



### Teaching lexically

There have been many thousands of pages written about how people learn languages, yet we would suggest they can all be neatly summarised in a very small number of principles.

### Principles of how people learn

Essentially, to learn any given item in a language, people need to carry out the following steps:

- 1 Understand the meaning of the item.
- 2 Hear/see an example of the item in context.
- 3 Approximate the sounds of the item.
- 4 Pay attention to the item and notice its features.
- 5 Do something with the item – use it in some way.
- 6 Repeat the steps over time, when encountering the item again in other contexts.

### Principles of why people learn

The following is a principle that we think is uncontroversial, but that is worth spelling out, as not everyone wants to learn foreign languages. The Council of Europe, which created the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR),

- ... suggests we learn for the following reasons:
  - To be able to do the business of everyday life in another country, and to help foreigners stay in their own country to do so.
  - To exchange information and ideas with young people and adults who speak a different language, and to communicate thoughts and feelings to them.
  - To achieve a wider and deeper understanding of the ways of life and forms of thought of other peoples, and of their cultural heritage.

One underlying assumption that the CEFR makes is that students will be taking classes, as part of their efforts to learn languages. It is perhaps worth questioning why this might be. After all, many people learn languages without ever participating in formal study. It seems to us that one of the fundamental reasons students take classes is that this allows them to set aside some time for study. A lot of people have neither the time nor the discipline to study on their own. While it is clearly true that the best language learners do a lot outside of class, we believe that teachers should recognise that, for what is probably the majority of learners, class time is basically all they may have spare for language study.

#### Bibliography

We cite other authors and resources throughout the book and the full reference can be found in the bibliography on pages 115-140.

#### Glossary

A glossary of words used in the book can be found on pages 147-150. The significance of their use in the book is marked with an asterisk \*.

That has implications for the pace of progress and for level, but it also emphasises how vital it is that what happens in class meets the main linguistic wants and needs of learners, chiefly:

- To be able to do things with their language.
- To be able to chat to others.
- To learn to understand other cultures better.

### Teaching and learning choices

Most of the principles outlined above are relatively undisputed, but the thousands of pages written about such limited principles are testament to the fact that debates do remain. In particular, there is much disagreement about the following:

- The very nature of language itself.
- What language to teach.
- Whether you can actually teach and learn language – whether they are simply acquired.
- The order in which to teach the language you choose.
- Practical ways in which each principle of how to learn language is realised.
- The relative importance of each principle.

Debates often revolve around the speed of the learning process, and how easily the learner will be able to take in the items of language taught and use them effectively in the world outside the classroom. There is also much discussion about how the process can be made more – or less – motivating for learners.

The choices teachers make with regard to these issues may be informed by research and the consideration of evidence, but it is also fair to say that reliable research and evidence can be hard to come by. As such, teachers will inevitably base some – or all – of their decisions on beliefs, assumptions and previous experiences as both teachers and language learners.

Choices are also likely to be at least partially the product of the attitudes and beliefs of the time and where the teachers are living in, and, as such, may also perhaps be a reaction to what is going on elsewhere. For example, one might see the current argument against him acting and going – and the move towards more correction and intervention (as exemplified by the recent emergence of the Demand High concept) – as being a reaction to the free-spending, debt-creating economy of the 1990s and 2000s! The move in language teaching towards such practices could be seen as a reflection of the contemporary discourse that claims that what people want now is something more controlled and secure.

To recognise and acknowledge this is simply to state that, as teachers, trainers and materials writers ourselves, we are no different when it comes to our principles and our choice of exercises that we feel best realise the principles described earlier. As such, in the pages of Part A that follow, we would like to explore our beliefs and principles in more depth, so that you can see how they fit with the exercises and practices that will follow in Part B of *Teaching Lexically*.



## One view of language

### Grammar plus words plus skills

Traditionally, the most dominant view in English Language Teaching is probably the grammar + words = productive language.

In other words, there has long been a belief that language can be reduced to a list of grammar structures that you can drop single words into. You may perhaps have seen this described as something along the lines of 'grammar providing the slots into which you slot words'.

This is a view of language that we disagree with.

There are a number of implications that follow from this more traditional view of language – some of which may sometimes be explained to you by teachers, and some which may not. Firstly, grammar is seen as being the most important area of language. If words are there to slot into the spaces which grammar provides, then it is grammar which must come first, and it is grammar which will help students do all the things that they want to do. It also follows that the examples which illustrate grammar rules are relatively unimportant.

Seen from this perspective, these examples don't necessarily have to represent what is actually said because understanding the rule will enable students to create all the sentences they could ever possibly want in accordance with the rule. It therefore doesn't matter if an example used to illustrate a rule could not easily (or ever) be used in daily life.

Similarly, if words are to fit in the slots provided by grammar, it follows that learning lists of single words is all that is required, and that any word can effectively be used if it fits a particular slot. Seen from this point of view, *Dracula didn't/doesn't/couldn't/wasn't/won't live in Brazil!*, *Spain is a country*, *I'm not/staying English and Am I studying English?*

Naturalness, or the probable usage of vocabulary, is basically regarded as an irrelevance; students are expected to grasp core meanings. At the same time, synonyms\* – words that have similar meanings – such as *murder* and *assassinate* – are seen as being more or less interchangeable and, if on occasion they are not, then this is a choice based purely on the subtle difference in meaning rather than anything else.

Finally, in this, an associated belief has developed that grammar is acquired in a particular order – the so-called 'building blocks' approach that sees students start by attempting to master what are seen as more basic structures, before moving on to more advanced ones. When following this approach, students do not get to see, let alone use, a structure before they have been formally taught it. For this reason, beginner- and elementary-level coursebooks do not generally have any past or future forms in the first half of the book, and may exclude other common tenses and grammatical structures altogether.

Finally, over the last thirty years, another layer has been added to this view of learning. This looks to address skills – speaking, listening, reading and writing. If content is essentially catered for by the presentation of grammar rules plus words, then where there is a deficit in fluency or writing or reading, the claim is that this may be connected to a lack of appropriate skills.

These skills are seen as existing independently of language, and a lack of them is thought to result in such problems as not being sufficiently confident, not planning, not making

The section on teaching young learners on page 138 stresses further the importance of structure at lower levels.



use of clues such as pictures to deduce meaning, not thinking about the context of a conversation, and so on.

As a result, many courses will claim to teach these skills, and you will typically find coursebooks with sections on grammar, sections on vocabulary, and then sections on speaking, listening, writing or reading. The prevailing formula might then be 'grammar + words + skills = productive language'.

## A lexical view of language

### From words with words to grammar

In some sectors, the 'grammar + words + skills = productive language' view is presented as the only option, but in fact there are countries and institutions which organise their language syllabuses differently, and there is also an alternative view of how language itself works that is supported by research, observation of language and logical arguments.

This alternative view is one we both share.

If we return to the principle that learners want to do things with their language and to communicate, then communication – almost always – depends more on vocabulary than on grammar, even if we assume the 'grammar + words' model. For example, take the sentence 'I've been wanting to see that film for ages'. Saying *want see film* is more likely to achieve the intended communicative aim in a conversation than only using what can be regarded as the grammar and content words: 'I've been -ing to that for'.

From this point of view, we should see words as more valuable. This does not entirely exclude the 'grammar + words' model, but it does undermine it. Would the message be less clear if the order of the words were changed? Not dramatically:

*film want see                    I've want film  
see film want                  want film see*

Actually, the distinction between vocabulary and grammar is rarely clear-cut; instead, it is rather blurry. Grammar is restricted by the words we use, and vice versa. In daily life, there are not infinite variations of each and every structure, and we don't accept synonyms in all cases. For example, we may say *I've been wanting to see that for ages*, but not *I've been fancying wanting that for ages*. Similarly, we may say *it's a high/tall building*, but not *a high/mid/tall structure*.

There are, however, when we make use of phrases, or chunks\* of language, which appear to be stored and accessed as wholes, rather than constructed from an underlying knowledge of grammar + single words. To put it another way, we consistently choose one particular way of saying something grammatical, rather than any of the many other possibilities.

In their seminal 1983 article – 'Two puzzles for linguistic theory: native-like selection and native-like fluency' – Pawley and Syder cite the way we tell the time as an example of this. All of the following are grammatically possible, yet most are not chosen by fluent speakers:

*It's six less twenty      It's two thirds past five.  
It's forty past five.     It exceeds five by forty.  
It's a third to six.      It's ten after half five.*

Most competent users of English – including you, almost certainly – tend to opt for either *It's twenty to six* or *It's five forty*. There are thousands of similar instances, and it was these

ideas, among others, that led Michael Lewis to declare in *The Lexical Approach* (1993) that language was 'grammaticalised lexis' rather than 'lexicalised grammar'. As a result, he rejected the idea that we should continue with a syllabus based on neatly ordered grammar structures and, instead, advocated syllabuses, materials and teaching methods centred around collocation\* and chunks alongside large amounts of input from real texts.

From this input, a grasp of 'grammar' rules\* and correct usage would emerge naturally if the input were mediated by the guidance of teachers helping students to notice forms and meanings.

More recently, Michael Hoey has given theoretical support for this approach. In his book *Lexical Priming* (2005), he shows how words which are approximately synonymous – such as *result* and *consequence* – typically function in quite different ways. Statistically, one is more common than the other in most situations, and often the differences are very marked.

The way synonyms are used differs not only in terms of the other words immediately around them that they collocate with, but also in terms of the words that co-occur in the wider surrounding text. Near-synonyms may also occur in different parts of sentences or in different genres\*, or may be followed by different grammatical patterns.

Hoey argues that these statistical differences come about because, when we first encounter these words (he calls such encounters 'primings\*'), our brains somehow subconsciously record some or all of the kind of information about the way the words are used. Our next encounter may reinforce this, or possibly contradict – this initial priming, as will the next encounter, and then the next – and so on.

If this was not the case, then *result* and *consequence* would be equally prevalent in all cases, or one would be used more consistently in all contexts. Hoey suggests that many of what we might think of as being our grammatical choices are actually determined by the words themselves and by the prevalence of how they are used – and the patterns that attach themselves to the words – rather than by any underlying knowledge of grammar rules and an ability to slot in words.

Hoey has also drawn evidence from psycholinguistic studies to support his claims about word priming, and to help explain why language use works in this way. One experiment he conducted shows how words are recognised quicker when they are related in use than when they are not. So, for example, once a test subject has been given the word *cow*, the word *milk* or *field* might then be recognised more quickly than, say, the word *airport*.

In another experiment, unrelated pairs of words such as *scarlet onion* were taught. After a few days, which the test subjects were exposed to a lot more language, participants were then tested on recognition of words based on prompt words. When the prompt word was *onion* – the word *scarlet* was recalled more quickly than other words.

These experiments suggest, firstly, that we do indeed remember words in pairings and in groups, and that doing so allows for quicker and more accurate processing of the language we hear and want to produce. Quicker, that is, than constantly constructing new and creative sentences.

If you accept this, then it's not too great a leap to believe that spoken fluency, the speed at which we read and the ease and accuracy with which we listen may all develop as a result of language users being more familiar with groupings of words. This certainly seems to be a more likely source of development than relying on constructing sentences from the bottom up, using grammar and words.

Seen like this, problems connected to skills essentially come back to being more about

For more on some of the problems caused by focusing on synonyms – and how to tackle them – see page 54.

For an exercise on the limits of grammar – see page 81.