucrats, and elected officials — must collaborate to produce policy documents. A linguistic-rhetorical analysis of the outcomes of these collaborative efforts indicates that the rhetorical choices agreed upon by the collaborators hinder clarity but satisfy the many conflicting constituencies represented by the whole.

Yet to say that collaborative writing is all about resolving conflict is not enough; it is important to distinguish destructive conflict from potentially fruitful conflict. In her study, "Conflict in collaborative decision-making," Rebecca Burnett (1993) shows that typically there are three types of conflict that can operate in a collaborative process. Collaborators can engage in substantive conflict in which individuals debate task-oriented issues. Or they may engage in procedural disagreements in which they debate the process of getting the work done. Finally, they may engage in affective conflict which involves primarily interpersonal disagreements. Burnett's study indicates that substantive is productive; it halts premature consensus and enables collaborators to more effectively examine real alternatives whereas procedural and affective conflicts decreased productivity among collaborators. The better writers, according to Burnett, considered more alternatives.

Given these dynamics — diverse participants, different types of conflict, and the novel contexts of electronic collaboration — the following case study attempts to shed some light on the increasingly complex demands on collaborative writers.

3 Case study: Online collaboration

Recognizing that our students will eventually find themselves in diverse, dispersed, and potentially conflicting collaborative situations in the world of work, I and my colleagues (Allen and Wickliff, forthcoming) attempted to examine how well our students could handle such demands in an exploratory study we conducted in 1994. In this project, we created an electronic collaboration assignment that connected 61 students from three different technical writing classes at three geographically distant universities for a six week collaborative documentation assignment. Students at these universities had to use e-mail, fax, and telephone communications to complete a collaborative writing task.

Based on a case assignment I wrote a few years earlier (Doheny-Farina 1989), the projects cast the students at each university in a different role: all worked for the same computer software company but the students at each university represented a different division of that company, either production, finance, or marketing. At each site there were multiple groups undertaking the same task simultaneously; so, for example, group 1 was comprised of two or three marketing representatives from University A, two or three finance reps from

University B, and two or three production reps from University C. This pattern was repeated over seven groups.

The task required that representatives from each division collaborate to design a product (a computer interface) and write report about that new product. Some conflict was written into the case because each division had somewhat differing information from the other two divisions; that is, each site was given a slightly different case description: each was written from each division's point of view and revealed competition between divisions for the dominant point of view and dominant influence on the new product design.

3.1 Problems

Student groups encountered a range of problems during this assignment. Firstly, there were a host of technology difficulties: students attempting to work via e-mail encountered system shutdowns at inopportune times; some groups could not transmit certain types of files; some groups used fax machines only to discover that their collaborators had to then key in the information that they received via the hard copy faxes; and some group members composed drafts on computer systems that were incompatible with their collaborators' systems. Furthermore, one university site had no networked computers in a classroom accessible to the students.

Hand-in-hand with the technological obstacles were problems with widely differing technological capabilities of collaborators. Many groups were composed of both experienced and extremely inexperienced e-mail users. In particular, the students at one of the three universities were mostly all novices at networked computer communications.

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In addition to the technical obstacles, the groups suffered from daunting scheduling problems. Originally, groups had planned to split the work equally and or review drafts equally in order to complete the work in a timely fashion. Unfortunately, the classes all met on different days at different times within differing semester schedules. This caused many delays in communication. If, for example, participants from site A who met on a Monday, Wednesday, Friday schedule sent e-mail Thursday afternoon to a group who met on a Tuesday, Thursday schedule, they might not hear back from that group for three or four days. Even worse, each university had its Spring recess at different times; therefore, for nearly three weeks out of the 6 week project the collaborators were missing one-third of the team. As a result, most of the original work schedules were abandoned and each team scrambled at the end to finish the project. Some groups fell apart, each doing its own version and some groups produced incompatible segments.

Given the technological and scheduling obstacles it should not be surprising that students experienced communication problems, especially among remote collaborators. Results from a post-project survey indicate that communication within a site was not as difficult as between sites: Fifty-eight percent rated communication on-site easy or very easy while only twenty percent rated communication off-site easy or very easy. On-site students used face-to-face communication, telephone, and e-mail; off-site students used e-mail, fax, and some telephone.

Communication obstacles helped to exacerbate interpersonal problems within groups. There were a few incidents of group members sending inappropriate and offensive communications to other members of their team off-site. Because it often took off-site collaborators several days to respond, many individuals became irritated with their team mates. In addition, for some participants electronic interpersonal relationships — chatting about personal issues via the net — crowded out the work at hand.

3.2 Conflict

Overall, it seemed clear that this project was dominated by affective and procedural conflicts which were aided or caused by the difficulties of electronically mediated communication. As for substantive conflict, it was generally thwarted by the problems with the electronic medium. There was never enough steady interaction among sites to work through substantive conflict for the good of the project. In addition, because there was no clear central authority — each site's work was evaluated separately by the teacher at that site — there was, in the end, little incentive to achieve a cohesive output. Students, therefore, did not feel compelled to overcome the obstacles and fully tackle substantive issues with their collaborators.

Even so, some goals were achieved in this project. Firstly, the project helped students learn e-mail: fifty-seven percent agreed or strongly agreed that this project increased their e-mail skills. Secondly, the project helped a large minority of them to learn about collaborative processes: forty-five percent agreed or strongly agreed that the project taught them something about collaboration.

Furthermore, the project taught them something about collaboration on the job: fifty percent agreed or strongly agreed that the project helped them learn skills useful for future jobs.

In the end, we, the teachers in this project were left with this question: should we have taken steps to help students overcome the procedural and affective conflicts so they might concentrate on substantive ones? If so, how could we do that? A start to answering the latter question might be to schedule classes at the same time and arrange for compatible technologies and skills beforehand. But the more important issue is this: is it valuable for students to experience the kinds of affective and procedural-based failures like they experienced here? Is that as instructive as learning how to succeed collaboratively? This is a pedagogical issue with which we must continually struggle.

4 A cautionary glimpse at the future

Regardless of the success or failure of this particular electronic collaboration, it is clear that such work will become pervasive overtime. Unfortunately, no one yet knows if this is a good idea or a bad idea but it will happen nonetheless. Economics will demand it, according to John Tiffin's and Lalita Rajasingham's "In search of the virtual class: Education in an informal society" (1995). These authors note that everyday billions of students world-wide ride cars, buses, bicycles, or trains to school. This mass transfer of students to central schools via the tools of the industrial age is giving way to the mass transfer of students to schools via the tools of the information age. Given the trends in world demographics, the need for distance education and virtual classrooms will expand dramatically. We must ask: how can the essential factors for teaching and learning available in a physical space classroom be adapted to and improved upon in virtual classrooms?

To put this in terms of the net[1], physical space classrooms offer the equivalent of wide bandwidth experiences. Students can interact in real time — using natural stereo sound and full motion vision — with all of the other people involved in the event. With current technologies, this is difficult to simulate. Right now video conferencing, virtual reality, Internet-based synchronous communication devices are all either unwieldy, expensive, highly limited, or under-developed to match the task.

Tiffin and Rajasingham (1995) liken our current abilities to the first automobiles; while they gave one the feeling of auto travel, they were largely impractical, barely useable, and revolutionary all at the same time. So it is with our current communication technologies. But the necessary developments, either via satellite, cable, or telecommunications are coming.

The future, say the authors, will be very different for the education providers. We are near the beginning of the internationalization and large-scale commercialization of education. There will be trade wars among education providers driving down prices and heightening competition. Distance education will become the norm, the least expensive way to deliver the education product, while face-to-face teaching will be so expensive that it will become something only for the well-to-do. Only schools for the rich will provide full service face-to-face education. Tiffin and Rajasingham compare this, again, to the transition from horse to automobile. When that transition was under way, horses were far less expensive to buy and maintain than were autos. Eventually, the automobile became affordable on a large scale and horses became more expensive to own and maintain. Now, in fact, we associate horses with money: "the horsey set."

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[1] By "net" I mean the combination of formal and informal electronic communication networks that encompasses technologies like fax machines, telephones, mass media, computer networks — including the Internet — etc.

The problem, note the authors, is that there is very little evidence yet that shows that such a transition will enhance the education process. Its effects are as of yet unknown. Those of us who learn more about the dynamics of collaborative writing in the workplace and who then attempt to adapt that knowledge to the classroom are gaining some insight into the future of virtual education.

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Text and dynamics

Observations on text production at a technical workplace[1]

Karl-Heinz Pogner

Summary

The following article examines writing at a technical workplace from the point of view of social interactionism. It interprets the results of a case study on two levels: (a) by describing characteristic features of writing in the workplace, and (b) by showing the active character of writing at a technical workplace. The analysis of selected episodes shows that text and text production in 'real life', i.e. outside of school and university, are often simultaneously the end and the means for interactions such as consultancy, technical planning or negotiation. The article concludes with a discussion about what consequences the observations may have for some of the crucial cognitive concepts of writing research. The discussion shows that first of all, it is necessary to regard genre, text, and context as dynamic concepts.

1 The perspective

Studying written texts not merely as finished products but during the process of their development reveals qualities and functions of the texts which were not noticed or investigated before. Thus intertextuality[2], postulated almost exclusively for literary discourse, and the 'disappearance of the author' become visible for nonfictional and LSP texts too (cf. Ede and Lunsford 1990). If we examine the process of text production, which is often structured as collaboration and very often entails a division of labour, it becomes obvious that the

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[1] I want to thank Paul Harrison, Holger Lindberg Jørgensen, and Tim Caudery for their advice and comments on an earlier version of this article.

[2] On aspects of intertextuality see Linke and Nussbaumer 1997, in press, and Fix 1997, in press.

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'production' of a text, i.e. the 'construction' of its meaning, is realized neither by the writers[3] nor by the readers[4] alone.

This means that the meaning of a written text is not to be found solely in the linguistic forms on the paper, which formalistic approaches to writing research and especially to the teaching of writing use as starting point. Neither is it to be found exclusively in the mind of the individual writer (or reader), by which cognitive (including social-cognitive) approaches set great store (cf. Flower 1994)[5]. A text rather acquires its meaning in interaction: in "chains of communication" (Faigley 1985: 241), i.e., it acquires its meaning within chains of action, of which text production and revision are themselves links.

According to this point of view, text production is much more than writing in the narrow, i.e. cognitive, sense of the word: text production not only accompanies actions, but is a form of action itself. Accordingly, genres which up to now were not considered as interactive (such as reports in business or technical writing) can be seen to have interactive qualities; they are in some sense forms of "social actions" (Miller 1984).

In the following, the results of a case study on writing at a technical workplace are used to illustrate these preliminary remarks on a social interactive view of text and text production which further develops Nystrand's idea of a "dialogical" structure of written communication (Nystrand 1986 and 1989). After a suggestion for a working definition of technical writing (Part 2) and information on the case study on which the work is based (3.1 and 3.2), I shall describe a number of characteristic writing strategies and processes (4.1). Then I shall go on to demonstrate the active character of text production by analyzing three episodes, in which Danish consulting engineers together with their German client "discuss" different features of a document called "Energy Concept" (4.2). Finally, the implications of the findings for the 'traditional' cognitive view of writing will be discussed (5).

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[3] On the author-centred perspective see Portmann 1997, in press.

[4] On the recipient-oriented perspective see Hartung 1997, in press.

[5] For a historical-systematic summary of writing research see Nystrand, Greene and Wiemelt 1993, and my introduction to Antos and Pogner 1995: 1-5.

2 What is "Technical Writing"?

In the following, I shall follow Fearing and Sparrow (1989) and use the expression 'technical writing' as a superordinate term

> referring to all kinds of practical discourses found in industrial and technological settings — manuals, proposals, documentation, mechanism descriptions, and the like — as well as to such related communication skills as oral presentations, graphics, and lay-out and design (Fearing and Sparrow 1989: V).

However, this list of technical genres and different forms of presentation does not say what characterizes this 'practical discourse'. For this reason, I suggest the following definition for the purposes of further discussion:

- Technical writing makes technology and the knowledge of technical experts available and usable for special, often professional needs.
- This use can be the direct use of technical products or assistance for technical, economic, organizational and political decision-making inside and outside a company or institution.

In addition to the transfer of technical expert knowledge, however, technical texts also have individual, organizational and social functions; for instance, they could have the function of demonstrating that the writer belongs to the discourse community of engineers[6]. The writer can show this by mastering disciplinary knowledge and practice, by respecting the ideology that action has to be based on facts, especially on technical data, and by using the genres accepted as being 'possessed' by this discourse community. Accordingly, numerous texts written by engineers are characterized by the tension between the simultaneous orientation towards the values of 'scientific objectivity' and the identification of the writers with their company ('corporate identity'). The language used is supposed to indicate objectivity, and personal attitudes should therefore not be marked linguistically as such unless a decision on the basis of professional competence is required (cf. Couture 1992).

This social description of "engineering writing" (Couture 1992:13) goes far beyond the widespread formalistic or functional definitions of technical writing as pure and exact transmission of information, and comes closer to approaches which give more emphasis to the social context of writing (cf. Killingsworth and Gilbertson 1992 and especially Winsor 1989, 1993 and 1996). Also, this view is in agreement with the results of qualitatively oriented workplace studies which investigate the interdependence of the social context (including the organizational or institutional context) and the writing process.[7] Among other things, these studies show clearly how the social context in the current communication situation is built up and reproduced, confirmed or altered.

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[6] A discourse community is characterized by, for example, common ideas of its members as to which problems can be dealt with, how problems can be solved, and how solutions can be communicated. For a description of the discourse community of engineers see Winsor 1996.

3 A case study

3.1 The background

In an explorative case study[8], I examined how a group of Danish engineers and technicians wrote a comprehensive German-language "Energy Concept"[9] for an East German town ('Wendenburg')[10] as part of its planning and consultancy work. The engineers and technicians worked at a Danish company ('Kraftråd') performing consulting services within the field of power station engineering. The document was prepared in 1992/93 within the space of about eight months, and the final version consisted of approximately 150 pages and a large number of appendices.

My retrospective, qualitative study focused on the text production and revision processes of the project group. Furthermore, I analysed the functions of the text production in the consultancy and advisory activity that was going on between the Kraftråd's engineers on the one side and a German investors' pool ("Kominvest") and the department of works of the town of Wendenburg (Wendenburg's "Municipal Services"), that was to adopt the concept and put it into practice, on the other.

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[7] On writing in the workplace see for the German-speaking countries the pioneering work of Häcki-Buhofer (1985), for North America see the seminal anthologies by Odell and Goswami (1985) and especially by Spilka (1993).

[8] For a detailed description of the case study see Pogner 1995 and Pogner (forthcoming).

[9] Energy Concepts are instruments of energy planning, either for communal master planning or for the internal planning of a certain energy supply company. In the Western part of Germany, they have become more and more important due to the right of the municipalities to plan their energy supply. In the Eastern part of Germany, Energy Concepts played an important role in the restructuring of the energy supply after the unification of Germany.

[10] For reasons of anonymity, the names of the companies, towns and engineers taking part have been changed.

As a result of the increasing decentralization of (foreign) language tasks, the technical experts at Kraftråd (Kraftråd's engineers and technicians) were themselves responsible for text production, and not foreign language experts (technical writers, technical translators or bilingual secretaries). In general, writing may be an important part of the work of engineers and technicians, but it is not the main or sole content of their day-to-day work; they are experts who do a lot of writing, but not for their living. Two of the Kraftråd employees (including the project manager) wrote their texts directly in German. The others wrote Danish texts which were then translated into German.

3.2 Text production and revision

Kraftråd filed the Energy Concept in five versions, each of which built on the preceding version. From the point of view of the members of the project group, these different versions structured

- their writing process,
- their working process, and
- the process of their consultancy and planning.

For the different versions, especially the early ones, there also were sometimes preliminary stages in the form of notes, handwritten or electronically stored texts which were in part written by other engineers from outside Kraftråd.

The written background material for my study consisted of the consultancy and engineering contract, prior studies by other consultants, questionnaires, minutes, records of visits, progress reports, etc., but as well of comments made by the German clients (managers or technical experts) and statements of the Danish project group on these comments. With the help of these data and the analysis of the central internal and external correspondence, it was possible to reconstruct on a 'global' level how the Energy Concept came into being.

By combining this written material with ethnographic data collected during visits to Kraftråd (retrospective talks or discussions within the project group and especially interviews with the participating engineers/technicians), it was also possible to analyse the changes made on the local level, i.e. to individual parts of the text. These revision analyses focused on the question as to **why** the individual revisions (corrections, alterations, deletions, additions, abridgements, elaborations, rearrangements, etc.) on the level of paragraph, sentence and word were made.

The analyses showed how, due to the quite open description of the assignment in the consulting and engineering contract, the writers/consultants and the readers/clients negotiated *in situ* what the basic planning and writing task was to comprise, how and by which means the problem was to be solved and, last but not least, which solutions could be accepted as recommendations. Consultants and clients did not discuss directly (face to face) the whole Energy

Concept, but indirectly by writing a draft, commenting on parts of it, and revising the text (often more than once).

In accordance with the problem-solution pattern 'actual state', 'desired state', 'change from actual to desired state (implementation)', the project group had initially intended to divide the task into three parts: (1) 'Data Acquisition, (2) 'Energy Concept' (in the narrow sense) and (3) 'Design Planning'. The separate steps should be described in three different reports. According to this plan, the acceptance of one of these three parts by the client was to be a pre-requisite for writing the next part. Also, Kraftråd's original estimate for the length of time required to execute the task was relatively generous.

This and the planned three-part execution of the task were quickly overtaken by the current economic and political situation in the Eastern part of Germany.[11] Kraftråd's task then acquired a different character in relation to the Energy Concept, as important preliminary decisions were made. This gave the work on the Energy Concept a tension-filled "double" orientation. The Energy Concept was to make recommendations for the future energy supply and thus pave the way for decisions, but it also had to keep track of the accelerated, continuously developing decision process and 'register' or 'inscribe' it. Not least because of the dependence of text production on the current state of the decision-making process, it was necessary to constantly actualise the text, which means that a series of 'temporary final versions' was the actual result.

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[11] An investment bonus law for energy supply was not, as originally expected, extended over the end of 1992. For this reason, Kraftråd, Kominvest, and Wendenburg's Municipal Services decided in November 92 to subcontract the construction of two new combined power and district heating stations (the centrepiece of the new supply structure) before the end of the year. During the invitation for bids and in subcontracting, significant basic decisions on capacity, technology and mode of operation of the new stations were made within a short time.

4 Writing as acting

In the following section I shall describe a number of writing strategies used by the engineers, before I shall analyse the engineer's writing and revising as social interactions.

4.1 Writing strategies and processes

The microanalyses carried out showed that the text production of the project group was characterized by the following writing strategies and processes:

(1) The division of labour which manifests itself in the organizational structure of the engineering consultancy and in its work routines also characterizes the basic structure of text production and its product (i.e. the document), for production of the whole text is exclusively a top down process. The table of contents, which was drawn up relatively early and was partly derived from the engineering and consultancy contract and the time schedule of the project, functioned as a "blueprint" for the studies, calculations, prognoses and recommendations to be made.

At the same time, though, the table of contents was the basic structure for text production, structured according to a division of labour: the individual authors worked on the individual problems concerning their special fields (e.g. power plant engineering, district heating, electricity distribution, project management, etc.) and filled the empty slots in the table of contents with their texts. The subdivision of the writing work thus corresponds to the typical modular structure of engineering work at Kraftråd, work which one of the participating engineers characterized as follows:

> Well, to speak quite generally, I would say the thing is to - how should I say - to break down some superordinate objectives into some concrete projects or partial objectives or - how should I say - individual points and then process these points and to make sure that the whole thing hangs together in the end (electrical engineer Danielsen).

(2) In particular, the production of the first part of the Energy Concept ("Data Acquisition"), much is a kind of 'writing as bookkeeping': the information comes in gradually and is entered in a kind of list. As information for the description and evaluation of the existing energy supply is missing from the first versions, the authors resort to the strategy of "writing with gaps" (cf. Becker-Mrotzek 1992): uncertain or missing information is represented in the continuous text by symbols such as question marks. In this way, text production can continue undisturbed for a while. In turn, the missing information triggers off actions such as studying documents, asking experts who know their way around, organizing visits and guided tours to the spot, the preparation of questionnaires, the writing of visit reports, etc. In the subsequent versions, the missing information is inserted into the text and the calculations.

The various different phases of production and revision have the following functions: (1) pure registration is usually followed by (2) the correction of the data, or by (3) specifying data or statements on the basis of new or more exact knowledge. The most recent versions either focus on (4) the consideration of new developments in the decision-making process, or are (5) reactions to criticism made to the text. The critic's view can be taken over, one can make one's own approach clearer, one's own statements can be softened or the criticized passage can be deleted. The Kraftråd employees see their assessments, descriptions and recommendations as a kind of 'proposal' which can and should be negotiated with the client in order to reach mutually accepted positions.

(3) Text production is characterized by a high degree of paraphrasing of or even literal quoting from intertexts. These intertexts include typical boilerplate material[12], other texts written by colleagues, conversations with colleagues inside and outside the company, writers' own preparatory work and preparatory work done by other writers, Energy Concepts written by other consultancies, contracts, regulations, guidelines, technical standards, documents from other projects, discussions, written statements, written commentaries etc., and the accompanying correspondence. In turn, the Energy Concept text functions as an intertext for other texts, for example for references, progress reports and an internal manual for the future preparation of Energy Concepts. Not only are parts of other texts imported into the Energy Concept, but other forms of discourse are quoted too. Thus, for example, the mathematical teaching discourse is used according to the patterns 'name a calculation formula', 'explain the formula' and 'show a model calculation using the formula and additional calculations'.

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[12] Boilerplate materials are documents or sections of texts which are used more or less unchanged in many different documents of a company. They come from brochures or data collections of the company in question and usually include project summaries, references and documents on the history, equipment, organizational structure and staff of the company as well as on standard procedures or methods and organizational structure, but also texts such as standard contracts, general terms of trade and even CVs of the employees.

(4) Text production cannot be separated from continuous technical planning, consultancy, and advising. It is thus no surprise that, in the interviews, those working on the project understand 'Energy Concept' to mean their planning as well as their text. From their point of view, the Energy Concept and its presentation in a document coincide; the text is, at least in the planning phase, the only form in which Kraftråd's work becomes visible. In "negotiations" of concrete wording or phrasing and in the "discussion" of the structure of separate sections with their German readers, i.e. on a local level, the Danish engineers try to develop a mutually accepted problem definition and problem solution.

(5) In the course of the project, the Danish technical experts learn a lot of German habits and regulations with regard to law, environmental and municipal politics, energy management and taxation — factors which, as one of the Kraftråd employees involved said ironically, "almost put the laws of thermodynamics out of action" (machine engineer Larsen). Furthermore, they also acquire culturally bound concepts such as the schema used in Germany to describe the structure of an electricity supply system, or the concept of consistent separation of the regional and municipal power supply systems according to sharp demarcation lines, and finally, the genre 'Energy Concept'. Therefore, after completion of the Wendenburg project, one of the engineers wrote the manual mentioned above, which should preserve the knowledge gained from the Wendenburg project and at the same time serve as a framework for future work with Energy Concepts:

> The structure of the report itself - there were discussions of that too - yes of course, at some time we did a table of contents together, we did that. And that meant that we got together **after** the project and made the proper table of contents, the proper report structure. (Machine engineer Ulriksen, my emphasis; khp.)

4.2 Three episodes

In the following I shall describe three episodes which show the different expectations which the Danish writers and the German readers have with regard to the Energy Concept.[13]

Episode one: Leaving out/deleting

In the first version of the introduction to the Energy Concept, project manager Hendriksen indicated that there were special problems due to the constitutional complaint of the East German municipalities against a takeover of the complete energy supply by West German energy companies.[14] Hendriksen wrote that the unclear legal situation was causing the present regional suppliers (such as the "REVAG" in Wendenburg) to make only a fraction of the necessary investments for repairs, maintenance and renewal work. Mr. Schmidt, the manager of the Municipal Services, demands this passage to be deleted, as he believes it to be wrong. Hendriksen continued to believe (even after completion of the

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[13] At the beginning of the project both the manager of Wendenburg's Municipal Services and a scientific project observer from a German Technical University commented upon the draft. Later comments were made by the newly appointed departmental managers of the Municipal Services who were partly taken over from the regional supplier "REVAG" and partly recruited from the Western part of Germany.

[14] The East German municipalities lodged a complaint about infringement of the German constitution with the Federal Constitutional Court. The struggle ended with the "Energy Compromise" mentioned in note 17.

Wendenburg project) that his own assessment of the situation was right, but he deleted this argument for the great need for renewal and maintenance in the next version of the introduction.

In the context of Kraftråd's consultancy work, the definition of the problem and the suggestions for solving the problem were to be approved by the client. In this context the deletion strategy does not simply ignore the obvious criticism, for then the passages commented upon would be retained unchanged. Deletion functions rather as a kind of gentleman's agreement to suspend existing differences of opinion on a local level. The interactants thus tolerate temporarily this "misalignment" in order to reach the 'global' object of negotiation, which is the mutual agreement or "alignment" of the partners (cf. Wagner 1995 and Firth 1991). And there is, of course, a general agreement that repairs and new equipment are required.

The act of deletion is accompanied by an 'active' act: namely the erasing, which eliminates the difference. This is what distinguishes this written negotiation activity from oral negotiation activities: there, what is said cannot just be 'deleted' so simply, i.e. without greater discursive effort.

Deleting or erasing is the counterpart to the "inscribing" (Winsor 1989) of mutually accepted knowledge into the technical planning discourse (see Episode 2), which is the ultimate purpose of the production of the Energy Concept. This is because deleting marks what is deleted as something which is **not** part of the mutually accepted knowledge.

Episode two: Rewording/rephrasing

During the evaluation of the condition of the existing heating stations, which is to ascertain to which degree these could serve as part of the new systems, machine engineer Ulriksen uses different writing strategies in order to cope with the detailed criticism of the newly hired municipal manager for the district heating department. Ulriksen's strategies include

- checking his own judgments by means of internal expertise,
- elaborating his own point of view or
- weakening his own statements.

Let's for an example look at the passage assessing the condition of the control system of some heating stations.

In the penultimate version, Ulriksen writes:

> The control system is based partly on low-pressure pneumatics and partly on specially developed hard- and software. Maintenance of the pneumatic as well as the electronic part requires quite a lot of effort, so that it should be replaced completely. (Version 3: 37)

The opinion of the municipal expert is as follows:

> A low-pressure pneumatic system is only used for the control system in the HS Weststadt. In the HS Süd, the control technology for the SG 1-4 is based on high-pressure pneumatics (to be demolished when the new CPHS is built). For the HWG, complete replacement of the process control technique does not make sense economically. This will first take place when the peak load units are built to be compatible with the

> CGPH-part, and until then it is necessary to adapt the most important data for network operation.[15]

According to Ulriksen's minutes, the same municipal employee also said that the boiler system should at first not be replaced, but that it would be better to wait until new boilers were installed. The question of replacement should be broached again when the new combined power and heating station was taken into operation.

In the last version of the Energy Concept text, the Kraftråd text then goes on to say:

> The control system bases itself [sic!] on specially developed electronic hard- and software and consists of standard components. Maintenance of the electronic part entails quite a lot of effort, so that it should be replaced completely. However, this replacement must be coordinated with the renovation of the boiler systems. (Final version: 38)

The alterations reflect the negotiation situation of the consultant Ulriksen. On the one hand, he has to consider the premises and decisions of the client, but on the other, this must not be at the expense of his own position as an expert. Ulriksen's alterations mediate between these two extremes: he corrects obvious errors and accepts that, for economic reasons, the (immediate) replacement originally recommended is postponed, but he still insists on replacement. For reasons of rationality, however, it is to take place in conjunction with renovation

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[15] The abbreviations stand for the following technical terms: HS: heating station, SG: steam generating unit, CPHS: combined power and district heating station, HWG: hot-water generator, and CGPH: combined generation of power and heat [here: combined circle].

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of the boiler systems. Thus, Ulriksen's rewording moves towards the position of the critic, but without taking it over literally and completely.

Episode three: Discussion of the rhetorical context

The whole Energy Concept text is characterized by Kraftråd's interactive view of the problem solution. Thus, it is not surprising that Kraftråd constantly — even in places in which it is not really to be expected (for example in the section on methods) — thanks those German companies and local experts who helped the Danish company to gather or assess the data.

The decisions made are 'inscribed' into the shared knowledge of the interacting partners. Thus, for example, the section on the future producing plants in the final text legitimates in particular the selection of these units by referring to the mutual decision-making process and the agreement achieved between Kraftråd, Kominvest, Municipal Services and a German general contractor.

The first version had still justified the choice with results of the prior study carried out by West German consultants, but the subsequent versions increasingly 'legitimate' the choice by describing the actions and decisions of those participating in the current planning. In this way, the section is characterized less and less by a technical and economic argumentation, instead acquiring more and more narrative features and a chronological structure.

The later versions only describe the advantages of the technical solution chosen in very general terms, and they indicate that studies in Denmark have come to similar conclusions to those of the earlier German study. These remarks show Kraftråd's expertise and wealth of experience, but concrete results of the studies are not mentioned. From Kraftråd's point of view, the most important thing for the legitimation of the units chosen is to point out **that** studies of this kind have been carried out and that their results coincide with those of the earlier study.

In contrast, Wendeburg's Municipal Services — and this is given clear expression in the remarks made by the executive manager and the statements made by the department managers — primarily expect financial and economic calculation and estimation which is "durable", i.e. which can be checked at any time. The Energy Concept therefore should be able to justify the often hurried decisions to third parties (for instance the approving authorities) as choices of the economically and technically best and most environmentally friendly alternative. Accordingly, the executive manager demands the elimination of a passage from the introductory section which points out that contract placing for the new power stations influenced and accelerated the elaboration of the Energy Concept. The demand to eliminate this passage has obviously strategic reasons: the manager points out that this paragraph would allow the conclusion that a great deal of data and documents were, due to lack of time, only given estimated values. This would no doubt be picked up by the energy supervisory board, allowing it to cast doubt upon many of the results.

This episode shows clearly the differences in assessing the function of the Energy Concept:

The passage described above was originally included in the document by project manager Hendriksen as an excuse for missing data and an explanation for the acceleration of Kraftråd's work. It was addressed directly to the primary readers (Kominvest and Municipal Services).

In his criticism, though, the manager of the Municipal Services has a different target group in mind, the secondary readers (the approval and supervisory authorities and possibly the competitors, who could try to prevent permission being given). For this reason, the manager considers the examination of the technical and economic (!) feasibility as the centrepiece of the Energy Concept, which he sees primarily as a piece of expert consultancy work which legitimates — *a posteriori* — the purchase of the equipment.[16]

From Kraftråd's viewpoint, however, the texts marked "first draft" or "second draft" are to serve as a proposal for the further discussion of the technical planning of the projected construction or the projected renovation and construction work.

4.3 Discussion

For the executive manager of Wendenburg's Municipal Services the Energy Concept with its problem-solving suggestions is the **end** of the technical consulting process. For the project manager from Kraftråd the concept in its various versions is a **means** to come to a mutual view of the problem and to develop solutions together. In the course of text production, this differing view causes conflicts and a constant negotiating of what is expected of the problem solution and the text.

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[16] The manager of the Municipal Services expects in particular an estimation of the economic benefits of various technical solutions and a technical feasibility study as preconditions for an application according to section 5 of the German energy economy law (se note 17).

In conclusion, the three episodes show how the necessarily open formulation of the problem in the contract prepares the consultancy situation. The steps 'define the problem', 'show ways to solve the problem' and 'elaborate problem solutions' are then processed in the course of the process of text production. This process takes place to a large degree as a negotiating activity and a step-by-step determination process of what is expected of the technical concept — represented by the Energy Concept text.

However, negotiation and determination of the task and of possible technical solutions do not take place in a global — official — formal meeting, but in local negotiating activities which cover a wide range of texts, commentaries, statements and discussions. In this sense, the process of text production and revision appears as part of an "interactional dance whose steps and stages are paced across many meetings and telephone calls" (Boden 1995). In Wendenburg, the decisions are made *en passant* in the 'interactive dance' of technical planning, inviting tenders, placing contracts, subcontracting, settlement of the design, internal and external project meetings with different participants, political and organizational decision-making, and press statements as well as formal and informal talks, visits etc. But those negotiation activities also take place in the context of text production, commentary and revision.

During the entire production of the document, Krafträd tries to determine a mutual view of the problem and its solution with the client. This plan is made more difficult by the fact that the requirements of the client change in the course of the project because of the ongoing decision-making and the changing legal situation for the East German municipalities.[17] Partly the difficulties are due to the fact that Kraftråd's assessment of the function of the Energy Concept (joint determination of initial basis and solutions) does not — at least not always — coincide with the expectations of Wendenburg's Municipal Services (justification to third parties). This is why it is almost impossible to 'inscribe' mutually accepted ideas and perspectives into the joint planning discourse.

The power stations proposed in the Energy Concept are now in operation, but the Energy Concept text as such was never submitted to the approval authorities and has been left on the shelf at Wendenburg's Municipal Services. However, without ever being 'finished', it has fulfilled its function as a 'catalyst' for the project, but it was not always an 'itinerary' for the transformation of the energy supply.

5 Consequences

In conclusion, I want to discuss the implications of the findings for central concepts of cognitive writing research (and didactics). Of course, the utmost of caution is necessary when drawing general conclusions from a case study. Also, the study only refers to non-standardized and non-ritualized communication determined by the function of 'knowledge export'. For this reason, the following discussion has a heuristic and in many cases even speculative character. The conclusions are provisional, but they indicate that school or university writing, which is the writing which was mainly studied until now, is not necessarily prototypical for all forms of text production. This statement alone should trigger off a number of didactic considerations. In my opinion, the implications of the study presented could help to include in the teaching of writing aspects of text production which have up to now been neglected or whose importance has been underestimated.

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[17] According to the 'Electricity Compromise' between the East German municipalities and West German energy suppliers, who wanted to take over the energy supply, the municipalities — as compensation for not claiming a share in the regional suppliers — got the right to take the energy supply into their own hands. However, according to section 5 of the energy economy law (EnWG), the ministry of economic affairs of the state in question had to give them permission to produce and sell energy (electricity and gas). During the decision-making process of the municipalities and the approval procedure, Energy Concepts as technical and efficiency studies were very important. In this process Energy Concepts had to demonstrate the technical and economic feasibility of the taking over of the energy supply by the municipalities.

Writing in the professional world has fewer heuristic intentions than school writing has, but it is not merely used for information exchange. The main purpose of writing in the workplace is to get things done. The written texts are actually needed and used by their readers (= users) in order to carry out other (usually complex) tasks. From Kraftråd's point of view, text production and text revision should also help to find and write down a planning consensus. For Wendenburg's Municipal Services, the main thing is that a document is produced which can be used as a means in order to arrive at one's own autonomous decision, i.e independently of the history of the production of the document and of the interactants involved. It should also justify these decisions to others, as the document's purpose is to (re-)construct the decision-making process as a rational process.

Both Kraftråd and Municipal Services use text production, commentary and revision as a means of making expectations and problems more precise and thus of elucidating and determining the social context of text production. They use writing not only as an aid for but as a form of social action. We as writing teachers could perhaps learn from this.

The following heuristics of writing at a technical workplace also have consequences for central concepts of writing research and text linguistics such as 'context', 'revision', 'author' and 'text/genre'.

Context/contextualization

Due to the progress made in the processes of planning and decision-making, which are both partly also moved along by the Energy Concept itself, the context is characterized by high dynamics. Not only the planning of the future supply, but also its actual construction and conversion, run partly simultaneously with text production, which means that the requirements for the concept text change constantly.

Also, the interactants themselves build up the context. In their interaction as writers/readers and advisors/clients, as technicians and negotiating partners, they 'construct' or change it. The dynamics of the context are a characteristic feature of writing outside the teaching and learning contexts to be found in schools and universities, where the context is relatively stable.

Revision

Technical experts do not use the writing process in order to find out what they actually want to say or to find out whether the text really expresses what they wanted to say. Accordingly, revisions only rarely have heuristic and epistemological functions.

But hey have other purposes. At the beginning of the project, writing as bookkeeping includes correcting content and making the text more precise. Due to the simultaneity and interdependence of technical writing and consulting, text production later on also becomes a means of suggesting, negotiating and 'inscribing' mutually accepted viewpoints. If this process is not successful, the success of the advice and of the text documenting the consultancy is in danger.

Author

The decentralization of (foreign) language functions in the business and industrial world and the high degree of division of labour, intertextuality and interactivity cause the position of an individual author in the conventional sense to disappear. Text production in the workplace has little room for the romantic picture of the lonely author isolated from the rest of the world.

A project manager "authorizes" the text internally, the company does this externally, and from a legal point of view the text becomes the property of the client. However, neither the project manager nor the company appear as authors in the traditional sense. The writers rather "loan" their identity, ideas and texts to the company in order to in turn "draw" their ideas, texts and identity from the company (Winsor 1993).

Text and genre

The conventions of text design (with regard to form and content) indicate the norms, the cognitive theory and the research ideology of the discourse community in question. Genres guide what the readers expect of the individual text and determine how a certain content can be imparted. They are relatively stable and at the same time subject to change (cf. Miller 1984). From a socio-cognitive point of view, genres are described as dynamic rhetoric structures which can be manipulated according to the conditions of their use, i.e.

principally according to the social and cognitive needs of the users (cf. Berkenkotter and Huckin 1993: 477f.).

From a social interactive point of view, too, technical texts and genres appear as dynamic quantities. In the course of a project, interactants negotiate what is to be expected of a text, which generic features are to be considered relevant in the concrete situation and which variant of a genre, with regard to content or form, is to be preferred. Thus, for example, the context determines whether communal master planning, economic enterprise planning or financial and technical feasibility studies are expected.

The application context and the pertinent utilitary character of the texts produced at the technical workplace lead to a continuous negotiating of text and task, which causes text production to acquire a distinctly active character:

> A text is written in orientation to previous texts of the same kind and on the same subjects; it inevitably grows out of some concrete situation; and it inevitably provokes some response, even if it is discarded. (Faigley 1985:24)

In my opinion, the active character of writing (in the case study, it helps to make technology available, but also to make decisions) suggests a dynamic view of texts and contexts and, within writing research, a stronger focus on the social interactive aspects of text production.

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Pretend play and learning to write

Helga Andresen

Summary

Pretend play (playing school, playing mother and child, playing hospital ...) is typical for children aged three to six. According to Vygotsky it is essential for the child's cognitive, social and linguistic development. In pretending, children transform reality into fiction: they act in roles and handle imaginative things in imaginative locations.

The negotiation of pretend meanings makes metacommunication necessary, i. e. during play interactions, children communicate about their communications. Empirical studies of pretend play have shown that considerable processes of decentration and decontextualization take place. Furthermore, the linguistic structures of that play resemble written language in some respects. Therefore pretend play, although being practised orally, may be important for learning to write and read. This thesis shall be put forward, differentiated and illustrated by examples.

1 Introduction

"Pretend you are the mother ..." This utterance typically may be the beginning of a play in which children enact family roles like mother, father, child, baby etc. Other examples of situations in which pretend plays are located are being at school, being a fireman, a policeman, a pilot as well as realizing fantasy figures like Batman or Cinderella. Following Vygotsky's concept of education, we could say that pretend play is the most important activity of the pre-school child because while pretending the child acts in the "zone of proximate development". During this activity the child is able to manage mental acts which s/he could not perform in other situations. This is especially true for her/his linguistic abilities. Language is essential for pretend play, because pretending is first of all a verbal process.

Children transform reality. They transform their own identity, the meaning of objects, places and time. So a five-year-old boy may become a father, his playmate a mother, a bed may be transformed into a car, by which they go to a super market for shopping. Garvey (1978) defines pretend play as a transformation of the 'here' and 'now', the 'you' and 'I' and the 'this' and 'that' (Garvey 1978:102).

Language is the basic means in generating the transformations of changing reality into fiction. Pretend play in the pre-school years is interactive: two or more children perform their play together. The fictitious meanings are generated by interaction. As shall be shown later on in this paper, children together can handle meanings they could not manage alone.

It may be surprising that I am relating pretend play of pre-school children to learning to write. That might be surprising mainly for two reasons: first, because pre-school children normally cannot write, second, because pretend plays typically are oral plays. So why am I talking/writing about pretend play and learning to write?

With this paper I shall argue

- that pretend play is very important for the general language development of pre-school children,
- that changes of the child's sign activity ('Zeichentätigkeit') take place during pretending, and
- that these changes bring about prerequisites for the acquisition of written language.

In the seventies and eighties research about literacy and developmental aspects of literacy concentrated on the differences between spoken and written language. Ong (1982), for example, investigated literacy and its impact on culture and on thinking, Olson (1986 and 1991) analyzed the new cognitive demands on a child when starting to learn to write. Especially in the discussion about language awareness and literacy, the differences between spoken and written language have been stressed.

Nowadays research seems to be more interested in investigating the similarities between written and spoken language, e.g. in analyzing the interaction between spoken and written language in the teaching process.

I do not believe that research done in the seventies and eighties was wrong. I myself published a book with the title "Schriftspracherwerb und die Entstehung von Sprachbewußtheit" (Andresen 1985) which emphasizes the new demands related to learning to write, and I don't regret having done this. But as in most research processes, stressing one aspect of a research field - here, the **dis**continuities between written and spoken language - leads to neglecting other aspects (which research focuses on in the following years).

In the remainder of this article I will therefore concentrate on the connections of oral and written communication. First of all I will focus on the question in what respects pretend play as **oral** interaction might be relevant for learning to **write** later on.

To this end I first shall sketch out briefly some developmental aspects of pretend play. Theoretically, I here rely on Vygotsky and Bateson. In addition, I shall present some research results concerning the relations between pretend play and literacy. This presentation primarily is based on research conducted in the USA. Furthermore, I shall illustrate my ideas by examples taken from a corpus of videotaped pretend play of children aged three to six.

2 The development of pretend play

Children start performing pretend plays at the end of age three (Elkonin 1980). Two-year-olds enact simple symbolic actions with objects (for example they simulate washing a doll) but not until the age of three do they enact roles, neither do they coordinate their joint actions nor develop more complex action schemes. Toddlers typically line up simple actions but do not integrate them into one more complex action. The order of those single actions is arbitrary, for example a young child may first dry and then wash a doll's hair. But around the end of the third year children interactively generate pretend situations and by realizing their roles they perform more complex action patterns. These patterns develop throughout the pre-school years, getting even more complex.

Objects are very important for young players; so-called thematic toys like doll's dishes or doctor's instruments are apt to induce pretend play. Pellegrini (1985a and b) found that four year old children were unable to transform unspecific toys like wooden blocks into meaningful objects, whereas five year old children could. This example clearly shows how difficult it is for young children to transform the meaning of objects and to generate new meanings during play. According to Vygotsky (1980:452ff.) this ability is acquired just at the end of the third year. If a two-year-old is asked to repeat the sentence "Bill is sitting" while watching Bill really standing, s/he typically will say "Bill is standing." If verbal meaning and the perceived situation contradict each other, the child younger than three will choose the situation. In Vygotsky's terms: action and objects dominate meaning. In pretend play this relation gets shifted: here meaning dominates object and action. Calling a bed a 'car' transforms the meaning of the real object into a fictitious meaning. Language is essential in this transformational process, although the object itself and the actions which the child performs with the transformed object are relevant as well.

An object cannot be transformed fully voluntarily. For example a post card could not possibly be a pretend car. The objects must fulfil some conditions, for example a pretend car must be so big that children can get into it. Vygotsky (1980:453ff.) differentiates between (1) the visual field and (2) the semantic field. In the visual field the bed **is** a bed; in the semantic field the bed **is** a car. The difference between visual and semantic field corresponds to the difference between real meanings and make believe meanings. The children are definitely aware of this difference. They know very well that the bed really is a bed and they only act as if it were a car. They mark this difference and their moving between reality and fiction linguistically, e.g. by saying "pretend you are the driver" or "let's pretend this is a car". In German they typically say "Du bist wohl der Vater" ("wohl" (perhaps) indicating fiction) or "das ist aus Spaß unser Auto" (contrasting "Spaß" (fun) und "Ernst" (seriousness)).

The reason why pretend play rises at the end of the third year lies — following Vygotsky — in structural changes of the child's mind in this period. During the first years of life, perception dominates the other higher psychic functions like memory, language and thought. At about the age of three years this changes, then memory overtakes the dominant position. It is interesting that the so-called 'infant amnesia'[1] vanishes at exactly the same time. At the end of the third year the child becomes able to generalize from situations, this ability is a prerequisite for remembrance of events. Coherence and continuity of individual experience become possible too. Just the same ability to generalize underlies pretend play.

Pretend play develops from the wish to be as mighty as the grown-ups. Since this wish cannot be fulfilled in reality, the child realizes it in fantasy, it pretends to be like a grown-up. Many children prefer "mighty" roles, for example if they pretend to be animals they choose strong animals like a tiger or a big dog. In one of my video tapes a boy and a girl discuss which animal the boy may be. The boy claims to be a hunting leopard, but the girl wants him to be a guinea pig. The compromise is: a baby leopard.

In pretend play children typically do not address each other with proper names but with the designation of the role, for example 'father', 'Mrs. Barber', 'doggie' ("Hundi") or 'little child' ("Kindi"). Especially the last two examples clearly show that the children do not imitate real persons and do not want to enact individuals but types/characters.

From Vygotsky we now go to Bateson. Bateson (1983) strengthens the need for metacommunication in play. The players have to signal each other: 'this is a play'. That leads to the paradoxical message: 'the actions we are involved in now do **not** designate that what those actions they represent would normally designate'. That means, the players have to communicate the message 'this is playful behaviour and not meant seriously'.[2]

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[1] This means that a very young child cannot remember the first years of her/his life. Small children activate their memory only in recognizing things and situations, in perceiving sameness and differences with some earlier events.

In one of the video tapes I found the following dialogue between a four years old boy and a kindergarten teacher (see appendix, example 1)[3]. The situation is as follows: The boy D had just started a play with another boy and pretended to be a father. The boys act in a corner of the kindergarten room which is furnished like a kitchen. D was just pretending to prepare a meal for his playmate, who plays a dog. The teacher K sees him having a — not very dangerous looking — knife in his hand and scolds him for it. D rejects the teacher's blame with the utterance: "We are playing". He apparently demands from the teacher that she accepts the play as sensible action and that he is allowed to use a knife in playing. He comments on his own behaviour and thereby establishes the context of the behaviour, the frame in which his actions should be interpreted. Within this frame he also may state "We are eating" without lying. They do not eat in reality, but in the pretend situation. It is paradoxical that on the one hand he marks his behaviour as pretending, meaning 'we do not really do what we seem to do', and on the other hand he claims that the teacher has to take his actions serious, i.e. to accept that he, as a 'father' preparing meal, properly uses the knife. According to Bateson (1983:255), by playing children learn how to learn, they learn that behaviour is contextual, i.e. that behaviour is to be interpreted in the light of its context.

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[2] I would like to remind you of the fact that it was Bateson who discovered the double-bind-phenomenon. In double-bind relations paradoxical communication leads to pathological relations. But play is a positive example for paradoxical communication.

[3] The first line of he transcript presents the German original, underneath you find the English translation.

The example cited clearly shows that the boy consciously constructs the context 'play' that determines the meaning of his behaviour. During play the meaning of actions is altered, these are taken out of their usual context. So for constructing the new context, children have to decontextualize their actions. Decontextualization and free manipulation of meaning are important for the acquisition of written language. I shall come back to this point later on.

Metacommunication in order to mark the behaviour as play takes place during the whole play, not only at the beginning. The metacommunicative techniques are various. Children comment explicitly on their behaviour, and many utterances and actions contain metacommunicative messages as well as communicative ones. For example, in the play of the two boys that I have mentioned earlier there exists a conflict between the players' wishes to act autonomously and to dominate the other one: the 'father' wants the 'dog' to stay in the house, while the 'dog' runs away several times. After having run away for the first time the 'dog' says: "Vuf, vuf, a watchdog must wander". By this utterance the boy informs his playmate that he pretends to be a watchdog and at the same time interprets his own behaviour. The utterance bears the information that running away should not be understood as aggressive, as disturbing the play, but that it is part of his role as a strong dog protecting its master. Especially in situations where actions might be (mis)understood as being aggressive, the rate of metacommunication is very high. In one play, two six years old boys who pretend to be husband and wife first put a baby doll into a toy oven pretending to roast it, then to eat it and finally they each try to creep into the oven and to eat each other. This play contains the highest rate of explicit metacommunicative utterances of my data, because the children again and again assure each other that it is only play, not reality. They seem to be quite aware of the fact that they are breaking a taboo. Repeating the assurance of the pretend mode of their actions is necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding and to keep the positive mood of the situation.[4]

3 Studies about the relevance of pretend play for learning to read and to write

As mentioned earlier some research has been conducted on the question whether there may exist connections between pretend play and literacy. Pellegrini published several studies about this topic on the basis of experiments with children aged four to eight years (Pellegrini 1982, 1984, 1985a and b).

In Pellegrini (1982) 108 children from five years, eleven months to eight years were divided into three groups. A story was read to all children, thereafter one group had to discuss the story, another group enacted it in social dramatic play and the third group made drawings of the story. Finally the children were prompted to tell the story to another person. The children's stories were analyzed linguistically with the following results. Those children who participated in the social dramatic play showed the highest rate of lexicalized meanings. The other children produced more so-called exophoric expressions, i.e. deictic words that refer to the social context of the speech situation, like "this", "that", with the result that the story is not fully comprehensible by the verbal text itself. The result that the drawing task leads to the production of texts that are different to those produced in the play task is not really surprising, because those children did not speak about the story at all. But the difference between the play task and the discussion task indeed surprises.

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[4] I have got another play where a five year old boy really acts aggressively towards a baby doll. His behaviour does not show any signals bearing a message like 'this is play' — in watching the video tape one gets really uneasy about that scene.

Pellegrini (1982) explains his findings as follows: In the play task the children have to communicate about their roles and about the transformations of objects, otherwise they could not produce any social play at all. So they overtake several perspectives and think about the story in a more complex and more distant way. They have to integrate several perspectives in order to be able to act together. In the discussion condition they only had to respond to questions and therefore only formulated their own feelings and understanding of the story.

In another study Pellegrini (1985b) investigated the language produced by four and five year old children during their pretend playing. He focuses on those linguistic features which are typical for written language like elaborated noun phrases, conjunctions which go along with more complex sentence structures, and endophoric devices, i.e. words which refer to other words within the textual context in opposite to the already mentioned exophoric devices which refer to objects and persons of the social context, i.e. in the world outside of the text. For example you may use personal pronouns as exophoric devices referring to persons present in the situation without first lexicalizing their identity; on the other hand you may use personal pronouns as endophoric devices referring to words formerly given in the text, e.g. 'the teacher' — 'he'.

Pellegrini in this second study also analyzed the complexity of the action patterns the children generated. Over all he compares the verbal production in a constructive play context with that in a dramatic play context. He found clear correlations between the language in the dramatic play context and characteristics of written language. The more complex the play is, the more endophora were produced by the children. The ability to solve conflicts during play as well correlates with the rate of endophora. The transformations of objects and persons especially prompt the production of elaborated noun phrases. If the meanings are not quite clear, the playmates use to question each other in order to clarify the meanings. This shows that transformations very easily lead to ambiguity and that the children have to elaborate their language in order to avoid misunderstandings. Transformations are not only performed by giving the persons and objects new names, but also by commenting on the ongoing actions. The example of the boy playing a watchdog and saying that a watchdog must walk around belongs to this kind of utterance.

In Pellegrini's study the more complex plays also show a considerable amount of conjunctions, especially causal ones:

> Children's use of cause-effect motivations indicates that they are using the characters' psychological motivations to enact the story. Such cases indicate that children understand story characters as abstract entities, they understand **why** characters do things, not only that characters' activities and events follow a specified temporal sequence. (Pellegrini 1985a: 93)

Pellegrini and Galda (1990) found relations between pretend play and early literary competence related to transformations in pretend play. In transforming children change meanings in their minds and this demands inner representation of meaning. Vygotsky put forward the thesis that the ability to write rests on a general competence of representation (Vygotsky 1977:224ff.). Pellegrini and Galda rely on this thesis and claim that transformations in pretend play are important for early literary competence — because they demand representation. The need for metacommunication during pretend play also may be relevant for the metalinguistic processes which are necessary for writing. Pretend play may train the children in producing and understanding metalinguistic expressions like *say*, *hear*, *mean*, which makes it easier to understand the teacher's language at school. Pellegrini and Galda found that the rate of metalinguistic verbs correlates with the rate of transformations for the younger children, but not for the older ones.

Auwärter (1986) who analyzed German children's play and Sachs, Goldman and Chaille (1984) who studied American children's play support Pellegrini's findings. Both studies found that according to their whole sample a 'middle aged group' of children produced significantly more utterances with planning function, especially about roles. 'Middle aged' in the American study meant an average age of three years and six months and in the German study of four years, six months. Younger children did not really pretend at all so that there was no need for metacommunicating. Older children did pretend but their rate of metacommunicative utterance actually declined. This result might show that children first must negotiate the meanings of their behaviour interactively, before they can do it alone — in their mind.[5]

Anyway Pellegrini and Galda understand their results as affirmation of Vygotsky's thesis that conceptualization in pretend play first takes place interpsychic and later on innerpsychic. They also got another quite interesting result: For the five year old children transformations in pretend play can predict writing abilities. They explain this finding again according to Vygotsky by suggesting that early writing is a process of symbolization of first order, i.e. the written words represent objects, not language/words.

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[5] I have said earlier metacommunication also depends on factors other than age. Remember the two six years old boys who perform a lot of metacommunication in order to avoid misunderstanding because their behaviour might be misinterpreted as aggressive.

For the beginner the letters "b-a-l-l" represent the object 'ball', which is round, can be thrown etc. Only later on they represent the word *ball* which starts with a "b" and contains three phonemes. That young children understand letters as representing objects — not phonemes — is well known. So, many children who get to know that for example the written word *Jane* stands for the name 'Jane' may read this word as "mother", if their mother is called Jane. In other well known experiments concerning language awareness children are asked "Which word is longer: 'train' or 'elephant'?". They typically give the answer: "Train". This answer shows that even children who in fact already can write tend to judge about objects and the referents of the meaning, not about words.[6]

Anyway, the explanation given by Pellegrini and Galda is quite plausible. The fact that transformations in pretend play predict writing abilities may show that the symbolizational processes in pretend play help the child to represent meanings which is essential for writing. Interestingly enough Pellegrini and Galda found no relations between transforming in pretend play and reading. This could be explained by the fact that reading presupposes symbolization of "second order" (Vygotsky 1977:225).[7]

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[6] In German studies this thinking pattern has been observed up to the second grade (cf. Andresen 1985:66ff.).

[7] According to Vygotsky language is symbolization of first order, whereas writing (symbolizing language) is symbolization of second order.

In summary we could say that over the whole range of research done several relations have been found between pretend play and acquisition of written language. There are similarities between written texts and language in pretend play with regard to coherence, metacommunication and construction of symbolic representations.

There is another aspect of pretend play I have not yet mentioned which seems to be relevant here: the similarities between pretend play and narration. I will come back to this point later on. But to be cautious it must be said that it is far from clear of what kind the relations between pretend play and writing really are. The connections, which have been found between pretend play and writing are only correlational ones, no causal ones.

4 Analysis of examples

4.1 The data

First some remarks about my data. Some years ago I videotaped children's play in a quite random way, I took them as well at the kindergarten as at home. Some months ago I had the opportunity to collect my data more systematically. In three kindergartens I filmed pairs of children of the same age. The age of the pairs ranged from three to six. One pair consisted of two girls, one of two boys and one of a girl and a boy. At each kindergarten we videotaped four times three pairs, that makes 36 play situations on the whole. The videos were taken in a play corner in the kindergarten, furnished with a play kitchen and appropriate toys and some other things children presumably use for pretend play. Each session took about 30 minutes, and almost all of the children engaged in pretend play during this time.

I have not had time enough to analyze the data fully in a systematic way, so I can't serve with quantitative results. But because I have analyzed quite a lot of pretend play up till now I feel able to make suggestions about typical cues of pretend play.

4.2 Playing doctor and patient

In this play (see appendix, example 2) two girls (A and M) are pretending to be doctor and patient. They announce each other with the pronoun *Sie* (formal 'you'), the politeness form in German. The utterance "machen **Sie** mal bitte **Ihren** Arm frei" is typical for communication between doctors and patients; in the communication between children they probably would say "Schieb **deinen** Ärmel hoch". So, this scene shows that the children activate the experiences they once have got at a doctor's practice; but it also clearly shows that they do not really imitate the grown-ups, because, very surprisingly, the 'doctor' after having examined the 'patient', requests the 'patient' to measure her own, i.e. the 'doctor's' blood pressure.

At least in Germany a doctor would not do so, but such behaviour is very typical for pretend play. Apparently the instruments are so fascinating that they must be used several times in several ways. In another doctor play, two four-years-old boys pretend to be doctors, a girl in the same age being the patient. During the whole play both boys act with the instruments, e.g. first one boy measures blood pressure followed by the other one doing just the same (Andresen 1995). As I mentioned earlier the objects, especially the thematic toys, help the children to pretend and to structure the situation.[8]

The second girl, the 'patient', has difficulty handling the instrument, and the first one tells her what to do. In this part of the play she produces a lot of exophora, "Ziehen Sie mal das weiße da durch n' da das, ja das" induced by the difficulty. Typically here she shifts her 'identity', addressing the other girl no longer with *Sie* but calling her by her real name. This behaviour is typical for pretend play: if problems arise in managing the situation, especially in handling objects, the children are no longer able to pretend and therefore shift to reality. Seemingly it is too demanding to concentrate on the action and by the same time to pretend. That indicates how difficult it is for young children to pretend.

4.3 Playing mother and child

This example (see appendix; example 3) seems quite interesting to me. On the one hand there are a lot of linguistic mistakes and interruptions of utterances — but realize that the girls (A and B) are only four years old and that it is spoken, not written language. On the other hand, the girls by their dialogue spontaneously create a story.

Now let's have a look at the way by which the children develop their story. Before, the children had begun playing mother and child and with the utterance "then I telephone my friend Anna" this friend gets introduced into play. From the very start the pretend communication with Anna becomes a part of the play between the two girls because the 'daughter'(B) informs the 'mother'(A) that she is going to call the friend. Here we have a fine example for what I have said earlier, namely that pretending mostly relies on verbal cues. By the cited statement a new person comes into play and the 'mother' is informed about how to interpret the action of the 'daughter'. There follows a short monologue concerning dialling and soon starts the conversation at the 'phone. Note that the part of Anna is not directly verbalized.

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[8] In this example the girls interpret measuring blood pressure as measuring how much blood one has, this interpretation seems to be typical for children. In my data all children do it in that way.

The 'child' (B) pretends that her friend abruptly has stopped the call, and again she informs her 'mother' (A) of that. She repeats the call again, while the 'mother' becomes active and requests the 'daughter' to give the 'phone to her. The 'daughter' agrees and after pretending to dial again by counting numbers, she gives the phone to the 'mother'. Now the 'mother' starts talking with the friend, very sternly, explaining why she has taken the phone and warning the other one to stop the call again. Here again the part of Anna is not directly verbalized, but A simulates that there is a person at the other side of the phone. Again pretending is identical with verbalization.

Then the 'daughter' takes the phone again and suggests to go to the cinema. Notice the shift of personal pronouns: first, addressed to the imagined Anna B uses *we*, then, addressed to the 'mother' she uses *she*, informing the 'mother' about what Anna has said. It is not quite clear what B means by saying that in the morning the cinema becomes "fern". I believe she intends to say "Fernsehen", the German word for 'TV'. Then the 'mother' tells her 'daughter' to stop the call and asks, as if she had not listened, what the girls want to do. The 'daughter' informs her. Now A starts speaking about the play, about how they shall go on. Playmate B responds by suggesting that A should change her role and should enact Anna's part: "You must be her". After a short call she informs the 'mother' that Anna now has come and the 'mother' welcomes Anna — now played by the first girl (B).

In spite of verbal irregularities the two four years old girls successfully construct a story and perfectly well act in the visual field — by simulating a conversation. They do not rely on objects to support their verbal activities except the telephone. The story in itself seems quite intelligible and well structured: first calling, then pretending that Anna stops calling several times, then getting active by the 'mother', then fixing to go to the cinema and at least Anna getting in. There is a clear line in topic development. The single acts are linked together by an underlying narration, they are quite coherent.

4.4 Playing baby and mother

In the discussion of this example (see appendix, example 4) I shall concentrate on two aspects: on verbal activities by which the children plan the actions and again on pretending and especially on the relations between pretending and planning.

But first some information about the context. The two children (boy P and girl B) were heavily engaged in interacting over the whole session. First the girl who plays the mother tries to determine what was going on, but not really successfully, although she is a very rigid 'mother'. In the sequence given in the appendix the boy starts to introduce a new topic and tries to get the mother to go shopping. Notice again the marker for 'this is play', namely "aus Spaß" (for fun). The girl first agrees, but immediately after the agreement she suggests that it is in the evening — a time one cannot go shopping in Germany — and puts forward the hair drying topic. The boy does not like it, but is still laughing and does not get angry. After a short episode concerning what is going on outdoors the boy again brings about the topic 'shopping'. He links up with the girl's former proposal in pretending that now it is the next day. The girl agrees and gets into the role by considering which bag she might take with her. Then the boy again directs and plans the following action by working out the situation. He does not do that within his role (baby), but speaks about the 'baby' in the third person. Notice the syntactic construction "when ... that ... then" and the correct link between the noun and the personal pronoun. Here we got an example of what Pellegrini found in regard to endophora in pretend play.

The girl agrees again. Her speech here is not as elaborated as the boy's. Compared to the other parts of the interaction she speaks less and less understandable, possibly because now the boy clearly determines what is going on. But on the whole her utterances are shorter and more directive than the boys', e.g. she uses more imperatives, while he, when directing the actions, uses a more narrative style.

At this point a conflict rises between the pretend situation and the conditions of the ongoing play. The children are instructed not to leave the corner where they are filmed, but according to their story the girl has to leave. Again the boy has an idea, namely that B may lay down under the table, both children pretending she is out shopping.

Now the boy gets up and nonverbally he simulates making a fire: that means, as 'baby' he acts nonverbally, but verbally he comments his doing by saying that the 'mother' does not realize that the 'baby' is starting a fire. Here again we have an example of interpreting one's own doing and simultaneously communicating this to the playmate.

Later on the girl again goes back to her role as 'mother', stating that the 'baby' has started a fire and starting to urge the 'naughty baby'. But at once she imagines how to turn away the danger. Very surprisingly, she has got some water in her bag, and very quickly she puts out the fire. Notice the word *platsch* simulating this action. After having done so she immediately goes back to her topic, namely hair drying. With this turn the topic 'shopping' is over, the children do not go back to it during the following interaction.

I think this sequence to be very interesting because of several reasons. The boy verbally does not act within his role, although nonverbally he does even if not very intensively. With his utterances he anticipates and directs the actions.

Both children transform time and structure their actions temporally: evening and the next morning. This ability is crucial for story telling.

It is noteworthy that both children, although they apparently have different interests in playing, cooperate and commonly negotiate the story, although the boy clearly dominates. But the boy as well links up with the suggestions of the girl, because he accepts her proposal for timing.

It is very typical for pretend play that children are eager to continue play even if there arise conflicts. Very often they try to translate underlying conflicts into the play actions, e.g. conflicts about dominance. Here the boy is the 'baby', the 'mother' normally being mightier than the 'baby'. But he succeeds to direct the actions, and the girl accepts it up to a certain degree.[9]

In my example not only the boy, but also the girl surprises. She does not show much metacommunication, but she manages to bring this play sequence to an end by pretending very quickly and adequately. Here again speech is the central means to create and transform meanings: to conjure up some water.

4.5 Playing a father and a dog

In the discussion of the last example (see appendix; example 5) I concentrate on how the boys argue and in connection with that on how they use personal pronouns.

The first boy (O), who wishes to establish that he as a dog can jump over the obstacles, starts with the pronoun "I", but immediately corrects himself, proposing "dogs can jump". Here he changes his perspective from "I" ("I" = the dog I am pretending or "I" = the boy O) to the generalization that all dogs are able to jump. It is more advantageous to say it in this way, because, if dogs in general can jump, so it is highly probable that he as the 'dog' in this situation also can jump. Interestingly enough the other boy (D) does not refer to the generalization but addresses him directly "but you can't". The conjunction "but" signals that D does not deny the general statement, but only the claim that the pretend dog under the actual conditions can jump. He also names the conditions, namely that dogs standing up are not able to jump. O opposes, again changing the personal pronoun referring to the dog, now choosing the personal pronoun third person, "he". Now he as the boy O speaks about the dog he just has pretended to be, so for the second time he changes the perspective of talking. D adheres to his former statement but without success, and finally both boys go down onto their knees to become 'dogs' and jump over the obstacle.

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[9] Schwartzman (1978) analyzed plays of children in a Chicago day-care-centre and found that many plays had the underlying theme 'dominance'. She interprets her findings by claiming that the American society to be characterized by dominance relationships and that the children enact their experiences of these relationships by playing. She goes back to Bateson (1983 [1955]) and says that the societal context of plays determines the meaning of the plays. It is interesting that Schwartzman found that one cannot directly map dominance patterns of behaviour on to roles. One girl who was extremely dominant in the group Schwartzman analyzed and who was fully accepted by all other children liked to be a baby in play **and** regularly managed to direct play.

After the discussed sequence an interaction follows where both boys act in their respective roles, here again we have an example for the combination of on the one side acting within a role and on the other side of speaking about it. And again we have got an example of shifting perspective and decontextualizing one's own behaviour.

4 Conclusions

Pretend play may be important for learning to write because of several reasons:

(1) Children develop stories; they get practised in narration.

(2) Their language shows characteristics of written language: use of conjunctions, complex sentences, coherent use of endophoric devices.

(3) In pretending the children talk about their play and about the meanings they create by transformations. So they communicate metalinguistically. At the same time, they interactively negotiate inner representations of meanings.

(4) Transformations are tied to decontextualization, in so far as the children take their behaviour and their language out of the context and actively construct a new one.

(5) In frequently changing between reality and fiction, they change perspectives.

Going back to the German psychologist and language theorist K. Bühler (1982:154ff.) and his Russian colleague A. R. Luria (1967:198ff.) I would like to state: At the beginning of their language development children use language empractically or sympractically, i.e. the language is maximally bound to the whole speech situation, to the nonverbal context. Written language on the contrary must be understandable without the help of the situation, in which it has been produced. So in learning to write, children must learn to abstract from this production situation. Pretend play, where children, as Garvey puts it, transform the 'here' and 'now', 'I' and 'you', and 'this' and 'that', is an important step on this way (Garvey 1978:102).

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Appendix

Example 1

D: boy, 4 years old k: kindergarten teacher
The boy plays father and dog with another boy. He is the father and prepares meal. The teacher sees him with a knife in his hand.

K: Dennis jetzt hast du schon wieder das Messer in der Hand.
Dennis now already again you have the knife in your hand.

D: Wir spielen jetzt.
We are playing now.

K: Ja das ist ein Messer zum Essen nicht zum Spielen
Yes that's a knife for eating not for playing.

D: Wir essen doch auch.
We are eating yet.

K:Ja du fuchtelst immer damit rum. Es reicht jetzt.
Yes you are waving it about. It is enough now.

Example 2

M: girl, 5 years old A: girl, 5 years old
The girls sit facing each other, having a toy doctor's suitcase between them and handling a sphygmomanometer (instrument to measure blood pressure)

M: Nehmen Sie mal bitte (rein), ich muß mal gucken, ob Sie.Sie (gelockt)
take just (in) please, I must just look, if you you are (curled)
sind...(2sec) Na machen Sie mal bitte Ihren Arm frei.ja...(2sec) so einmal
na please just uncover your arm yes ...so one time
durch ...so....Jetzt aber sagen Sie mal jetzt machen Sie mal ganz tief Luft
through...so....but now just say now just make air very deeply onto it
dran...Und wenn es strammer? ...wird's strammer....
and if it tighter?...does it get tighter...

A: mhm

M: Das Ihr Arm ist gut... So und jetzt kommt machen Sie's mal bitte bei mir
The your arm is well...so and now comes please just make it with me

A: nein Tabletten
no pills

M: Und Tabletten ja...(tja)...(so mit) abmachen...alles klar....Da jetzt
and pills yes ...(yeah)...(so with) put off...everything okay there now
können Sie bitte mal bei mir Blut Blut messen Wieviel Blut ich noch habe
you may please just measure blood blood at me how much blood I still have

A: ja.....ooh
yes.....ooh

M: Soll ich das mal durch (durch)machen? Ziehen Sie mal das weiße da
shall I just make that through? Just pull the white through there...
durch...n da das ja das... Und jetzt **zieh**..ja.noch nicht. Ich muß erst mal
nthere that yes that and now pull yes not yet I first just must slip
hier durchrutschen so und jetzt **zieh zieh Christine**
through here so and now pull pull Christine

Example 3

A: girl, 5 years old B: girl, 5 years old
The girls are playing mother and child, A being mother and B being the daughter.

B: Batz denn telefonier ich mit meiner Freundin Anna. Mama ich ruf
batz then I telephone with my friend Anna. Mom I call

A: jaha
yehes

B: Ah na wie geht die noch mal eins, drei, fünf zack zack hallo Anna..gut
Ah na how does it just work one three five zack zack hello Anna well
doch Anna wo bist du? Mamma Anna hat aufgelegt! Ich ruf Anna (so)
yet Anna where are you? Mom Anna has stopped! I call Anna (so)
eins nochmal drei vier
one once again three four

A: gib sie mir oder gibst du auch mal mit mir
give her to me or do you just give with me

B: okay ach sie leg immer wieder auf. Ich glaube
okay oh she stops again and agaun I believe

A: so jetzt mal die Nummer
so now just the number

B: eins zwei drei vier fünf zwölf?...drei sieben acht neun null (Die Taste?)
one two three four five twelve?... three seven eight nine zero (the push button?)

A: Hallo? Anna! Ach so. Warum legst denn immer auf, weil ich die nicht möchte.
hello? Anna! okay. Why do you stop always, because I Do not want her.
Jetzt nehmt ihr aber mal ab, sie fra/fragt mich schon immer.
But now you take off, she is already asking me
Und darum bin ich jetzt hier zuerst dran.. Und jetzt gibt ich sie mal. Und
And therefore I am here first. And now I just gives her. And woe betide
wehe Du legst wieder auf
you stop again

B: Hallo Anna wolln wir nicht heute abend in Kino gehen! Oh ja!...ins Kino
hello Anna don't we want to go to the cinema this evening! Oh yes! to the cinema
ins Kino ist toll. Sie meint, ach bei König der Löwen wo König der Löwen
the cinema is fine. She means oh at the lions' king where lions' king goes
heute im Film fährt heute abend. Oh gut, oder heute morgen. s'wird
in the film today this evening. O well, or this morning. in the morning it
morgens doch fern. das Kino wird morgens doch fern
it becomes ((perhaps the beginning of the german word for TV)) in the morning the cinema yet becomes

A: Leg auf. Na, was wollt ihr?
Now stop it. Na, what are you going to do?

B: Wir wolln ins Kino gehen. Wir wolln König der Löwen angucken.
We want to go to the cinema. We want to watch the lions' king.

A: Sie ist doch nicht hier. Sie kommt sie muß doch erst kommen.
She isn't yet here. She comes she first has to come yet.

B: Doch. ... Du mußt sie sein. Dann ruf ich sie noch mal an.
Yet. .... You must be her. then I call her once again.

A: Ja aber gib mir sie her!
Yes, but give her to me!

B: Nein nein nein
no no no

A: Dann muß auflegen wieder... erst einmal muß ich erst mal auflegen
Then must stop again... First I just must stop

B: Ist schon da
Is already there

A: Hallo Anna?
Hello Anna?

B: Jaha?
Yehes?

Example 4

P: boy, 4 years old B: girl, 4 years old B is the same girl as in example 3, there playing the daughter.
The children pretend to be mother and baby. First the girl cooks and feeds the baby for quite a long time. The children are constantly talking with each other. The girl is a rigid mother. In the excerpt presented here the boy tries to introduce a new topic.

P: Und jetzt mußt du aus Spaß jetzt mußt du aus Spaß mal einkaufen.
And for fun you must now for fun you just must go shopping

B: Okay aber oder es ist erst abends. Denn fön ich dich immer wohl
Okay but or it is only in the evening. Then I suppose I use to dry your
nach'm baden. Ich muß dich fönen!
hair after taking a bath I must dry your hair ((both children are running through the room, B following P with a hair dryer in her hand))

P: Hör auf! Hör auf!
Stop it! Stop it!

B: Möchtest du nicht jeden Tag geföntwerden das macht schön heiß
Don't you want to get your hair dried every day that makes pretty hot

P: Nun lach nicht
Now don't laugh ((P produces baby sounds while running))

B: Zwölf Tage hat er das gemacht..oh die oh die sind draußen
He has done that twelve days long ..oh oh they are outdoors (("they" means other children of the kindergarten; it follows a short dialogue about this))

P: Jetzt muß die Mutter au/aus Spaß am nächsten Tag noch zum Einkaufen
Now for fun the mother must go shopping the next day

B: Jaa Nnn Welche Tasche nehme ich...Nnn ist zu groß wieder ummachen
Yees Nnn Which bag do I take Nnn is too big again altering

P: Das Baby schläft noch mmh wenn es hört daß die Mu die Tür knallt
the baby is still sleeping mmh when it hears that the mo bangs the door
dann dann steht es auf
then then it gets up

B: Okayyy...nu morgen. Nun kauf ich ....(so da drin)((very low voice))
Okayyy now tomorrow ((or morning)) now I buy...(so in there)
hä nun ich hab die Zeit
ha now I have the time

P: Aber du mußt aber du mußt doch weggehen
But you must but you must leave yet

B: Jaaa! Du darfst nicht raus. mußt gucken wo ich bin ...Oh darf ich an der ( )
Yeees! You are not allowed to go out must look where I am...Oh may I at
du bist zu
the ( ) you are too

P: Du kannst dich doch untern Tisch legen und denn denken die dann und
You may lay down under the table yet and then they think then an
so und wenn du unterm Tisch bist und denken sie bist du immer noch hier drin
so and when you are under the table and they think you still are in here

B: Das weiß ich....Das kann am Boden (   )
I know that....That may at the ground (   )

P:Jetzt merkst du gar nicht daß Baby Feuer macht
Now you are not aware of that baby lights a fire

B: Hhh!...Oi s'Baby hat Feuer gemacht ich hab dir doch hallo.. ich mach
Hhh! Oi the baby has lighted a fire I have you yet hello I make
was ich habe hier noch Wasser inner Tasche so platsch jetzt ist es aus
something I still have water here in the bag so platsch now it is gone
das Feuer na willst nicht geföntt werden kleiner Junge
the fire na don't you want to get your hair dried little boy
P: Nee ((very loud))
No

Example 5

D: boy, 4 years old O: boy, 4 years old D is the same child as in Example 1. The two boys pretend to be father and dog. The dog moves around, but the father wants him to stay in the house. Therefore he puts some things at the entrance to block the way.

O: Ich Hunde können auch springen
I dogs also can jump

D: Aber du kannst nicht springen aber im Stehen nicht
But you can't jump but not while standing up

O: Kann er doch
Yet he can

D: Nein nur wie Hunde immer springen
No only the way dogs use to jump

O: Nee ((helps D blocking the way and jumps over the obstacle; D goes down onto his knees, apparently becomes a dog and jumps as well))

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