CHAPTER 6

"IT'S MADE TO MATCH"

Linking L2 Reading and Writing through Textual Borrowing

Hiram H. Maxim

ABSTRACT

Recent findings in L2 reading research cite the benefits to language development from supplementing reading with text-specific tasks that require learners to interact with the language in the text. One procedure for fostering learner interaction with textual language is the appropriation of textual language into writing and speaking. To date, however, professional discussions on textual appropriation tend to focus on the issues it raises regarding plagiarism rather than its potential facilitative effect on L2 language development. In particular, little is known about how instructed adult learners themselves view and work with texts as resources for their own learning. The paper addresses this issue, first, by arguing for a comprehensive reconsideration of textual appropriation's critical role in any language learning. It locates textual borrowings within the gradual appropriation by all learners of a range of L2 textual features into their language use. For L2 learners and L2 instruction this highlights a need to understand in explicit terms the type of language that a specific text uses at the lexico-grammatical, sentential, and textual level.

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Next, the paper outlines the pedagogical sequence implemented at the advanced level of a four-year integrated, content-based collegiate FL curriculum that explicitly attends to the textual language of the assigned thematically clustered readings. The paper then presents data from classroom observations, learner interviews, and analyses of learner writing to characterize how 6 advanced FL learners viewed and responded to this explicit instructional approach to narrow reading and writing development, focusing in particular on their approach toward and the type, degree, development of their textual appropriations across two semesters. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of this learner-based perspective on textual borrowing for L2 reading and writing instruction.

INTRODUCTION

In second language education, reading has long been seen as an important resource for language development. Already in the early days of formalized modern foreign language (FL) instruction in the late 19th century, reading in conjunction with the Grammar-Translation method was central to FL education. For better or for worse, the now infamous Coleman Report of 1929 solidified further the centrality of reading with its recommendation that reading be the primary focus and that reading proficiency be the most realistic goal in American FL education (see Bernhardt, 1998). To be sure, the second half of the 20th century, first with Audiolingualism and then later with Communicative Language Teaching, witnessed a noticeable move away from reading in favor of a strong focus on the development of oral competence, but even with this paradigmatic shift in FL pedagogy, reading remained an important modality, particularly in collegiate FL education with its strong emphasis on literary scholarship. Even as the lower levels of instruction in collegiate FL departments moved toward more communicative approaches to language instruction, upper-level classes continued to emphasize reading as the basis and point of departure for all subsequent language work. To the profession's detriment, this dichotomous approach to collegiate FL education has contributed to the institutionalization of the division between lower- and upper-level instruction that scholars have lamented for some time now (e.g., Byrnes, 1998; James, 1989; Kern, 2000; Maxim, 2006). However, in recent years, as learners, instructors, and researchers have experienced and documented the negative consequences of this structural division for language development, there has been growing interest in the profession, perhaps no more obvious than in the recent report by the Modern Language Association (2007), to address the current bifurcated system by integrating the two levels of instruction. Interestingly, rather than expanding the emphasis on oral competence into the upper levels, the focus has been almost exclusively on infusing the lower level

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Meanwhile, in another branch of instructed adult second language education, namely in ESL/EFL, the instructional context differs enough from collegiate FL education that reading has been and continues to be a central modality for language development. Collegiate ESL/EFL learners possess typically much more advanced language abilities than the average collegiate FL learner, and their coursework are designed usually as preparation for academic and discipline-specific study. As a result, students are exposed to academic texts from the outset and expected to use those texts as the basis for their writing and overall language development. Based on these instructional parameters, it is not surprising, for example, that the practice "reading-to-write" is associated most often with this educational context (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Carson & Leki, 1993). In the related sub-field of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) there has been additional work on the role of reading in language learning by focusing on genre as a potentially helpful construct for facilitating the academic preparation of second language learners (e.g., Johns, 1995, 2002). Defined here using Bhatia's (2002) characterization as "conventionalized communicative events embedded within disciplinary or professional practices" (p. 23), genre, because of its conventionalization, has proven to be an effective construct for understanding, analyzing, and teaching academic discourse as well as the discourse(s) of the dominant discourse communities.

A third development in second language education that has significant implications for the role of reading has been the emergence of sociocultural notions of language and language acquisition. Diverging from individualistic, psycholinguistic understandings of language, sociocultural approaches see language not as a preexistent meaning system but as arising from within a societal context. This emphasis on context reflects the influence of Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics on current thinking about language, for within functional linguistics central units of inquiry are context and the functional use of language within some context, i.e., the text (e.g., Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1989). Because of their functional, contextual nature, texts are thus seen not as individual entities but as genres that represent a socially situated and culturally embedded use of language in a specific context.

As reading gains prominence in the profession as a modality for fostering second language development, there are important questions to answer about the profession's approach to reading and its accompanying pedagogy. One immediate issue is the degree to which texts are to be seen as sources from which learners can borrow and appropriate language for their own use. This practice of textual borrowing or appropriation has been shaped largely by the attention it has received over the past 20 years from

researchers and practitioners working with developing writers in academic ESL and EAP/ESP programs as well as in L1 university-level composition classes. Defined within this scholarship as the appropriate integration and documentation of other texts into one's own language use, textual borrowing understandably has been viewed from this perspective as a significant challenge for novice learners as they attempt to learn how to borrow from texts according to traditional western text citation practices and thereby avoid charges of plagiarism. As a result, much of the scholarship to date has had a twofold focus: first, to try to understand and explain textual borrowing practices of novice writers; and, second, to offer recommendations for revising instructional approaches to better accommodate the difficulties these writers face. To a large degree, dismissing the earlier notion that faulty textual borrowing results from either ignorance or intentional deception, researchers have identified a range of factors that help to clarify the behavior of developing writers. Kantz (1990), for example, attributes faulty textual borrowing to learners' inability to read rhetorically and thereby to identify the underlying argument of the source text. Without an awareness of the source text's rhetoric, writers then tend to represent the writing task merely as a reproduction of source material rather than a discussion of the source text's rhetorical context and problem. In her case study of one university-level ESL writer, Currie (1998) points out all the demands associated with a complex writing task and sees textual borrowing as a coping device in the face of the challenges in academic writing classes. Rather than focus on external variables affecting textual borrowing, Howard (1993) coins the term "patchwriting" to describe writers' "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one-for-one-substitutes" (p. 233) and argues that this transitional stage of writing has important intellectual benefits for writers interested in acquiring academic-level discourse. Pecorari (2003) also sees patchwriting as a real and necessary stage for developing writers and argues that western text citation practices are not necessarily first and foremost on novice writers' minds during the writing process. In her later work, Pecorari (2008) argues that students' ability to incorporate source material appropriately into their own language use correlates closely with its pedagogical treatment in the classroom. Equipped with this more nuanced understanding of textual borrowing as a potentially beneficial practice for second language learners, the academic writing profession has been able to make much more concrete recommendations for revising pedagogical practice (Barks & Watts, 2001).

Based on this recent scholarship, an important next step in the research is to explore textual borrowing less as a product of the developmental process second language learners undergo toward becoming advanced users of the language and more as an important step in the reading process that can have a facilitative effect on second language acquisition, in general, and second language writing developmen
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ond language writing development, in particular. This chapter investigates textual borrowing as an essential link between reading and writing by, first, presenting an educational setting at the collegiate level in the United States in which texts and textual borrowing are considered central to language learning at all levels of instruction and, then, by examining the textual borrowing practices of six advanced learners of German over the course of one intensive semester of study (6 credit hours; 70 contact hours).

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Defining Characteristics

Providing the context for exploring textual borrowing as an important link between second language reading and writing is the integrated undergraduate curriculum of Georgetown University German Department (GUGD). Because of its articulated integration of all levels of the curriculum into one unified approach to learning and teaching and thereby its eradication of the aforementioned division between lower and upper levels of instruction, the curriculum has achieved nationwide attention in the FL profession.[1] Serving as the unifying framework within the curriculum is a genre-based literacy orientation that has a threefold focus: (1) understanding the complex (con)textual nature of language use; (2) being aware of the conventionalized forms of language, i.e., genres, that are privileged in specific contexts; (3) and becoming facile at both reproducing and manipulating those genres for self-expression. Central to this type of literacy orientation therefore are texts, where texts are seen as genres that originate from and reflect a linguistic-cultural community that establishes a context as well as lexico-grammatical, discursive, social, and cultural boundaries within which meaning is made. In other words, learners' language use has to be appropriate based on the situated-ness of the text that they are producing as well as the situated-ness of the texts that they are drawing from to make meaning. In today's globalized and multilingual world in which texts appear in a range of media, literacy becomes an increasingly complex issue. As a result, scholars often use the plural form "literacies" in order to capture better the many different abilities that are necessary to function in public life (e.g., New London Group, 1996).

APPROACH TO TEXTUAL BORROWING

A genre-based literacy orientation has significant implications for the role of textual borrowing in the curriculum. A central underlying principle in

this curricular approach is that there is a conventionalized nature to much language use. One of the early proponents of the notion of genre, Bakhtin (1986b), points out that conventionalization comes about because of the recurrent and intertextual nature of genre. Language users do not reinvent language for every communicative event; rather, they draw on stable and mandatory patterns of language use established in previous instantiations of that event. This notion of intertextuality, a term coined by Kristeva (1986) in her analysis of Bakhtin, has assumed a central position in the field of discourse analysis to assist in understanding the interpretation and creation of texts. Fairclough (1992), for example, stresses the dialogic nature of intertextuality discussed by Bakhtin to assert that a text both draws on prior texts and repositions them based on the current contextual factors. In a more recent discussion of intertextuality as it pertains to language learning, Johnstone (2002) describes the language learning process as progressing from "mimicking words, structures, purposes, and ways of talking that belong to other people" (p. 139) to appropriating these borrowed items according to one's individual way of meaning making. For Bakhtin (1986a) this dialogue between idiosyncratic forms of self-expression and generic, standardized patterns of language use was self-evident: "our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness,' varying degrees of awareness and detachment" (p. 89).

Because of the curriculum's emphasis on the contextual and intertextual nature of language use, individual self-expression, long the hallmark of American education, is approached from a Bakhtinian perspective that considers our ability to express ourselves creatively dependent on our command of a specific context or genre; that is, the better our understanding of specific genres, the more freedom we have to use them. From this perspective, knowledge construction and ownership no longer resides in the individual but in a community of knowers who use, to use another Bakhtinian term, social languages. The task in a literacy-oriented curriculum, then, becomes facilitating the development of knowers by exposing them to a range of textual environments, by making them aware of how these environments use language to respond to particular contexts, and by encouraging their appropriation of others' language for their own purposes.

By drawing heavily on this literacy-oriented and genre-based approach to textual production and interpretation, the GUGD curriculum foresaw a different role for textual borrowing that identified it as an essential component of language learning. Much like Howard's (1995) recommendation of viewing patchwriting as a "pedagogical opportunity" (p. 788), curriculum planners implemented a text-based pedagogy that is centered around explicit attention to textual features at the discourse, sentence, and word level for the purposes of encouraging learner appropriation of these features for their own language produ
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tures for their own language production. The emphasis then, in contrast with much of the scholarship on textual borrowing, is not primarily on the appropriation of content but rather on particular language features that provide for opportunities to foster the construction of thought. Along the lines of Slobin's (1996) "thinking for writing," learners are encouraged in their interaction with texts to appropriate language that suits the meanings they seek to make. Choice and the agentive nature of textual production are therefore stressed while at the same time the limits placed on borrowing by generic conventions are clearly recognized.

Such explicit attention to textual borrowing elicits specific questions to research in this curricular setting:

1. How much do learners borrow from their reading?
2. What do learners borrow and why?
3. Do learners' borrowing practices change over time?

The following section presents a study of the textual borrowing practices of one segment of learners within the curriculum that will address each of these questions.

THE STUDY

Instructional Setting

Intensive Advanced German is a six-credit course (70 contact hours) open to students who have completed twelve credit hours of collegiate German (170 contact hours). The course met four times each week for a total of five hours and consisted of four thematic units that explored German cultural history from 1945 to the present as reflected in personal and public stories. For each unit, learners read 4–6 texts that served as carriers of content and models of language use. The instructional focus of each text was to facilitate the learners' understanding of the central content-related issues, the original purpose and context of the text, and the text's generic, sentential, and lexico-grammatical features. Particular emphasis was placed on directing students' attention to thematically marked lexico-grammatical features with a text, and the most prominent and consistent approach that was used throughout the curriculum for accomplishing that was the creation of semantic or word fields. Specific topics within each thematic unit were identified and then served as focal points for developing a field of semantically related lexico-grammatical features that were drawn directly from the thematically based texts (see a sample semantic field in Appendix A).

Each unit then ended with a writing task and a speaking task, both of which were formally assessed and were intended to provide a forum for students to apply the generic, content, and language knowledge they developed during the thematic unit to a specific situation. In the case of Advanced German with its focus on personal narratives framed against public events, each of the writing tasks asked students to tell a personal story against the backdrop of a major historical event and to draw on the content and language foci of the respective instructional unit. Table 6.1 provides an overview of the four instructional units and their accompanying writing tasks. One of the main criteria for successful completion of the language portion of the writing task was the use of theme-specific lexico-grammar. Students were thus encouraged once more to recognize that in order to successfully and appropriately discuss a particular theme, they needed to access topically relevant lexico-grammar from the readings.

The Participants

Six undergraduate learners of German (4 female; 2 male) participated in this study, three of whom had completed the previous level in the curriculum and three of whom had placed into the level based on the curriculum-based placement text (see Norris, 2004). Because this level of the curriculum is above the level required to fulfill the college's language requirement, all participants had chosen to take this course as an elective.

Data Sources

The data for analyzing the learners' textual borrowing practices consisted of the following: (1) the rough drafts of all four writing assignments; (2) transcribed interviews with each participant after submitting each rough draft (24 interviews); (3) periodic observations of the class; (4) periodic meetings with the instructor; and (5) instructional materials for the course.

TABLE 6.1 Instructional Units and Writing Tasks

Instructional unit	Writing task
Post-war Germany	Thank-you letter for care package
Divided Germany	Personal narrative about fleeing East Germany
Unified Germany	Public appeal
Contemporary multicultural Germany	Journalistic portrait of Vietnamese in Germany

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TABLE 6.2 Descriptive Statistic

Student	Task 1	Task
1	15.8%	15.4
2	16.3	7.6
3	18.5	12.6
4	16.7	18
5	17.1	13.5
6	12.5	13.2
Mean	16.15	13.38
SD	2.01	3.45

Coding

Based on these varied sources, the researcher and two research assistants were able to determine which content-carrying words (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) had been borrowed from the course readings. Because the focus was on identifying the extent to which students drew on the readings for their own language production, any formulation that could be traced back to a source text or semantic field was considered a borrowed item rather than distinguishing between exact and close textual borrowings as Campbell (1990) did. Of course, a dogmatic approach to the role of textual borrowing in language learning would assert that all words in a learner-produced text are borrowed, but this study focused on just those items borrowed from materials in this course.

ANALYSIS

Quantitative Analysis

To provide a quantitative overview of the textual borrowings over the course of the semester, the mean and standard deviation of students' borrowings were calculated for each of the four writing assignments. Although the number of participants precludes a more sophisticated statistical analysis, the trend across the four tasks is worth noting. As Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 indicate, when viewed collectively, the participants started off borrowing at a relatively high rate on the first writing task, decreased their borrowings slightly on the second task, then curtailed their borrowings noticeably on the third task before borrowing more on average on the final task (almost one-quarter of all content-carrying words) than on any of the previous

TABLE 6.2 Descriptive Statistics for Textual Borrowing (*n* = 6)

Student	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Task 4
1	15.8%	15.4%	3.4%	20.5%
2	16.3	7.6	6.1	18.1
3	18.5	12.6	2	23.9
4	16.7	18	7.6	20.8
5	17.1	13.5	10.7	25.8
6	12.5	13.2	3.9	24.3
Mean	16.15	13.38	5.62	22.23
SD	2.01	3.45	3.19	2.90

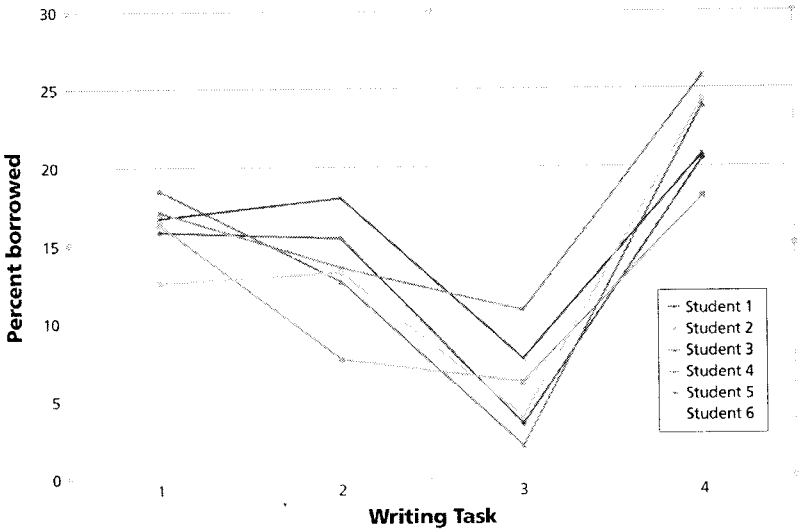

Figure 6.1 Percentage of content words borrowed across four writing tasks.

tasks. Because of the variation between and within tasks, a closer analysis of the pedagogy, the student performance, and the student response to the performance for each of the four tasks, will be conducted.

Writing Task 1: Thank-You Letter

The first thematic unit on immediate postwar Germany ended with the writing task that asked students to write a fictional thank-you letter to the donor of a care package sent at the end of war. Providing the content basis for this task, students read one descriptive text about care packages and four personal narratives about experiences that German speakers had at the end of the war (e.g., migrating from east to west; bartering on the black market; searching for loved ones). The approach to all five texts followed the same pattern of (1) reading the text outside of class to identify important themes and events; (2) reviewing the themes and events in class; (3) retelling the chronology of the story; (4) mining the text for salient lexical items that corresponded to semantic fields being developed in class; and (5) discussing the cultural significance of the text. By the end of the unit, the class along with the instructor had developed an extensive semantic field centered around the topic of "war's end" that included lexical items used to characterize the people (e.g., traumatized, homeless, hopeless), the cities (e.g., destroyed, bombed out, being cleaned up), and the political situation (e.g., to die, to be taken prisoner, to put down arms) at the end of the war (Appendix 1). In addition to the texts' serving to deepen students' understanding of the immediate postwar era, they also provided

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a context to practice the two targeted language features for the unit, expressing temporality and causality. Specifically, students worked with temporal phrases and subordinating conjunctions (e.g., before, after, when, because, whereas) to link events either temporally or causally. Following this work with texts and the targeted language features, students received a detailed description of the writing assignment (Appendix 2). Reflecting the genre-based nature of the curriculum, the assignment indicated the genre that students were asked to produce (a thank-you letter) and presented the features of the genre that students were expected to include according to three categories: (a) the nature of the task itself, in terms of the genre learners had to produce; (b) the content focus, in terms of the sources of information that were to be treated; and (c) the language focus, in terms of the features of German that were targeted at the discourse, sentence, and lexical-grammatical levels. All writing tasks throughout the curriculum are presented in this same tripartite format (see Byrnes et al., 2006 for detailed discussion of genre-based tasks).

In case students were unsure what kind of language to use in their thank-you letter, the detailed nature of the task sheet reminded them what to include and even what to borrow. For example, temporal and causal constructions as well as the semantic fields were listed as language foci that students should attend to. It is then perhaps not surprising that just over 16% of the content-carrying words in the six student-written performances were borrowed items. Specifically, the borrowings could be categorized as follows: (1) recently introduced constructions for expressing temporality or causal-

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[redacted] material in their writing and the ability to find lexico-grammatical

[redacted] that suited their communicative purpose. The student perspective on

[redacted] of writing task is reflected in the transcriptions of their interviews

with the researcher.

Shortly after submitting the rough draft of the thank-you letter, each participant met with the researcher and discussed their approach to the draft, explaining their reasons for particular phasing and their overall reaction to the assignment. One student commented specifically about the type of textual borrowing encouraged in the GUGD and plagiarism:

> I had to rely heavily on the material, and we were specifically told that, if it fits best, we could directly quote from the text, because, you know, when you're learning, it's not plagiarism, you just learn the expressions. So, a lot of it came from the text and relying heavily on what was in the text, because otherwise I would have no idea what to say.

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> I had to rely heavily on the material, and we were specifically told that, if it fits best, we could directly quote from the text, because, you know, when you're learning, it's not plagiarism, you just learn the expressions. So, a lot of it came from the text and relying heavily on what was in the text, because otherwise I would have no idea what to say.

This student had thus come to terms with textual borrowing in this learning context and even recognized how essential it was to help him say what he wanted to say. Another student made the interesting comparison between writing in this course and writing in the first-year course when texts did not play such a central role:

> I remember, actually, first semester, we didn't have many texts, it was just kind of like, come up with it, and it was a lot more of a difficult experience, but with the texts, you already have an idea of what you're going to write and how you're going to say it, so it's a lot easier, so at that point, then, when you have the vocabulary and you have the phrases, then it's just a matter of coming up with your own idea and incorporating them into it.

Texts then were seen as a helpful resource for the learner, but it was clear that she saw the borrowed items as just vocabulary and phrases; the ideas came from her. Finally, a student commented on the benefits of the semantic fields (*Wortfeld*) that were emphasized so much in instruction:

> Especially with vocabulary, because you're already talking about the theme, you know, because it's made to match, and so having especially specific vocabulary there forces you, you know, it's a lot easier to just, you know, if I didn't have the *Wortfeld*, I could think of ways to say it, but probably a lot more primitive, but with the *Wortfeld*, it helps my vocabulary a lot, and actually gets me to be more creative in thinking about different ideas, instead of just what my ready vocabulary can give me.

Here was a student who has enough awareness about her own language abilities to see that the semantic field helped her express herself in ways that otherwise would not have been possible. She even used the expression "made to match" to characterize how certain wordings were tailor-made for certain situations and how there was no need to seek out alternative phrasing when the borrowed item met her communicative needs. The pedagogical challenge then becomes helping students recognize those wordings and providing a forum for them to use them.

Writing Task 2: Personal Narrative

The writing task in the second instructional unit on divided Germany asked students to retell a personal narrative about an escape across the East-West German border crossing from another perspective. Students started the unit by reading a descriptive text about the Berlin Wall that included specific terminology about the Wall (e.g., observation tower, border guard, no man's land, mine field). This reading served as the initial basis for a semantic field centered around the topic of the Wall and division. Students then devoted several class days to the personal narrative "*Drei Freunde*" (Three Friends) that up in East Germany who go their becomes the border guard who sh across the border. The third friend in hindsight. The pedagogical app tern used with the texts in the fi themes and events, in-class review the chronology of events, developi text's cultural significance. In term study expressions of temporality an expressions of opinion and argum that, from my perspective).

In addition, because this text wa writing assignment, considerable c lyzing the text's narrative structure seminal analysis of narrative struct tion—evaluation—resolution), the the breaks in the text that marke then focused on the sentence tha complicating action, "*Dann, eines* day, the unthinkable happened). U friends had political differences, b that something dramatic was abou revealed the shooting on the bor lationship (see Crane, 2006 for a pedagogy).

The writing task was then to re of one of the other two friends. S dents of the prototypical structure phrases to organize the text. Stude from the semantic field and the te

This overt guidance on the task gogical focus on the text's structu of borrowed content words (13.3 writing task. As expected there wa field and the text itself (e.g., to a and the reuse of temporal phrase expected was the reappearance o of the students' writing (e.g., to b Perhaps most interesting was the ment that they adhere to the stru their decisions on how to introdu flected differing approaches to te

"*Drei Freunde*" (Three Friends) that tells the story of three friends growing up in East Germany who go their separate ways to the point where one becomes the border guard who shoots at another as he is trying to escape across the border. The third friend who stays in the East narrates the story in hindsight. The pedagogical approach to this narrative followed the pattern used with the texts in the first unit, i.e., outside reading for major themes and events, in-class review of these themes and events, retelling of the chronology of events, developing the semantic field, and discussing the text's cultural significance. In terms of language foci, the class continued to study expressions of temporality and causality, but they also began learning expressions of opinion and argumentation (e.g., in my opinion, I believe that, from my perspective).

In addition, because this text was to serve as the model for the students' writing assignment, considerable class time was spent presenting and analyzing the text's narrative structure. Guided by Labov and Waletsky's (1997) seminal analysis of narrative structure (i.e., orientation—complicating action—evaluation—resolution), the instructor asked the students to identify the breaks in the text that marked the end of a section. The instructor then focused on the sentence that introduces the narrative's climax, the complicating action, "*Dann, eines Tages, geschah das Unfassbare*" (Then, one day, the unthinkable happened). Up until that point in the story the three friends had political differences, but that sentence indicated to the reader that something dramatic was about to happen. Reading a few lines more revealed the shooting on the border and the end of this once happy relationship (see Crane, 2006 for a detailed discussion of the text and the pedagogy).

The writing task was then to rewrite the narrative from the perspective of one of the other two friends. Specifically, the task sheet reminded students of the prototypical structure of narratives and the need for temporal phrases to organize the text. Students were also reminded to use vocabulary from the semantic field and the text to recreate the story.

This overt guidance on the task sheet combined with the explicit pedagogical focus on the text's structure resulted in a relatively high percentage of borrowed content words (13.3%) although not as high as on the first writing task. As expected there was significant borrowing from the semantic field and the text itself (e.g., to attempt an escape, difference of opinion) and the reuse of temporal phrases that had been reviewed in the unit. Less expected was the reappearance of lexical items from the first unit in some of the students' writing (e.g., to be taken prisoner, to order an execution). Perhaps most interesting was the students' response to the task requirement that they adhere to the structure of a personal narrative. Specifically, their decisions on how to introduce the narrative's complicating action reflected differing approaches to textual borrowing. With "Then, one day, the

unthinkable happened" serving as the model, the six students opted for the following formulations:

S1: "Then, something so awful happened that it still bothers me to this day" (paragraph initial)
S2: "And now I will talk about that awful night"(paragraph initial)
S3: "One day Eberhardt and I fell in love with the same woman" (paragraph initial) . . . "The fatal night came, we tried to escape" (paragraph initial)
S4: "Tuesday came to an end and I was at home. Then, the unthinkable happened" (paragraph initial)
S5: "One day Max and I escaped over the border" (paragraph medial)
S6: "Then, one day, everything changed" (paragraph final)

S6's formulation represents the closest textual borrowing, but her decision to incorporate that sentence at the end of the paragraph arguably undercut its original intent of building suspense. In fact, except for S1 it could be argued that none of the students built up the same degree of anticipation in the reader as the original text. The students' comments about their borrowings shed some light on the choices they made. S1 recognized the need for drama with this sentence but also indicated her desire to deviate from the script:

> I like to deviate from the text, so you kind of learn to say the similar things different ways, and you know, make it your own. But I also wanted to make it the similar dramatic feeling, because it was so dramatic, like, that one incident was the key event.

How S1 preferred to appropriate language is what Bakhtin (1981) himself called "ventriloquation," the process of one voice's speaking through another voice, of taking a word and making it one's own. Representing a different approach to textual appropriation, S2 replied, "I had already borrowed some expressions, so I didn't want to borrow too much," to the question about why he had not borrowed more closely from the original. Therefore, going back to the source texts and the instructional materials to appropriate lexical items appeared to be largely a conscious and explicit act among the students.

Writing Task 3: Public Appeal

The writing task for the third unit on unified Germany required students to make a public appeal about a topic of their choosing. Serving as the textual model for this task were two public appeals delivered in East Germany in the fall of 1989, one right before the fall of the Berlin Wall and one right afterward.[2] Students followed the same reading process used with previ-

ous texts but spent additional time
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the six opening sentences:

S1: "Our education is stuck in a de
S2: "Our wonderful cafeteria is stuc
S3: "Our city has a big problem"
S4: "Our country faces an epidemic
S5: "Time at college is a critical tim
people"
S6: "Today we live in a period of gl
countries and peoples unheard

ous texts but spent additional time analyzing the structure and specific linguistic features of the two appeals. In particular, guided by worksheets that focused their attention on the text's organizational pattern, they identified two stages in these two texts that appeared to be necessary for achieving the genre's communicative purpose: a statement of the central problem and a solution to this problem. Furthermore, in conjunction with their instructor they identified six specific rhetorical devices in the two appeals that were effective in making a persuasive appeal: (a) imperative mood (e.g., Let's take the first path); (b) first-person plural pronominal usage to establish a feeling of togetherness (e.g., we, our); (c) direct address (e.g., my fellow citizens); (d) strongly connoted lexicon (e.g., political structures dominated by Stalinism, unreasonable conditions, a deep crisis); (e) modal verbs emphasizing the gravity of the situation (e.g., we cannot live like this anymore, we will have to endure this intolerable situation); and (f) parallel sentence structures to stress the urgency of the situation (e.g., we still have the chance . . . we still can fulfill the ideals . . .).

The assignment then asked students to write their own public appeal about a topic unrelated to unified Germany. They were encouraged to adhere to the structural and linguistic properties of the genre, but they understood that the semantic field would be completely different from that of post-Wall Germany. Not surprisingly, the degree of textual borrowing on this task was the lowest of the four tasks (5.6%). Therefore, rather than exploring the lexical borrowing that took place, an investigation of the structural and rhetorical borrowings that did or did not take place proved more interesting. In terms of the two stages identified as necessary for successful completion of the genre (Problem Statement and Solution), all students included both stages, but they differed in the degree to which they adhered to the rhetorical choices in the model texts. For example, the second appeal's first sentence (*Unser Land steckt in einer tiefen Krise*, Our country is stuck in a deep crisis) received significant instructional attention because it introduced the problem in such a forceful and effective way, and it obviously resonated with the students because it served as the basis for four of the six opening sentences:

S1: "Our education is stuck in a deep crisis"
S2: "Our wonderful cafeteria is stuck in a deep crisis"
S3: "Our city has a big problem"
S4: "Our country faces an epidemic that is quickly getting bigger"
S5: "Time at college is a critical time for the development of young people"
S6: "Today we live in a period of globalization with connections between countries and peoples unheard of in earlier times."

S5 and S6's decision to deviate from the textual model could be justified, but their opening arguably lacked the urgency and outrage of the model and the other four student versions.

A similar trend was evident in the way students presented the second obligatory stage of the appeal, the Solution. Once again, the second model text provided a compelling rhetorical device for motivating the audience to action. The solution was presented as an "either-or" proposition; those interested in addressing the problem could take one of two actions: the first one represented the choice of the authors and involved concrete action to combat the problem whereas the second one was a course of inaction and involved accepting the intolerable status quo. If there was any doubt about the authors' stance, then there was the clear recommendation to "take the first path" after the presentation of the two options. Specifically, the wording in the text followed the pattern: "Either we can... Or we will have to..." This particular formulation was emphasized in class as especially effective for a couple of reasons. First, by juxtaposing the preferred course of action with the consequences of taking no action and offering no other alternatives, the merits of taking action appear even more compelling. Second, the use of the first-person plural pronoun, which is repeated throughout both textual models, once again establishes a sense of commonality and togetherness that increases the likelihood that the reader will identify with the preferred course of action. Third, the choice of modal verbs strengthens the consequences of both options. The first option, "we can," the one preferred by the authors, is one that can be realized if action is taken. The authors and readers retain some agency in the face of this deplorable situation and are able to effect change if they act. The second option, meanwhile, "we will have to," indicates the loss of agency and alternatives; the existing power relations will remain in place and will continue to dominate the state of affairs with little chance of change. Fourth, in the second textual model the "either-or" statements are followed by the collective command "Let us take the first path" that, through its use of the first-person plural pronoun as well as the imperative mood, reaches out again to readers to include them in the movement and to urge them respectfully yet also unambiguously to take action. Last, the presentation of the two options is emphasized by printing the words "either" and "or" in bold-faced type and by inserting line breaks before and after each of the options. A result of this typographical emphasis is that the two options stand out to the reader both visually and rhetorically; they represent both the focal point and the climax of the genre by capturing what is at stake in unequivocal terms.

As a result of this pedagogical emphasis, all six students chose some version of this rhetorical device to present their solution to the problem:

S1: "Either we can... Or we will have to... Our demands
S2: "Either we can... Or students will have to... Let's take the first path"
S3: "Either Georgetown... Or st
path"
S4: "Either we raise our own bee
first path"
S5: "Either we can... Or we can
S6: "Either we can... Or we can...

Nevertheless, only one of the six st
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Although it is beyond the scope of
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TABLE 6.3 Student Use of Rheto

Rhetorical device	Percentage of students to use device
Imperative	100
1st person plural pronoun	100
Direct address	50
'Charged' lexicon	100
Modal verbs	100
Parallel structure	33

S3: "Either Georgetown . . . Or students will have to . . . Let's take the first path"
S4: "Either we raise our own beef . . . Or we eat completely. Let's take the first path"
S5: "Either we can . . . Or we can . . . Let's take the second path"
S6: "Either we can . . . Or we can . . . Naturally we have to take the first path."

Nevertheless, only one of the six students (S1) followed the pattern exactly by using the same modal verbs and the same pronouns as the source text. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to evaluate the effectiveness of these samples, an initial assessment indicates that those who borrowed most closely from the source text ended up with more persuasive presentations of solutions to the stated problem.

In addition to the presentation of the two obligatory stages of the genre, students were also encouraged to include the specific sentence- and word-level rhetorical devices identified in the source texts and emphasized in instruction. Table 6.3 presents an overview of the extent to which the six students incorporated these six rhetorical devices. Whereas students' use of the imperative and modal verbs was consistent with that of the source text, their use of first-person plural pronouns and charged lexicon was noticeably less than that of the source text, thus reflecting the students' still developing abilities as readers and writers to recognize the importance of certain linguistic features in a text for contributing effectively toward the accomplishment of the text's communicative purpose.

The student comments on their rough drafts revealed an awareness of the importance of the text's rhetoric but also the challenges of addressing a topic that had not yet been treated in class. For example, one student stated outright, "The rhetoric of the text was very important," and "we were given a clear structure and then just plugged in information." Another com-

TABLE 6.3 Student Use of Rhetorical Devices in Public Appeal

Rhetorical device	Percentage of students to use device	# of examples of device in source text 2	Mean # of examples in student texts	Standard deviation among students
Imperative	100	1	3.00	2.19
1st person plural pronoun	100	16	12.50	8.02
Direct address	50	1	0.83	1.17
'Charged' lexicon	100	13	4.50	2.81
Modal verbs	100	5	4.67	2.07
Parallel structure	33	1	0.83	1.33

mented, "The structure helped a lot, but I had to use the dictionary a fair amount." A third student seconded that opinion by admitting his fondness for the semantic fields of earlier units, "I missed the *Wortfeld* this time . . . I wrote it first in English and then translated into German." While having a student in his fifth semester of German who still finds it necessary to write first in English is indeed troubling, it also sends the message to instructors and curriculum planners that there needs to be greater lexico-grammatical support for tasks that call on students to write on topics not covered in instruction.

Writing Task 4: Journalistic Portrait

The final unit of the course on contemporary multicultural Germany required students to write a journalistic portrait of Vietnamese in Germany. Students prepared for this task by reading a longer portrait of three other minority groups in Germany, statistics on immigration to Germany, and a feature article on the bureaucracy immigrants face when seeking citizenship. From these different texts the class developed semantic fields on the topics of immigration and citizenship. Class time was also spent analyzing the portrait genre for its attention to both the private and public sphere of the featured minority groups. In fact, the portrait begins with a personal account of a family representing the featured minority group, and then the discussion shifts to public officials who comment on the group's current situation both regionally and nationally.

The task itself was designed differently from the preceding three in that the information students gathered about Vietnamese in Germany came from three background texts that they had to read outside of class. There was only minimal discussion of the texts in class, and students were expected to glean relevant information on their own from the texts to use in their portrait. The assignment also asked students to present both a private and public image of Vietnamese in line with the model portrait analyzed in class. Last, as on all previous tasks, students were encouraged to draw on the semantic fields for relevant vocabulary.

As Figure 6.1 indicated, students borrowed on average more content-carrying words for this task than for any other (22.2%). On the one hand, this was not surprising considering that so much of the information for the portrait came from the three background texts; the students had no choice but to borrow. Students also borrowed from the semantic fields and they continued their earlier practice of borrowing lexical items from earlier units (e.g., stuck in a deep crisis, the unthinkable happened). On the other hand, the trend over the previous three tasks had been a reduction in the number of borrowings, causing one to speculate that perhaps students were becoming less dependent on source texts for lexico-grammatical support. However, as the performances on the previous task indicated, students were not comfortable with "saying it in t
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TABLE 6.4 Truncated Borrowings on Vietnamese

Source text
"'Hello" and 'good night' were the first words that Tung could say in the foreign language
"Huyen's father was a contract worker in th GDR. Back then he had to leave his wife and daughters in Vietnam"
"Tung described the return to Vietnam as 'very good'. What did he particularly like about it? 'Talking with my grandparents and friends'"
"The mother told Tung that Germany was 'good', that one can live there 'normally', that the people are 'nice'"
"Because contract workers had to wait a long time after unification for permission to bring their families, Huyen came just 4 years ago to Germany"

not comfortable with "saying it in their own words." They either missed the *Wortfeld* or resorted to the dictionary and translation.

This reliance on textual borrowing did not necessarily result in accurate borrowings, however. A closer analysis of the borrowings from the background texts indicates that, when left to borrow from texts that received limited treatment in class, students tended to truncate textual meaning based on their preconceptions about content, a characteristic of reading that first received significant scholarly attention thirty years ago (e.g., Anderson et al., 1977; Steffensen et al., 1979). As Table 6.4 illustrates, rather than rely solely on the information in the text, the students allowed their own notions about minorities in Germany to distort the meaning of the source texts. In the first example, the student concluded that the individual Tung did not know any German, but the source text only mentions what his first words in German were. In the third example, the student asserted that life in Vietnam was better than in Germany, but the source text only states that the return trip was "very good." A student suggested the opposite in the next example by saying that life in Germany was better than in Vietnam even though the source text only uses adjectives such as "good" and "nice" to describe Germany. As scholars, such as Bernhardt (1991) and Swaffar et al. (1991) pointed out years ago, these texts were not written for FL learners, and it is to be expected that misreading and truncation of meaning result. Thus, whereas the students had displayed an ability to

TABLE 6.4 Truncated Borrowings from Background Texts on Vietnamese

Source text	Student borrowings
"'Hello" and 'good night' were the first words that Tung could say in the foreign language	"Tung knew almost no German when he came to Germany"
"Huyen's father was a contract worker in the GDR. Back then he had to leave his wife and daughters in Vietnam"	"When her father came to the GDR as a contract worker, his family could come along"
"Tung described the return to Vietnam as 'very good'. What did he particularly like about it? 'Talking with my grandparents and friends'"	"Tung was much happier during this time than the time in Germany"
"The mother told Tung that Germany was 'good', that one can live there 'normally', that the people are 'nice'"	"His parents said that he will have a better future in Germany"
"Because contract workers had to wait a long time after unification for permission to bring their families, Huyen came just 4 years ago to Germany"	"After unification they waited for permission to join their father and because of the bureaucracy Huyen came just 4 years ago to Germany"

borrow lexical items effectively to express their own ideas, they still had difficulty comprehending without instructional assistance the ideas of others as expressed in texts.

The students' own comments after submitting this final writing assignment reinforced the notion that textual borrowing for them was a way to help them formulate their own ideas. One student stated, "When I could say it on my own and it would sound equally sophisticated, then I would say it on my own." Another echoed an earlier comment that reflected students' overt awareness of the extent to which they are borrowing from other sources: "If I find I am using too many words, I try to say it on my own." Finally, consistent with the findings on the role of depth of processing (e.g., Wesche & Paribakht, 2000) and degree of involvement (e.g., Hulstijn & Laufer, 2001) in vocabulary acquisition, a student acknowledged that the more instructional attention a lexical item received, the more comfortable she was using it: "The more it was reviewed, the more able I felt to use it."

Based on their comments and their borrowing practices, the students exhibited several interesting trends. To begin with, they had a general familiarity with and appreciation for borrowing in helping them "say it right," "to the point," and in a more "sophisticated way." At the same time, they had a desire to develop their own sophisticated voice in German and they did not feel bound to the source text for a specific formulation even in those instances when the text's formulation was arguably more effective. Nevertheless, they continued to see the importance of source texts for lexico-grammatical support, and they displayed a developing ability to borrow independently of instruction and to manipulate borrowed items from earlier units. As was just illustrated, the increased independent borrowing also highlighted even these advanced students' tendency to truncate textual meaning based on preconceptions.

CONCLUSION

In curricula that see reading as an important foundation for language development, textual borrowing takes on a central and unavoidable role. The situated and conventionalized nature of language use requires that learners attend to how language functions to make meaning in specific contexts. As the students' textual borrowing practices demonstrated, however, students need explicit guidance in identifying important items to borrow and in understanding how to use them. Furthermore, students need opportunities to use the borrowed items so that they can gradually make the items their own. However, students' reading comprehension at this level is by no means guaranteed, yet even when comprehension is satisfactory, students' reading remains primarily content-oriented in that their attention

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is not yet directed at language-related phenomena in the text. Therefore, whereas narrow reading allows learners to explore a topic in some depth, there needs to be supplemental instruction and assignments that will guide students in attending to language-specific features. Such was the goal of the genre-based writing tasks, but there could also be more fine-grained exercises that explore the linguistic realization of the textual message as a way to avoid misreadings. Such a text-based approach also places a premium on text selection so that students are exposed to not only the content but also the language and genre deemed appropriate for their level and communicative goals. In the end, texts are to be viewed as sources for meaningful language, and textual borrowing is the practice that allows readers and writers alike to access these texts and their rich textual language in order to advance their own language development.

NOTES

1. For further information on the GUGD curriculum visit http://german.georgetown.edu
2. The first appeal was delivered by Stefan Heym in early November 1989 on the Alexanderplatz in East Berlin. The second appeal, entitled *Für unser Land* (For our Country), appeared in late November 1989 and later in a volume edited by Borchert, Steinke, and Wuttke (1994).

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